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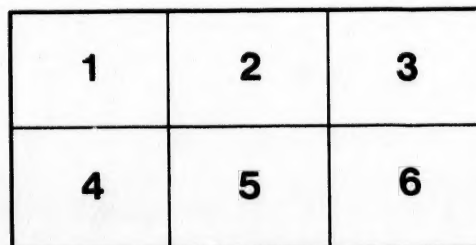
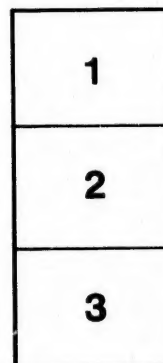
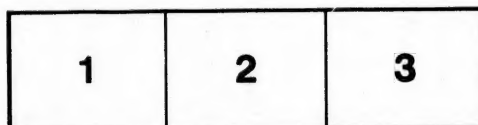
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VOL. IV.

L O N D O N :

Printed by Assignment from Messrs. CHURCHILL.

For JOHN WALTHOE, over-against the *Royal-Exchange*, in *Cornhill*; THO. WOTTON, at the *Queen's Head* and *Three Daggers* over-against *St. Dunstan's Church*, in *Fleet-street*; SAMUEL BIRT, in *Ave-Mary-Lane*, *Ludgate-street*; DANIEL BROWNE, at the *Black-Swan*, without *Temple-Bar*; THOMAS OSBORN, in *Gray's Inn*; JOHN SHUCKBURGH, at the *Sun*, next the *Inner-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-street*; and HENRY LINTOT, at the *Cross-Keys*, against *St. Dunstan's Church*, in *Fleet-street*, MDCCXXXII.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Author Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri, has here oblig'd the World with so excellent an Account of his Travels, that scarce any can be thought to exceed, and very few to be equal to it. He undertook this laborious and dangerous Task only to satisfy his own Curiosity, and gives the Publick a true Relation of what he saw in many Parts, where other Travellers had made it their Business to bring little but Fables and Romances. He omitted nothing in his Round worth observing, because his only Business was to see and be inform'd; and being a Man of Learning and excellent natural Parts, he had all the advantages of taking good Observations, and delivering 'em politely, which common Travellers generally want. He was a Doctor of the Civil Law, which sufficiently evinces his Learning; and as he tells us, besides his natural Curiosity, was further mov'd to travel by Crosses and Misfortunes he met at home. Neither did he go as a Vagabond trusting to Fortune, but well provided with Money to make him acceptable in all Parts, and gain admittance where others under worse Circumstances could not. Nor does he only give a judicious Account of what he saw, which is perform'd by way of Journal, but touches upon all Antiquities deliver'd by the best Authors, of Countries, Cities, and other Places and Things of Note. This of him in general, but to say something in particular of each Part or Volume.

In the First he assigns the Motives he had to Travel, and then beginning at Naples runs along the Coast of Calabria, crosses to Sicily, then sails along that Island till he comes to Malta, of which he gives a very exact Description; the same he doth of Egypt whither he sail'd next, and there of the Pyramids, Mummies, &c. whence he proceeds to the Holy Land, the Island of Rhodes, the City of Smyrna, several small Islands, the Imperial Cities of Constantinople, Adrianople, Bursa, Trebizond, and many other Places in his way to Persia; with a succinct Account of the Religion, Manners, Antiquities, &c. of the Turks, and the Succession of their Monarchs.

The second Volume contains a curious Description of the Persian Empire, the distances from place to place, beginning at the Frontiers to Ispahan, the Court of that Nation; and thence down to Bander-Congo, a Sea-Port on the Gulph of Persia. He treats of their Religion, Antiquities, &c. as in the other Books, and particularly sets down all the remains of Darius's Palace, with something of the Banians or Idolaters. Gives several Cuts of singular Curiosities; discovers some Mistakes made by Tavernier in his Travels, which he also does in his first and third Parts of Turkey and India. And having deliver'd all that may satisfy the nicest Reader, proceeds on his Voyage to Damian, the first City he came to in India.

The third Volume beginning at Damian, belonging to the Portuguese, runs along all that Coast, particularizing all that that Nation is possess'd of in those Parts, as Goa, Bazaim, Diu, and other Places; as also what is subject to Idolaters, and what to Mahometan Princes; most lively represents to the Imagination the wonderful

Pagod

Pagod of the Island Salzete; not only describes, but gives all the Cuts of the choice Fruits, and Trees that bear them; and excellently informs us of the Superstitions and Customs of these Gentiles. Whence the Author ventures by Land to the Great Mogul's Camp, to acquaint us thoroughly with that Prince's Person, Progenitors, Practices, Wealth, Strength, and all other Particulars. This done he proceeds on his Voyage by Sea towards China; in his Way delivers the best Accounts of those Countries he pass'd by in a Voyage of a thousand Leagues, which are no less than the rich Island of Ceylon, the golden Chersonesus, or Peninsula of Malaca, the vast Islands of Sumatra and Borneo, with many small ones, and the powerful Kingdoms of Bengala, Siam, Pegu, Cochinchina, Tunquin, &c. till he comes to Macao, the first Land of China, where begins

The fourth Volume, which mentions every place great or small he pass'd through in that vast Empire, curiously sets down the distances, describes all he saw on the Roads, and all Cities as they deserve; as also the Rivers, Lakes, and Mountains, and particularly the great Tartar Wall, the Portuguese City of Macao, and all that relates to it; and the manner of Travelling to the Court of Peking. He distinguishes ingeniously between what he saw and consequently writes of his own knowledge, and what he had from others, which still he took upon good Authority, and mentions it for the satisfaction of the Reader. Having had the honour to see the Emperor he relates all that Ceremony, and what he knew of the Palace as an Eye-witness, the rest as he receiv'd it. The manner of the Emperor's going abroad he had from others, but so curious as the Reader cannot but like it. Other things, as the Religion of China, the last persecution of Christianity, the Antiquities of the Empire, Government, Courts, &c. are collected, but curiously and well grounded.

The fifth Volume treats very particularly of all that is to be known concerning the Philippine-Islands, and then follows an exact Journal of his long and dreadful Voyage thence to Acapulco in New Spain, which is altogether new, and by the way describes California, laying down the Reasons there are to believe that the North Continent of America joins with that of Asia, or the great Tartary.

The sixth Volume, being the Account of what he saw in New Spain, mentions all that part he travell'd through, which is the Port of Acapulco, the Road thence to Mexico, which is not common, and thence again to Vera-cruz. But the Particulars he gives us of the Mines, of reducing the Ore and refining the Silver, of separating the Gold from the Silver, of the Conditions upon which all Persons hold their Mines, and of the royal Mines, are most singular and curious.

In short, it is one of the most compleat Works of this nature, and therefore I shall not need add any more in commendation of it, for it will sufficiently commend it self to the Reader.

THE

THE
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
Fourth Volume.

A Voyage round the World, by Dr. *John Francis Gemelli Careri*; containing the most remarkable Things in *Turky, Persia, India, China, the Philippine-Islands and New-Spain*. Translated from the *Italian*. Page 1.

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- Boland's Observations on the Streights of Gibraltar* and the Tides and Currents. p. 782.

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A
V O Y A G E
R O U N D T H E
W O R L D,

B Y

Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri.

In Six P A R T S, viz.

- I. Of *TURKEY*.
 - II. Of *PERSIA*.
 - III. Of *INDIA*.
 - IV. Of *CHINA*.
 - V. Of the *PHILIPPINE-ISLANDS*.
 - VI. Of *NEW-SPAIN*.
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Written Originally in *Italian*, Translated into *English*.

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A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part I.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
T U R K Y.

B O O K I.

C H A P. I.

The Reasons that induced the Author to Travel, and an Account of what happened to him in his Way from Naples to Messina.

The Author's
Reasons
for Travelling.

WERE it always in the power of cruel and unsteady Fortune, with whom we are daily to struggle, to reduce us to a miserable and wretched condition and could not a wise man, by bearing up against its injuries and assaults, open himself a way to a more peaceable state of life; our condition would certainly be too rigid and unhappy; and the great work of that all-wise artificer, who drew us out of nothing, appear the less perfect and valuable. Yet it often happens, that we are much in the wrong when we complain of fortune; because when she seems most averse to us, she then often forwards us, to undertake some worthy enterprize, and helps to raise us to a higher degree, obliging us, through necessity, to perform good and noble actions. This may be plainly evinc'd by the whole course of my life, which has been interwoven with such strange accidents, that the very remembrance of them terrifies me; and yet to them do I owe the seeing of so many countries, the sailing of such vast seas, and if it may be allow'd me to hope for any, the glory of these unpolish'd lines. I cannot deny, but that it was my natural curiosity and desire of travelling about the world, (tho' often disappointed) that made me undertake the voyage of *Europe*, in the year 1683, whereof I afterwards printed only the first volume; but it is as certain, that I had no other reason to undertake this other dangerous and painful voyage, but the unjust persecutions, and undeserved outrages I was forc'd to endure.

Vol. IV.

Being therefore resolv'd to set forward, not regarding the loving persuasions of friends, who made an argument of the distemper I labour'd under, to divert me from my purpose; and having provided all necessaries, I took my leave of them, and particularly of the counsellor *Amato Danio*, of the judge of the *Vicaria D. Joseph Chaves*, now a counsellor, of *F. Alonso Riji*, knight of *Malta*, and of *Dr. Laurence Sandalari*. This done, without farther delay, I embark'd on Saturday the 13th of June 1693, on a feluca of *Naples*, to carry me into *Calabria*, in order to go over from thence into the *Levant*.

Having sail'd fifty miles, we landed at night on the shore of *Amalfi*, so call'd of a city of that name, which owes its foundation to certain families of *Romans*, who sailing towards *Constantinople*, about the year of our Lord 829, and finding in this place a safe harbour, after a dreadful storm at sea, stay'd here to build it, and settled their abode. Nor do I think it at all strange, as some do, that they should build it in so craggy a place among such steep rocks; when I consider, that in those times, when all *Italy* was infested by barbarous nations, every one endeavour'd to fix himself in the strongest place he could. From that time forward it was govern'd as a commonwealth, till times changing, and the *Grecian* emperors having lost that kingdom, this city became subject to barons. At present it is a demesne of the crown, and beautify'd with many curious structures, erected by several Families

GEMELLI milies on account of the wholfomness of the air.

The *Spanish* nation owes the discovery of a new world, and the *Portuguese* that of the *East-Indies*, to *Flacio Gioja*, a native of the city of *Amalfi*, as being the inventor of the use of the loadstone, without which they could never have ventur'd out so far into the vast ocean, to discover unknown empires, nor have found any method to steer their ships so regularly through the boundless waves of the sea. *Amalfi* is also famous, because a citizen of it was founder of the noble order of St. *John of Jerusalem*, or *Malta*; but above all, for preserving in its cathedral, which is an archbishop's see, the body of the glorious apostle St. *Andrew*, brought thither from *Constantinople*.

The weather proving unfit for sea on Sunday the 14th, we let out on Monday the 15th, and having sail'd about 40 miles, near night fall, put into the point of *Licofo*, formerly call'd *Leucofo*, where we found very bad entertainment at the inn.

Tuesday 16, putting to sea again, we sail'd 36 miles to *Palinuro*, a place so call'd from *Palinurus*, Pilot to *Aeneas*, who is said to have dropp'd into the sea near this shore, and swimming to land, to have been kill'd by the inhabitants. Here we found a wretched inn; not because there was any want in the place, but because our host was a compound made up of an excellent thief, and a base cook.

Running 40 miles farther, on Wednesday 17, we put into *Scalca*, a town on a rock, at the foot of vast high mountains, where we were forc'd to continue Thursday 18, by reason of the foul weather. Friday 19 we advanc'd as far as *Paola*, where the inn was nothing better than that of *Palinuro*. The chief thing this city can boast of, is its being the place of the birth of St. *Francis*, the founder of the *Minims*, and where he wrought his greatest wonders. As to other particulars, it has good buildings, and a castle on the eminence that commands it.

Saturday 20, we sail'd 60 miles, and came betimes to *Pizzo*, a town seated on a rock almost flat at top; whence there is a delightful prospect along the pleasant shores of the noble country of *Calabria*, and upon the open sea. I stay'd there Sunday 21, at the request of friends, but Monday 22, taking leave of them, went aboard the vessel, and having run 30 miles, arriv'd at the city *Tropea*, seated after the same manner as *Pizzo*. The nobility there have the privilege of acting in a distinct body from the commonalty in public affairs.

Having stay'd here Tuesday 23, upon some business; on Wednesday 24, we cut across the bay, and having sail'd 24 miles, ended this short voyage on the shore of *Gioja*. Having landed my baggage, I caus'd it to be carry'd on horses to the town, a mile distant, where I continu'd all Thursday 25, to rest my self, being weary of the sea.

Friday 26, my brother Dr. *John Baptist Gemelli*, a man of an exemplary life, and most innocent behaviour, came to meet me from *Redicina*, bringing horses with him, and would needs have me spend those few days I had, to provide necessaries for my voyage at his house. I thankfully accepted his kind offer, and on Saturday the 27th, we went together to *Redicina*, which was 10 miles distant. Several persons came on Sunday 28, to bid me welcome, and with me a good voyage. Monday 29, I went out a shooting, the country being plain and full of game; and would have done the same the two following days, had I not been employ'd in providing for my voyage, yet on Thursday the 2d of July, I went out upon the plains of *Gioja*, and had the pleasure of killing some pheasants. The air of the place being bad, I return'd to *Redicina* on Friday the 3d, much tir'd.

Considering with my self what unexpected dangers and accidents might happen in so long a peregrination, on Saturday 4, I made my Will, and left it seal'd, and on Sunday the 5th made a confession of my sins, and tho' unworthy, receiv'd the blessed sacrament; praying to God to bring me home safe from the difficult undertaking I had in hand. I shall not stay to mention the tears and tender embraces at parting with my brother, as not knowing whether he should ever see me again: To lessen his grief, I told him, I intended only for the *Holy Land*, and thence to return as soon as possible; tho' at the same time I had absolutely resolv'd not to settle till I had taken a view of *China*, and could be an eye-witness of so many fables as are deliver'd to us, among some few truths.

I set out on Monday 6, to embark at *Palmi*, 12 miles distant, and came thither before noon; where I was generously entertain'd by *John d' Aquino*, a gentleman of that town. Then dismissing *James Romeo* my steward (who came out of kindness to bear me company) I embark'd on Tuesday the 7th for *Messina*, and having cross'd the narrow streight, sailing in all 24 miles, arriv'd in that city before night. *Joseph Lacquanti*, a gentleman of *Rosarno*, who was marry'd there, entertain'd me at his house.

CHAP. II.

A short Description of Messina, and an Account of all the Author saw till he came to Malta.

Messina
describ'd.

THE city *Messina*, formerly call'd *Zancle*, is seated in the province of *Valdenone*, in the eastern part of the island of *Sicily*, and in 39 degrees and 12 minutes of latitude. It is reported to have been built by the giant *Zancle*, in the year of the world 1435, and that it was join'd to *Italy*, as well as the rest of *Sicily*. Its figure is long, by reason of the hills that surround it, and has the finest harbour in the world for capaciousness and safety, and for its delightful shores, embellish'd above a mile in length, with stately palaces uniformly built, the curious iron balconies being all of an equal height. Here the ships seem to ride secure in the arms of the earth, their opposite element, the anchoring is so very good, which makes me admire that *Tavernier*, lib. I. II. par. cap. 13. who reckons *Goa*, *Constantinople*, and *Toulon*, the best ports of our continent, should make no account of that of *Messina*, which is so far from being inferior to any of those abovementioned, that it may be call'd the prime mart of *Europe*, and a necessary thoroughfare to all parts of it. The mouth of it is guarded by the castle *Salvadore*, by the citadel, and other forts.

As for the city, it is an archbishoprick, and the mint of that kingdom. Famous men have flourish'd there in all ages, and at present it is adorn'd with professors of all sciences, and an academy of virtuoso's. The churches are beautiful enough, the palaces magnificent, the streets wide; the ladies beautiful and witty; the air temperate, the soil fruitful, the suburbs large, and the sea may be call'd a pond, containing all sorts of fish to please the appetite. In short, this city is plentifully furnish'd with all that can be desir'd for food, cloathing, and delight, and the more for the neighbourhood of *Calabria*, which continually affords it a most pleasing prospect of its rich and fruitful lands. It has ever been loyal to its king, and the inhabitants ready to serve him with their lives and fortunes; and if of late years some of its natives, of restless spirits, and lovers of novelty, incur'd the royal displeasure, the crime of a few, and the corruption of part of the members, is not to lay a blemish upon the whole body, and infect the

other members; since those being cut off, as rotten limbs, and the part that was tainted being cauteriz'd, the evil has been not only retriev'd, but absolutely abolish'd.

That very day, being the 7th, I look'd out for some vessel bound for *Malta* (there being none so ready for the *Levant*, as I had imagin'd, by reason of the war then raging throughout *Europe*) and agreed for my passage aboard a tartan of *Malta*, then ready to sail; the master of it telling me, he would sail on the 9th in the morning, I endeavour'd to make my self ready on *Wednesday* 8, but found he was endeavouring to get away that very morning. Thinking I could not get ready in time, I caus'd my baggage to be put aboard, and in the mean while apply'd my self to dispatch a business of moment. I concluded what I went about with all possible expedition, but yet found the tartan was gone, and, what was worst, with all I had; and I knew neither the master's, nor the vessel's name. This did not daunt me, but enquiring at the custom-house, was inform'd that the tartan was gone to *Ali*, to load with wine; and therefore not thinking fit to lose any time, for as much as the loss of my equipage would quite break off my intended journey, I went that same day aboard a feluca, bound for *Agusta*, taking a short leave of *Acquanti* and his wife.

We sail'd with a fair wind through the famous and dangerous streights of *Messina*, diverting my melancholy by casting my eye towards the left, upon the delicious gardens of *Cotona* and *Reggio*, and towards the right on the beautiful *Drommo*, a suburb of *Messina*, which stretches out for several miles in pleasant country-houses and gardens; then upon the village of *St. Stefano*, and upon *St. Placido*, a monastery of benedictines, seated on an eminency, which by reason of its advantageous situation, was the cause of many bloody frays between the *French* and *Spaniards*, in the last war of *Messina*. Keeping my eyes still fix'd upon the land, in expectation of finding the tartan, I observ'd *Briga*, *Pezulo*, *Giampieri*, *la Scaletta*, *Aitola*, *Ali*, *Fiume de Nisi*, *Savoca*, and other villages seated near the sea-side. The tartan

GENELLI
1693.

was close up in *Ali*, but the master of the feluca, to save putting me ashore, said it was another, and therefore continuing our voyage, not without anguish of heart we pass'd by *Tauromina*, a royal city seated on a mountain, and 30 miles distant from *Melina*. From this place appear'd to the view *Calatubiano*, *Mascari*, *Jaci*, *Ognari*, and the ground of the city *Catania*, utterly ruin'd, and bury'd in the ashes of its neighbouring mountain, after the dreadful earthquake which happened that same year. The few Citizens that remain'd unbury'd, live in poor cottages about *Jaci* gate. Having seen this deplorable spectacle, the sun shining out on *Thursday* 9, we proceeded on our way, (having run 60 miles) without landing, and leaving behind us the royal cities of *Levimi* and *Carlolentini*. At noon we put an end to this short voyage of 90 miles, arriving at *Agusta*.

Agusta
City.

Xipbona, now call'd *Agusta*, was first put into a posture of defence by the emperor *Frederick II*, and afterwards better fortify'd. Hither the knights of *St. John* of *Jerusalem* retir'd, after the loss of *Rhodes*, before *Malta* was given them. This city had the same misfortune as *Catania*, being overthrown by the last earthquake, and therefore the people, like the others, liv'd in cottages. The castle which was one of the best in *Sicily*, as well for the natural strength of the place, as for the great fortifications about it (having two bridges and four gates to the sea) was much damaged, especially the dwellings of the soldiers. The city lay to the east along the hill, and had a good port, defended by four forts.

Siracusa.

Going aboard another vessel, I came in the evening in sight of *Siracusa*, or *Zaragoza*, a city that had suffer'd much by the earthquake. As far as I could perceive from the sea, it is commodiously seated, with a large castle on the south, and a fort on the north. Here we were seiz'd with much fear, seeing the boat of a vessel which we thought to be a turk coming aboard us, inasmuch that we ran ashore to defend ourselves under the shelter of the neighbouring rocks; and, in short, we obliged the boat to make away; which it seem'd belong'd not to pirates, but to the town of *Trapano*.

That night we could not advance much, and therefore on *Friday* the 10th lay in sight of the city *Noto*, destroy'd as well as the rest by the earthquake. At night we lay at the fishery of *Cape Passaro*, where I had salt-fish presented

me for my voyage. Here the *Maltese* galliot and brigantine, that guard the channel, were at anchor, but they could give me no account of the vessel I went in quest of.

Going aboard again on *Saturday* 11, the contrary wind obliged us to land on the shore of *Spaccasurmo*, 55 miles from *Siracusa*. *Sunday* 12, having sail'd 40 miles, we arriv'd at *Brazetto*, a town on the shore of the town of *Santa Croce*, whence that night I went to *Scoglietti*, in the county of *Modica*, to get another vessel to carry me to *Malta*.

Accordingly *Monday* 13, I went aboard a small bark to cross that narrow sea, there being no better vessel, and being becalm'd a few miles at sea, we stood in great fear of *Turkish* pirates, that passage of 60 miles being never free from them in summer.

The calm continu'd *Tuesday* the 14th, when seeing the boat of a tartan making towards us, and believing them to be rovers, we forsook ours laden with Wood, and defenceless, and fled in our boat, the seamen not allowing me so much liberty as to take my gun. The others seeing us fly, forbore pursuing any further; by which we perceiving that the tartan was of *Malta*, return'd to our bark, and continu'd there all the rest of the day. The wind coming up in the evening, we sail'd all night, and got into the port of *Malta* on *Wednesday* the 15th before day, but waited for *Pratice* till two hours after sun rising.

The island of *Malta* was given to the knights of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*, by the emperor *Charles the Fifth*, for the yearly tribute of a hawk, which at present the vice-roy of *Sicily* receives in the name of his catholic majesty. Its length from east to west is 22 miles, the breadth 12, and the compass 60. The city of *Malta* is in 35 degrees, 40 min. of latitude, and enjoys an excellent climate. It was besieg'd by the *Turks* with a great power, in the year 1565, but without success. The port lies to the northward, and is large, and can contain very many ships, dividing it self into several very deep bays; in the most retir'd part whereof is the place call'd *Bormola*, on the right of it the borough, and on the left the island, places inhabited by the common sort, who are about three thousand souls. The entrance of this port is well defended on the side of the city, by the castle of *St. Elmo*, which is well furnish'd with cannon, has a deep ditch, and other fortifications; and by ten pieces of cannon planted on the wall; further up by *Barracca Vecchia*,

The city.

The Port.

chia, on which there are ten pieces of cannon above, on arches, and as many below: still further up beyond the gate of *Italy*, by seventeen guns on the upper, and twenty on the lower battery. On the opposite side, it is defended by the new fort of the island, castle *St. Angelo* of *Borgo*, and the new castle of *Recajoli*, where the guns were not yet mounted, but it may be speedily furnished from the city, if there be need; so that the port is inaccessible, and the city impregnable, because seated on a vast high rock, which towards the sea is naturally fortify'd by precipices, and furnish'd by art with mighty forts, walls and towers. On the land-side, the whole compass of three miles, which contains the city, it is well furnish'd with cannon, not only on the particular forts and batteries, but along the whole extent of the wall, being a delicate walk from the port to the *Lazaretto*, and may be gone in a coach.

The port of the aforesaid *Lazaretto*, call'd *Marciamfiet*, which growing deeper within, keeps ships in safety close under a rock, would not be inferior to the other for conveniency, were it not appointed only for the ships that come from the *Levant*. Besides these two ports, they told me, there were many more very commodious in all the three islands, and all defended by forts.

The city. The city, tho' small, is not inferior to the best in *Italy* for beauty; for tho' seated on a barren rock; yet art has exerted it self to make it delightful, yielding an excellent prospect from the sea, and from the land, representing a curious flower, always odoriferous; neither the hardness of winter, nor the violence of other seasons ever withering it, tho' it is very hot in summer, as being seated on a rock. The plain of it is like the superficies of a hand the length from north to south, with ten strait streets, very well pav'd, which divide it; that is, five on the west, three on the east, which are steep and crooked, and two on the top plain. This unevenness of the ground is no way offensive to the sight, but rather adds to its beauty, there being no place for any filth to lie, all being carry'd away to the sea, which makes the palaces and publick places of the city appear the more graceful. The breadth of it is cut by two streets running from east to west, both large and plain. It has three gates, the most frequented of them is that of *Molo*; in the ditch whereof, there is a great orchard of lemons and oranges for the use of the great master. The other

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is the land-gate, and the third that of *Gfemelli* the *Lazaretto*, without which there is a powder house, besides those within. On the land side, there are two deep ditches running from the *Lazaretto* to the port, with a double wall undermined.

The three islands I mention'd before, are *Malta*, sixty miles in compass, shaped like a tortoise, and in it, the old and new city, from which it takes name; but the old one at present does not contain 2000 souls. The second island is *Comona*, ten miles in compass, with a fort in it; and the third call'd *Gozo*, the most fruitful of them all, and has a good fort commanded by a knight of the order. All three islands contain about 60000 souls, in thirty towns and villages; most of them fierce and warlike, as being of *Moorish* extraction and customs. The knights of the order, who are subjects to his catholic majesty, have the privilege of being governors of the castles of *St. Elmo*, and *St. Angelo*, excluding all other nations, and their government lasts two years.

During my stay at *Malta*, I lodg'd in the monastery of the *Franciscans*, of the invocation of *St. Mary* of *Jesus*, where the religious men entertain'd me civilly. After dinner I went to the *Carmelite* church, where I heard good singing of eunuchs, it being their festival of our lady. *Thursday* the 16th, the Great Master came to hear mass in that church, a canopy being prepar'd for him. Thence he went to *St. John's*, whither I follow'd to see the ceremony. The great master sat on the right hand of the altar, on a throne of purple velvet, with gold fringes, plac'd within the rail of the high altar, and enclos'd with banisters of fine marble: opposite to him sat sixteen of his pages, on benches cover'd with red, laced with silver, and two others waited behind his chair. On the floor of the church, four steps below their prince, sat the great crosses on benches, made fast, cover'd with leather, on which were seats for thirty two with desks before them, to kneel at, cover'd with carpets; on the sides, and along the middle, were ten other ancient knights, and below them places for the rest. The great master had the gospel brought him to kiss, and was incens'd: The great crosses kiss'd the *Pax*, and were incens'd with two censors at the same time, one on the right, and the other on the left. The great master was clad in a thin black silk, with a long vest, as is worn by our seminary students, but with a cape behind, and over

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GEMELLI all, a cassock like a priest's, but shorter, on which was the cross of the order; the rest of his garment was black, made after the *French* fashion; when the service was over, the great crosses and knights attended him. I was told, the great master was much given to country sports, as is natural to the *French*, and was generally in his little wood. His name is *Adrian Vignacourt*, he is of an indifferent stature, his countenance lively and strong though he be seventy six years of age. His chief favourite is *Philip Charles Fredac*, grand prior of *Hungary*, whom he always keeps at his table, as also the great seneschal *D. Charles Caraffa*, of the noble family of the dukes of *Bruzzano*, and one other knight in his turn. They say, the great master is allow'd 6000 ducats for his table, a revenue of 20000 as a temporal prince, and as much as makes that up 60000, out of vacant commendaries and customs.

St. John's church. The church of *St. John* has three isles, the middlemost of them arch'd, as are the twelve chapels on the sides. The walls are rich in gold, and the floor adorn'd with marble. On the two opposite sides, were the tombs of the renowned great masters *Cottonier*, and *Gregory Caraffa* of the race of the illustrious princes of *Rocella*. As for the divine service, the church is well supply'd with chaplains of all nations, who devoutly recite the divine office in the choir every day.

Great master's palace. Friday the 17th was a happy day for me, the tartan that had my equipage on board arriving at noon, and delivering me from the apprehension that my travels would end at *Malta*. After dinner I went to see the great master's palace, seated on that plain part, where the two streets are. Entering at the east gate, on the right and left, were the stables with fifty horses and mules. Further on is a garden, and that, leaving the second gate on the left, which is the way to *St. John's* church, leads into another court, in which there are two opposite doors to the great master's apartments. He makes use of that on the left for his private abode, and of that on the right (whither I saw him go) for publick functions. The hall is one of the biggest that may be seen, richly hung with crimson damask, with a canopy of the same fring'd with gold. In this hall, and the first room within it, are painted the most glorious enterprises and exploits perform'd by the order. The third room was adorn'd with the same silk. The whole palace is beau-

tify'd with curious iron balconies, which grace it on every side. On the west side of it is a large square, with a stately fountain in it, and another on the south, where the chancery-court of the order is kept, and the treasure that is daily paid in and out; the treasure, design'd to supply publick necessities, being kept in the little tower in the great master's palace.

The *Multese* women wear a veil after Women. the *Moorish* fashion, like the hood of the *Spanish* *Chia*, with a long peak spreading like a hollow tile on the forehead, being made of strong paltboard. This dress is common to the gentry, who add to it an indented edging, or purling, and to the vulgar sort, the meanest of them wearing veils of coarse woollen, with a little sort of petticoat across the head, which in summer is as good as a stove, in a country so very hot, that I could not sleep in all the night. In other respects the women are very beautiful, agreeable, and in short, of the best blood in *Europe*.

The common coin is of brass, and of high value, for changing a zecchine (a piece of gold worth eight shillings) they give me but six pieces of brass for it, valuing each of these pieces at four *Taris*, three whereof make a crown; a false coiner here would make a vast profit.

Saturday the 18th, I went to see the *Albergo de Italia*, or *Italian* house of entertainment, where there is a table for the poor knights of that country; but there are few that will come to this hungry table, because the order allows but two *Sicilian* *Taros* a head for their expence. The structure is stately, and of late embellish'd by the great master *Caraffa*. Not far from it is the *Albergo*, or inn of *Castile*, and *Portugal*. Thence I went to see the churches of the *Jesuits* and *dominicans*, and another of the souls in purgatory, which are all but indifferent fabricks. In my way home I went into the *Polverijha*, a palace of the order, little inferior to that of the great master, which is left, being divided into several apartments. Below it I saw another, call'd *Della Camaretta*, a retiring place, where the knights that are piously given, live in community, paying a yearly stipend, and apply themselves to godly exercises.

The hospital of *Malta*, is one of the The hospital. famous in *Europe*, as well in regard to the sick are serv'd by great crosses and knights, and all in plate; as for the good order observ'd, notwithstanding the great number of sick. Before it is a great court, and on the sides a noble apothecary's

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cary's shop. Going up there is a small gallery with sick persons, and such another opposite to it; but going down, there is another of a vast length, with a great number of beds on both sides, as there are in the other two arms that form a cross, the chappel for divine service rising in the middle. This hospital is so well serv'd, that many knights when they are sick go into it to be cur'd.

Sunday the 19th, the great crosses were at high mass, in long garments of black coarse stuff, with wide sleeves, but short, hanging under the passion embroider'd on a scarf of black silk, the end whereof is ty'd to the sword-hilt. The great master wore the same, having besides, a purse by his side as almoner. Behind the great crosses, sat on twelve benches, the elders and commendaries, and below them on the sides the knights, of whom there was a great number. On the left of the great master, were the officers of the palace; that is, the receiver, the master of the horse, the chamberlain, and others, who sat on a plain wooden bench, but they wore the same habit as the great crosses. The mass was sung by the prior of the church. The chief place next to the great master was taken up by his nephew, who sat on the first seat of the great crosses (as he did at all other ceremonies) clad after the *French* fashion. He alone, after the great master, kiss'd the gospel, and so made his offering, having had the *Pax* given him, and been incens'd before the great crosses. I was told, that the great crosses, when they sat in council, wore another garment with longer sleeves, like that worn by the senators of *Venice*.

After mass I went to see the great

master dine. The table was spread in the great hall near the canopy, under which was his chair of crimson velvet, and four others of leather lower at the end. On the first of these sat his nephew, on the second, the grand prior of *Hungary*, on the third, the great cross *Cavarretta* of *Trapano*, and on the fourth, the great seneschal *Carassa*. The great master was serv'd in gilt plate, and his meat was brought apart; the three knights that serv'd were cover'd. The great master drank in a little glass, the health of the knights present, which was as good as dismissing many of them, who made their court round the table; and it may be truly said, that no prince in the world of his quality is more nobly attended.

The first place in the island, where this noble order resided, was old *Malta*, afterwards castle *St. Angelo*, where they withstood the terrible siege of the *Ottoman* fleet. At last they remov'd to the place where they now are, building such a beautiful city by reason of the convenience of its quarries, like *Naples*.

Monday the 20th, there put into *Malta* a *French* tartan, sent by the merchants of *Marseilles* to carry advice to the *French* vessels then lying at *Alexandria*, *Cyprus*, and *Tripoli* of *Soria* for fear of the *Dutch* privateers, that they might safely venture out of those ports on their several voyages, three *French* men of war then cruising in the *Mediterranean*, which would secure them. Therefore to avoid wasting my time in expectation of a better opportunity to sail for *Constantinople*, whether I had resolv'd to go, I readily agreed to give twelve crowns for my passage to *Alexandria*.

CHAP. III.

The Author's Voyage to Alexandria.

HAVING provided all necessities, I embark'd on *Tuesday* the 21st with a fair wind, which held all night, and *Wednesday* the 22d. It fail'd a little on *Thursday* the 23d, but came fair again on *Friday* the 24th, and carry'd us in sight of the island *Gozza*, west of the kingdom of *Candia*, along whose coast we ran with the same wind, *Saturday* the 25th, and *Sunday* the 26th. It held on all *Monday* the 27th, but *Tuesday* the 28th, we had a tedious calm. *Wednesday* the 29th it blew somewhat fair. The master of the tartan being young and unexperienced, ignorantly took a fancy to make

the high-land, for fear of falling in unawares upon the flat of *Egypt*, and at break of day, he found himself fifty miles above *Alexandria*, in the neighbourhood of *Roseto*; so that being to turn back, the wind was full in our teeth, and after much tacking, we put in at *Bicber*, eighteen miles beyond *Alexandria*. This is a small castle, provided with many piece of cannon, and a garrison of 200 *Turks*. About it, there are a few huts of *Arabs*, barbarous in name and manners, and hideous to behold; these tho' miserably poor, being wholly devoted to idleness, will not work upon

GEMELLI
1693.

GEMELLI 1693. upon any account. There is a plentiful fishery, and particularly of mullets, whereof for a farthing they sell a large cut, and the roes of them dry'd for a quarter of a ducat. The natives live on the plenty of fish and fruit, for no sort of flesh is sold there.

The master of the tartan went ashore that same day, being *Wednesday*, and tho' it was late, would needs go to *Alexandria*, to deliver his letters to the consul; wherefore going ashore with him, we spoke to the *Aga* in the castle, who gave him a janizary to conduct him thither and back again, for three pieces of eight and a half, taking along with them a horse and an ass, which in those parts travel wonderfully to serve them both. The master return'd on *Thursday* 30th, betimes, and had a contest with the janizary, who would have as much more as had been agreed, for conducting him back, so that he was forc'd to go before the *Aga*, with the jew of the custom-house, who decided the matter to the french-man's cost, tho' he had before paid three pieces of eight and a half to go and come; a piece of knavery those barbarians often put upon christians. This made me very apprehensive about the landing of my equipage, which I much dreaded to expose to the avarice of such miscreants, by landing it; but the tartan being order'd for *Cyprus*, I resolv'd to put it aboard another boat, without venturing ashore among such thieves, to carry it by sea to *Alexandria*, where I knew there were christians, who could help me out, in case the *Arabs* should go about to put upon me; but the contrary wind would not permit me to stir. Therefore on *Friday* the 14th, I was forc'd to land all I had; I put my self into the power of a jew that was customer, of the two evils choosing the least. But to say the truth, he attended me very kindly, causing his wife to dress my meat, and giving me a room in his house, for half a piece of eight a day.

The jew having search'd my baggage, *Saturday* the 1st of *August*, about sun-rising, I set out for *Alexandria* in a *Germa* or boat, and arriv'd there in the afternoon. Here another customer jew search'd my baggage, to recover his duty, because he of *Bickier* had search'd them only as his deputy, but I found ways at both searches to hide some small things that were of most consequence. I went to lodge at the *Hospitium* of *St. Catherine* of the *Franciscan* fathers of the holy land, in whose church I confess'd, and receiv'd on *Sunday* the 2d, to gain the

indulgences of the *Portiuncula*, giving thanks to God for my happy arrival in *Egypt*, after a voyage of 1200 miles, or 400 leagues from *Malta*.

Alexandria, or *Scandaria*, as the Turks *Alexandria* de-scrib'd. call it, was built by *Alexander* the Great, according to the form drawn by *Dinocrates*; 322 years before the birth of *Christ*, and in the latitude of 30 deg. 58 min. It is seated on the shore of the *Mediterranean*, on a sandy ground, and is longer than it is broad. The old city is much disinhabited, and the antient spot serves to preserve the rain-water for the use of the citizens. The new city is but ill-peopled, stretching along the shore two miles in length, and half a mile in breadth; and it would have been reduc'd to a worse condition, and perhaps utterly abandon'd, by reason of the unwholsomeness of the air, had not the conveniency of its harbour and free trade, which makes it the chief mart of the *Levant*, brought thither the commerce of all the *Mediterranean*, and ocean, because of the convenient carriage of goods brought from the *Indies* up the red sea, and of those *Egypt* it self affords. It was formerly a city 15 miles in compass: It was reduced to the miserable, ruinous condition it is now in, by falling under several masters, and enduring many bloody sieges; but above all, by the destruction made in it by *Antoninus Caracalla*, who fill'd it with blood and dead bodies, not to mention what *Maximilianus Hercules* did to it.

Many learned men flourish'd in *Alexandria*, bred up in its universality; and it produc'd many glorious martyrs for confessing our holy faith. And were there nothing else, its former antiquity appears by so many obelisks, pillars, and other publick structures, the remains whereof are to be seen to this very day.

That same day, I went about out of curiosity to view the modern buildings, in which I found nothing great, nor any thing remarkable in its market places, there being in its *Bazar* or great market, only two rows poorly covered, and wretched shops on both sides; and the inhabitants are not in all, above 15000 souls. The port is almost round the new city, taking up one eighth part of it on the south-side. On the north is the entrance defended by a useful tower on the east, and an indifferent castle on the west, but weakly fortified, with a bulwark to retire to, near which is the *Mosque*, not to be seen, for they will not allow any body to go into it; and I drawing near to take a view of it,

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Book I.

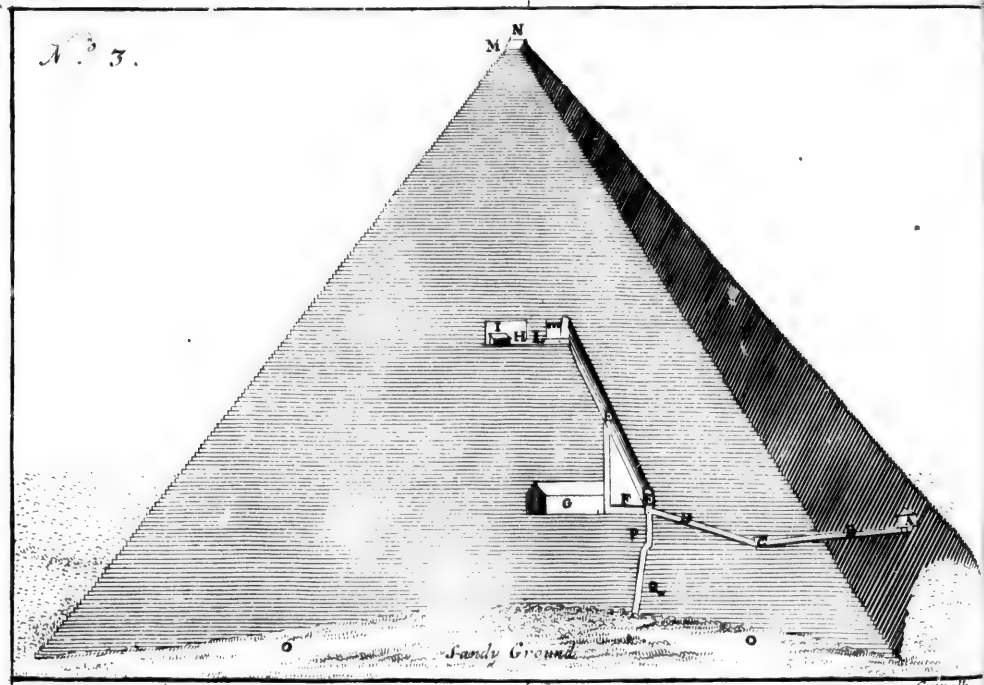
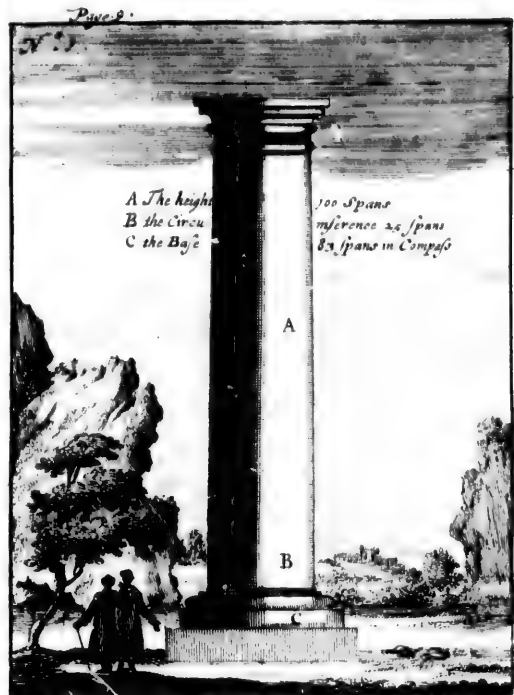
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Pompey's pillar. Observe, that in the book the height of the pillar is set down to be 100 foot, and in the cut but 100 spans, which is a fourth part less, and seems most probable. The first may be a mistake in the press, being but once mentioned, whereas spans are 3 times named in the cut.

Cleopatra's pyramids.

was in great danger, for the *Moorish* children drove me from it with stones, and some came forwards with their naked knives in their hands, demanding money, by means whereof, I sav'd my life, still flying as fast as I could, because the crowd increas'd, so that my perriwig drop'd off; a misfortune the *French* often meet with, and sometimes it proves fatal; for among those barbarians it is dangerous to be given to curiosity, which is natural to me. In short, the *French* consul charg'd me not go far from his quarter, but I not regarding it, broke the injunction, tho' with such eminent danger. In my return I observ'd, that there was another convenient harbour to the northward, form'd by a neck of land lying between the city and the sea.

Pompey's pillar. Monday the 3d I went with a *Janizary*, assign'd me by the consul, out of the city, to see *Pompey's* pillar, it stands on a high ground, which the sea leaves between north and south. It is all of one entire piece of red marble, except the capital, pedestal, and base, on which there are certain *Egyptian* hieroglyphicks carv'd. The height of it is 100 foot, the circumference 25, that of the base and pedestal 85. Some will have this pillar to be four times as big as that of the *Rotonda* at *Rome*; and the consul, who is a very ingenious man, told me, that a *French* ingenier had offer'd his king to take it down, and land it safe in *France* without breaking, but that the *Grand Seignior* would not consent to it. The following cut will give the reader a better idea of it.

See Cut Number I.

Wednesday the 4th, I went to see *Cleopatra's* pyramids. There are two of them near the port, one of them demolish'd, the other standing. They are of a mix'd marble, and carv'd with *Egyptian*

hieroglyphicks on all sides. I took *GEMELLI* 1693. not the dimensions of them, but by what I could guess by my eye, they seem'd to be 40 spans about, and 70 in height. About the old city, there are several monuments of antiquity to be seen, in great hew'd stones, and other structures demolish'd by time.

Marc. Antony *Tamborin* the *French* consul, born at *Marseilles*, would not suffer me to continue any longer in the monastery of the fathers, but that I should lodge in his house, and diet with some of his country merchants, and accordingly I remov'd thither *Wednesday* the 5th. Here we liv'd very well, especially at supper, at which we had above an hundred little *Cyprus* birds, as the *Venetians* call them, which I should call little *Beccaficos* of *Alexandria*, because they are fat and melt in the mouth, there being nothing to throw away of them but the feathers. Nine other *Frenchmen* that din'd at the table, treated me with the same civility, vying who should be most obliging to me, saying, That I being a stranger, who out of curiosity went about spending my money, and observing what I saw, to make it known to other curious persons, they were obliged to assist me as parties concern'd, and use all their endeavours that I might observe, and write all things completely; insomuch that other nations paying 20 per Cent. custom, and the *French* but three, as has been stipulated between the traders of *Marseilles* and the *Turks*, they made me enjoy their privilege, as if I had been their country-man, which was much forward'd by *Arrigo* *Grimano*, a merchant of that city, in whose house I left my equipage, when I went thence to *Jerusalem*. This is a thing not to be slighted in that country, where the customs are farm'd for 250000 crowns a year, including *Grand Caire*, *Roseta*, and *Damiata*.

CHAP. IV.

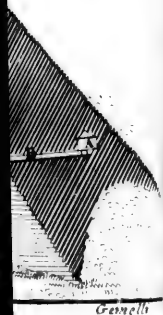
The Author's Voyage on the Nile, and description of Grand Caire.

THE *French* perswaded me to cloath my self after the country fashion, that I might appear less odious in the sight of the *Arabs*, and particularly the *Biduiues*, who are herdsmen, and live in tents about the country, carrying their houses about, like the antient *Nomades*. I took their advice, being to meet with several bands of those barbarous people in the way I design'd to

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take. I order'd all my affairs on *Thursday* the 6th, and on *Friday* the 7th in the morning, being clad like an *Arab*, went aboard a small *Saïque* bound for *Biehier*, whither I arriv'd after three hours sail. Aboard the same vessel came a *Capigi*, porter to the *Bassa* of *Caire*, who gave me to understand by means of a *Jew*, that he should be glad to go with me, and to share what convenience

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GENEVE 1693. he had for himself, offering me money if I stood in need. Tho' I understood this to be a *Turkish* compliment for his own ends, I took no notice, but returned him thanks, being in a barbarous country, where he alone could secure me against the insolency of the basest rabble in nature, for the *Turks* are as wild in comparison of the *Arabs*. The *Capigi* for a piece of eight hired a small *Germa*, or boat, in which I lay that night for want of an inn.

Saturday the 8th, we set out at break of day, but we had scarce sail'd 4 miles, when the old *Capigi* began to be afraid, because the wind blew hard, and the sea ran high; and tho' the *Bey*, or master encourag'd him with good words, yet he could not shake off fear, but made the boat return to *Bichier*. The *Turks* and *Arabs* are very fearful of the mouth of the *Nile*, which is 5 miles below *Rofeto*, because ships are often lost there, coming in from sea, and it is become a proverb among them, *That he who fears not the Bogasi* (so they call the mouth of *Nile*) *fears not God*.

We therefore resolv'd to go one half of the way by sea and the river, and the other half by land; whereupon the insolent *Capigi*, making the *Bey* or master return what he had paid for the boat, which he ought not to have done, because the other had not been in fault, he hir'd another at the same rate to carry us as far as the village of *Etbeo*.

Being aboard again with a fresh gale, when after three hours sail, we came to the mouth of the bay of *Media*, we had like to have been lost, the mast of the boat coming by the board, and I was washed from head to foot, with all my manuscript. This mouth is made by the sea, running 20 miles into the land, like a long deep lake, a *Turk* compar'd it to the entrance of *St. Malo* in *France*; people that travel by land cross it in a small boat, but the entrance from the sea is dangerous. In this place it is usual to pay four *Medinos* (an *Egyptian* coin) a head, but the authority of the *Capigi* clear'd me.

Being come to *Etbeo*, 15 miles from *Bichier* and as far from *Rofeto*, we took the common convenience of the country, and about sun-set came to *Rofeto*, all a sandy way, which produces no grass, or any thing but palm-trees, and it is so difficult going, that I wonder it did not kill the asses. Generally speaking all *Egypt* is of this nature, the natives making several uses of this sort of trees, without losing any part; for of the leaves they make baskets, of the twigs cages,

and lettuce windows, of the tree beams for houses, and the fruit serves for food.

The *Capigi* very civilly bore me company to the *French* vice-consul's house, where I took up my lodging, after giving some few *Medinos* for the ass. This is an *Egyptian* coin, worth about a *Roman Bajocco*, ten of which make a *Julio*, worth little more than six-pence *English*.

Rofeto, or *Raschet*, as the *Turks* call it, was formerly *Cleopatra's* most beloved place of abode, because seated on the bank of the best branch of the river *Nile*, and the easiest for conveying the merchandize brought from the *Mediterranean*, and thence to *Alexandria*. All along this branch of the river as far as *Grand Caire*, there lie above 300 villages, and small dwellings. This city is but five miles from the sea, the mouth of the river there, being guarded by an excellent castle. As for the buildings, it looks more like a village, and the more because it is open without a wall, yet it may be counted very populous, as containing about 80000 souls, whereas *Alexandria* has not above 15000. Its circumference is six miles, its figure almost round. For three miles about it, there are good orchards of softer fruits; cassia trees, which are like the plane palms, and other sorts, but planted without any order; nor are the gardens divided into alleys, those barbarous people taking no care to make them delightful, as the *Europeans* do, which yet would be very easy for them, by reason of the goodness of the soil.

The *Bazar* of *Rofeto* is more light than that of *Alexandria*, and all cover'd with vines, producing delicious grapes, as are the best houses, which have all pretty good gardens.

At *Rofeto* the *Capigi* gave me to understand his design, sending on Sunday the 9th, to ask some *Medinos* (a coin before-mention'd) of me, which I sending him, and he perceiving how freely I gave, came himself at noon to exact a greater sum, making the interpreter magnify the great service he had done me by the way, protecting me against the insolencies of the natives; in short stating the account after his own mind, he requir'd what was not due to him; and tho' he was convicted of lying, yet he handled his grey beard to gain credit to his imposture, as if it had been a known truth, and therefore to avoid contending with *Turks*, I gave him what he demanded. The vice-consul told me, That those people were not satisfied to have the charges of their journey born, by those that travel with them, but will get

Art. 5 p. 10
Egypt, Tur.
Prov.

Nile river. Z.

get by them, sucking the very blood, much more the money of a *Frank*, for so they call the *European* christians.

Having paid the vice-consul for my diet, and made the necessary provision, I embark'd with a servant on *Monday* the 10th for *Grand Caire*, aboard a *Measli*, with a *German Franciscan* father. This *Measli* is a large boat, with three masts, and as many sails, which carries a great burden, and about an hundred passengers; but persons of any quality pay some small matter more than the common fare, and have a cover'd place apart from the rabble, where I went commodiously with the friar. The wind blowing fresh, carry'd us on briskly, always in sight of curious dwellings and meadows; for the *Nile* rendering the soil on both sides delightful, and fruitful in rice, corn, and fruit, easily allures people to settle their abode there; but especially the island formed by the two arms of the river between *Roseto* and *Damiata*, is the fruitfulest in all *Egypt*.

First, we pass'd by two villages, and after sailing ten miles by *Mirimbel*, seated on the island; then by *Mutubus* on the right, and *Deffin* on the left, then by *Samfeir* on the right, and *Figar* opposite to it, higher up by *Beruths* on the left, and *Zendigon* on the right, all large towns on the river, not to mention other villages. Here, they say, the best *Sal Ammoniack* in the world is dug, by reason of the dampness of the soil, and camels piss; but this reason is of no weight, there being no want of camels throughout all *Asia*, and yet no *Sal Ammoniack*.

This arm of the river we speak of, is about a quarter of an *Italian* mile over, in some places more, in some less; the stream gliding so gently, that with two sails abroad, we run seven or eight miles an hour against the current, so that it is delicious sailing along in good company.

The river *Nile*, or *Abanabi* (which in the *Abissine* language signifies father of rivers) or *Tacui*, as the *Ethiopians* call it, proceeds from two lakes, or pools, in the kingdom of *Goyama*, subject to the emperor of *Abissinia*, one of them call'd

Nile river. *Zambre*, and the other *Zaire*, whence crossing that kingdom, *Ethiopia*, and other countries, it runs down to fertilize *Egypt*, and loses it self at last in the *Mediterranean*. The water is muddy, but when settled, very good to drink.

The arm of the river we sail'd upon is winding, so that there is no knowing how

many miles it is from *Roseto* to *Grand Caire*, because it is not gone by land, but some reckon 150 miles. We had a good voyage, the river being then at fullest. Modern authors assign two reasons for the inundation; one is the constant rains, which in *Ethiopia* begin with *April*, and continue five months, the other the many lakes, pools, and rivers, in the country, which being swell'd, communicate their waters to the *Nile*. They say, the river begins to swell when the sun enters *Cancer*; it is highest in *August*, and declines in *September*, fatning the soil to such a degree, that the husbandmen are forc'd very often to qualify it with sand; were they not so sloathful, they might gather two harvests in a year. The common maps divide the *Nile* into six branches, and make the greatest of them to run by *Alexandria*. In my time, I saw none but the two here mention'd. This mistake may perhaps proceed from the several cuts made from the *Nile*, when it overflows the country; which is a necessary evil, because in the upper *Egypt* it never rains, and in the lower, only three months in the year, which are *December*, *January* and *March*.

The same wind continuing fair for us, and all our three sails being spread, tho' the vessel crack'd, between noon and sunset, we run about sixty miles, leaving on the right *Fex*, *Selmib*, *Minicuirafed* and *Edjuck*, and on the left *Asthab*, *Sumgrath*, and *Mecas*, all great towns. At night the wind fell, and the *Nile* which before ran high like the sea, grew calm; so that we made little way, but always in sight of well-peopled villages on the shoar. There were no crocodils to be seen, because they never come down below *Grand Caire*, tho' the water be one or two pikes length deep, which is not so at all times; for in the winter the voyage lasts eight or ten days, by reason of the shallowness of the water, and sometimes they are forced to lighten the boats to go forward, and the country-people use other inventions to water the land.

The *Turkish* diet is continual penance; for the common sustenance, even of those that are well to pass, is a sort of ill-made bread, garlick, onions, and four curds; and if they have a little boild mutton, it is a great feast among them. Pullers and other fowl are utterly banished the table, tho' in that country they are very cheap. The honest *Capigi* said no better; but a *Janizary* his companion, being less scrupulous as to the observance of the *Alcoran*, having spy'd a bottle

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GENELEE 1691. a bottle of wine, I carry'd for my own use, brought it to a small quantity, asking for drink every moment; and therefore I to encrease the little that remained, ordered my servant to put water to it, and by that means was deliver'd from the importunity of the infidel, who afterwards did not like it, saying, *It was weak.*

The wind quite ceasing, on Tuesday the 11th, nine persons went ashore, and hal'd the boat along with a rope, without rowing, and thus we pass'd by *Scilmo*, famous for corn shipp'd off there; then we left *Abici* on the left, and *Nabari* on the right, with other small villages and islands form'd by the river in some places. The land, tho' naked of trees, was plow'd with oxen and buffalos. The *Arabs* love the flesh of both, as also mutton, which is there large and fat; the sheep's tails often weighing several pounds, but it is tough. These *Mahometans* eat a small sort of grain they have, which has the taste of a chestnut, mix'd with parch'd fitches.

About noon the wind freshned, and we made more way, but the winding of the river made it much longer. On the right side of the river, I saw abundance of trees like white mulberry-trees, which bore a fruit near the trunk like medlars, and sweet-tasted, they call them *Giummis*, or *Pbaraob's figs*; to eat them the *Arabs* slash them before they are ripe, to let out the bad juice. When we came to *Chisforzeer*, they told me, we were half way. At sun-set we found our selves near the villages of *Sicabul*, *Nigili*, and *Comfirich*, the wind being fair, which tho' it continu'd, yet the boat stay'd at *Terrana*; the *Bey* or master refusing to go any further on account of their great festival call'd *Agiram Bairam*, or the sacrifice to *Mabomet*.

Stopping at this village two hours after sun-rising on Wednesday, till they had ended their hellish ceremonies, I took notice of a great heap of earth, which they call *Natron*, dug out of a neighbouring hill, which they told me was shipp'd off for several parts of Christendom, to whiten cloth, and take out spots. On the left side of the river is a long sandy hill, which runs as far as *Grand Caire*.

Wednesday the 12th we continu'd our voyage, always in sight of villages on both sides, and within few of *Mennuf*, a great city six miles up the land, on the right of the island. About sun-set we pass'd by *Dulap* and *Nixas*, a village where the Nile divides it self into two branches, the one running towards

Rofeto, and the other to *Damiata*. We came to *Bulac* three hours after night, by reason of the time spent on account of the aforementioned festival. Here all the boats that come from the upper *Egypt*, *Alexandria*, and *Rofeto*, make a stop.

Thursday the 13th, at break of day I went ashore, and saw the country overflow'd by the river, like a sea, being then out at its full extent. I was told, that on Friday the 7th of August, the *Bassa* attended by a great retinue, performed the ceremony used every year, of cutting the bank of a small branch of the Nile, call'd *Xalick*, that the water might run by new *Caire*, enriching the country, and rejoicing the hearts of the *Arabs*, who judge whether they shall have a good or a bad harvest by the rising of the waters at the *Nileoscope*, or measure of the swelling of the Nile, set up in an island near old *Caire*. This ceremony varies every year 7 or 8 days, according as the waters increase sooner or later, which being come to the height, a crier proclaims it to the people. The Nile at that time appear'd to me greater than the *Danube*; what it is when lowest, I shall say when I see it.

Having taken my leave of the *Janizary*, who lov'd strong wine, I set out for New *Caire* upon asses, and being come thither, lodg'd at the house of the *Franciscans*, in the quarter of the two gates, being that of the *Venetians*, call'd *Hart*.

I found them at *Caire*, celebrating the festival of *Bairam*, which had been kept the day before in the villages. There was a great number of people in the burying places, holding lights over the tombs of their dead friends; in the publick places, all persons vy'd in offering sacrifices to their prophet, of oxen, gelt goats, lambs, and fowls. Besides the mutual invitations and treats, the multitude diverted themselves with beholding eight children turning round upon a wheel. During these days, they did eat the flesh of their horrid sacrifices, especially of the fowls, which are very cheap, as are the pigeons, whereof there is a prodigious number in the dovecotes of all the villages.

Having rested my self in the father's house, after dinner, I hir'd two asses, and went with a friar to Old *Caire*, crossing the *New*, for the space of two miles and a half, and as far over the fields. Here also I lodg'd at the *Franciscans*; then I went to visit the church of the *Grecians*, built within the fort, to see the arm of St. George kept there in a chapple.

Joseph's granaries.

chappel. The church has nothing great, and the castle is a dark prison. They say it belong'd to the ancient *Coptis*, or circumcis'd people, as did another adjoining to it, destroy'd by the *Turks*. These *Coptis*, they say, were masters of the country. The wretched remains of them, are still to be seen in a particular quarter; but joining to *Old Caire*, where they have five churches, say mass after their manner, obey their schismatick patriarch, and consequently are enemies to catholicks. They lead an austere and wretched life, feeding only on bread and water, or at best on herbs and pulse.

Joseph's granaries.

Old Caire, seated on the right side of the branch of the *Nile*, is almost inhabited, there being not above 3000 souls in it, and it is dreadful to see its ruins scatter'd in all parts. *Joseph's* granaries which are there, are about a mile in compass, with a wall that closes them in. They are divided into fourteen large squares, in which corn is laid up at this time in the open air, because either it does not rain in *Egypt*, or but a few small drops.

The father superior of the house, and another father his companion, both *Spaniards*, carry'd me to see the place where *Moses* was found floating on the *Nile* in a basket, by *Pharaoh's* daughter; the royal palace then standing near that place; at present there is a *Mosque*, with gardens and houses of pleasure. Not far from it is the island before-mentioned, where they measure the increase of the *Nile*. Along the banks of *Caire*, there is always a number of boats laden with corn, much better than ours, brought from the kingdom of *Seyd*, which signifies happy country, belonging to an *Arabian* *Mabometan* prince, tributary to the *Great Turk*. These boats perform their voyage in twenty two days, but with some trouble, because of the crocodils. Opposite to this great city, on the left side of the *Nile*, is another call'd *Ciza*, the head of a government, and famous for the houses of pleasure, built there by the *Mamaluks* princes. In the villages about *Caire*, the *Arabs* usually hatch eggs in fourteen days, placing them in a room, and making a fire in the middle; during which time, they take care to turn them now and then, that they may receive sufficient heat. I would have gone to see this, but was told they did it in *Lent*.

Afterwards I went with the aforesaid fathers into the holy house, in which the blessed virgin dwelt seven years, with the infant *Jesus*, and *St. Joseph*, when they

fled the cruelty of *Herod*. This is with-
in the church of the *Coptis*; going down
nine steps, near the left side of the
choir, supported by three pillars on the
right, and four on the left, which make
three little partitions. In the middlemoit,
about four spans from the ground, they
show a hollow in the wall, where our
lady lay with her infant. In the apart-
ment on the right, is the place where
St. Joseph lay, and in the hollow of the
wall on the left, another little place,
where at first our saviour rested, when
he came into the grot. There is also
a stone, on which they say, the
blessed virgin wash'd, and a stone table
on which they eat; they also shew'd me
a great piece of timber and a nail, which
they said was of *Noah's* ark. I went to
see the *Greek* church behind it, which is
not large, and has but one altar in the
choir, near which ascending eight steps,
in the high part of the wall is the seat
of their patriarch. At this altar the
priests say mass, in the old *Egyptian* lan-
guage, whereof they understand little
or nothing, they are so ignorant. Not
far off is the font, made like a well, in-
to which they let down the water, bap-
tizing the females eighty days after they
are born, and the males forty, and
sometime after they circumcise them
both.

Having heard mass, I mounted my ass
to go home with the two *Spanish* fathers.
By the way I observ'd, that *Old Caire*
in former ages was a great city, its ru-
ins extending many miles in compass.
I also took notice of the aqueducts,
which convey the water of *Nile* into the
Bassa's castle, drawn with engines out
of the stream, as of a wonderful thing,
as well because of the height of the ar-
ches, as for the distance of three miles.
Then we met part of the *Bassa's* retin-
ue, going to with a good seal to a lord
of *Old Caire*, beating four drums, and
before them two *Dervices*, or *Mabome-
tan* religious men, with their conical
caps on their heads. But the best was
to see a *Santone* of theirs, that is another
sort of religious men, naked, with a cap
on his head made of several rags, and a
half coat on his back, and how those
barbarians ran in crowds to pay their
respects to him; so that what for the
solemnity and this concourse we could
not go on, and were forc'd to take ma-
ny affronts from the rabble, to save be-
ing bastinado'd for answering. After
some stop, because of the narrowness of
the streets, one of the servants step'd
forward, and taking one of the fathers
by the hood, had like to have pull'd him

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GEMELLI
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down to the ground; and at the same time reviling the other, because he had a little dog in his hand, saying, *One dog carry'd another.* As I was going by I observ'd, that an *Arab* made a shew as if he would strike me with a long staff over the head (for there the servants carry cudgels, and the masters clubs shod with iron, hanging at the pummel of their saddle) and he had certainly done it, but that a *Mahometan* christian held him; therefore the danger making me more cautious, I took off my hood that was so odious to those barbarians.

Turkish
Festival.

The *Turkish* festival continu'd Friday the 14th, abundance of cattle and fowl being continually slaughter'd, whose flesh the catholicks do not eat, because of the superstition us'd in sacrificing of it, and therefore they provide some time before. During this three days festival (which comes eleven days sooner every year) abundance of *Arabian* men of note appear'd mounted on good horses (which is not allow'd to christians) who are oblig'd to alight when they meet with or pass by any officers of justice. The *Janizaries* at the same time exercise their weapons in their several quarters. Other vagabonds with bottles in their hands sprinkle those that pass by with rose-water, to get money of them. From the window I saw eight women in masks go by, crying out as if they had been possess'd by the devil. I was told this was the sign of a wedding, and that they went about inviting the kindred of the bride and bridegroom.

Caire, by some call'd *Memphis*, which others will have to be *Babylon*, is seated in the latitude of 29 deg. 50 min. near the right-hand bank of *Nile*. It was very flourishing whilst it had *Sultans* and kings of its own; and from that time has ever declin'd for 160 years past, since it has been under the dominion of the *Turkish* emperors, who send thither a *Bassa* in the nature of a viceroy. This great city was built triangular, and tho' the head of the lower *Egypt*, is not peopled as formerly; nor such as some now pretend it to be, consisting of 2400 quarters or wards, and as many *Mosques*; for the plague which continually infests that country, has left it void of inhabitants; and tho' the missionaries and *French* merchants told me, That as it now is, it contains five millions of souls, I will not be taken for their voucher, for I never counted them, and the reader may believe as he pleases; I shall only add, that this report inflaming my curiosity, I resolv'd to surround it, and desir'd the *French* consul to procure me a *Janizary*,

Bigness of
Caire.

that I might do it with more safety. The said consul lending me the *Janizary* on Saturday the 15th in the morning, we mounted two asses, and kept still close going round, only stepping aside in some parts because of the ruins. We left behind us the aqueducts, and came to the castle, which is commanded by a hill east of it, whence it might soon be destroy'd by reason of the weakness of its walls and towers. For many miles about in several parts, are the burying-places of the *Turks*, with *Mosques* in them, and tombs for persons of note, rais'd on four pillars, with a covering over, after the manner of a cupola. We went about it in two hours and a half, so that considering the time, and the swiftness of those asses, *Caire* in my opinion may be about ten miles in compass. Now let the judicious reader make his own computation, and consider whether that circumference can contain five millions of people, for I will only add that the streets are very narrow, and twenty or thirty persons live in a small house, as also that we do not include in this compass *Bulach*, *Old Caire*, and the suburbs.

The houses of this metropolis are not embellish'd with marble, or built with free-stone, but with bricks ill burnt, and mud without any magnificence. Only two gates of the city towards the east, which are shut up, have some ornament of marble. In other respects it may be call'd a magazine of the most valuable commodities brought by the *Persians*, especially along the canal of *Istis*, and of all things necessary for the support of human life; flesh, fish, fruit, bread, and other things being sold there at a very low rate; insomuch that for the value of a *Carline* of *Naples* (which is about sixpence) a man may make a plentiful entertainment.

To return to what we were saying, this conceit of so many millions has been produc'd by the fame of the ancient and vast city of *Caire*, which they will persuade us consisted of five several cities, yet not divided, the one beginning where the other ended, like the links of a chain, which are all distinct, but not divided. The prophet *Isaiah*, chap. xix, speaking of them, call'd one the city of the *Sun*, which was the chiefest, because there perhaps king *Pharaob* resided. Or this there appears no other footsteps and remains but only an *Obelisk*, and some few ruins, the very name being lost, and this now call'd *Masaria*. But there continues a tradition, convey'd from the christians to the *Turks* themselves, that the blessed virgin passing this way with her infant, rested

rested under a tree, which stood there till our times, but afterwards was remov'd, as well on account of the Christians devotion, as for the Infidels sake; as I was told by the father *Custos* of the house of the *Franciscans*, who shew'd me a great piece of the wood of it in the choir of their church.

The second city was call'd *Aamis*, which was the same that *Pharaob* gave to *Joseph* and his family. The third was *Mjrin*, built by *Mesrin* son to *Ham*, and grandson to *Noah*. The fourth was call'd *Bubrillon*, built in honour of and nam'd by an idol call'd *Abrillon*, whose temple was near *Old Caire*, and at present there is a christian church in the place. The fifth was *Membis*, destroy'd by the *Mabometans*, under the emperor *Heraclius*, and afterwards rebuilt by the name of *Tesdar*, that is victory, now *Old Caire*.

The new one, as we were saying, has nothing of the greatness or magnificence of the old (which according to the traditions we have, consisted of the above said cities) being built, as is reported by *Kabara*, the wife of a *Saracen* king, from whose name it was afterwards corruptly call'd *Caire*, through the ignorance of the people.

Maillet the *French* consul, a person of known virtue, and born in *Champagne*, several times offer'd me lodging and diet in his house, which at first I civilly refus'd; but he repeating it two or three times with tokens of affection, I accepted of it, and began that same *Saturday* to partake of his kindness at a plentiful table. In the afternoon I saw a dead body carry'd by, on a high bier, and several priests went by singing, and women howling. They say, that upon the like occasions, those that are well to pass kill cows, sheep and lambs, and give the flesh to the poor. Nor should this seem strange, since so much charity is practis'd there towards birds, to whom at *Caire* a certain quantity of corn is given daily upon a tower, being a legacy left them by a *Mabometan*.

Sunday the 16th, in the morning, I went to see the castle, which is in the highest part of the city, taking along with me the two *French* fathers, the *Jewish* interpreter, and the same *Janizary*. Being all mounted on lusty asses, we began to ride through the city, follow'd by the insolent scoffs of the *Arabs*, who now and then pull'd the fathers by their cloaks. After passing by several *Bazars* or markets, we came into a wide street, which is rare in *Caire*; and in which there were good houses and *Mosques*. Then into a large place twice as big as the breadth of the castle of *Naples*, in

which there were two great *Mosques*, ^{GEMELLI} about it good shops, and mountebanks ^{1663.} in the middle. Two gates at the entrance of this place led into the castle. We entered at that on the right hand, and passing through three others, saw a round high wall, like the *Cupola* of a church, but open at the top, where they told me was the *Divan*, or tribunal where *Joseph* gave audience; there is nothing else valuable but only 38 large and high pillars of marble. Going further up from this court, through two other porticos, I went into a plain square, opposite to which there are two gates, that lead into another court, through which they go to the tower, where the publick treasure is kept for the pay of 40000 *Janizaries*, that are ever to be in the kingdom. They suffer no man to go into it, nor into the apartments of the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* and the *Bassa*, which are adjoining to the same place. Having obtain'd leave, at the price of a *Zecchine*, of the *Bassa*, to see *Joseph's* well; we went out again at the two gates, and going up a way on the left hand, in the highest ground of the castle eastward, found four oxen near the well, which turning a wheel, drew up the water with ropes of a vast length in earthen vessels. I went down with a light, to the first landing place on steps all cut out of the rock; there I found four other oxen, two whereof by turns work'd about the engine to draw up the water from the bottom of the well into a cistern, made for that purpose in that place, whence the oxen above afterwards drew it up. I caus'd a lighted torch to be thrown in, to observe the depth, and after it cords to measure it. By what I could perceive, it has two even sides, but it is not quite square, two sides being of 22 foot each, and the other two of 15. As for the depth, it is 141 foot from the mouth to that resting place, where the second oxen were, and as many more to the spring, being in all 282 foot. The steps in many places are worn out, and in others clogg'd with dirt, by the continual going up and down of oxen; and for the most part they are uneven and broken, and therefore having begun to count them, I forbore continuing that trouble; however there may be about 154 steps down to the first resting place. From the second oxen to the spring, it is no wider than for the wheel of the engine, and measuring it, I found two sides of twelve foot, and the other two of four. The most wonderful thing in this work, is its being cut out of a hard rock,

not

Gemelli not only the well, but the steps to go
 1693. down to it, which in some places are 7
 foot in length, in others five. The wall
 between the stairs and the well is six
 inches over, or little more. Some say,
 this well was made by *Joseph* the *Sultan*;
 and their reason is, because there was no
 such city in the time of the other *Joseph*,
 whose it is generally believed. However
 it is, if the most received opinion be true,
 it was dug about the year of the world
 2298, after the flood 642, and before
 the coming of Christ 1606, from which
 time to this year is 3399 years. Coming
 out of the well, I went to divert my
 dimm'd sight by the river of the city,
 which is all discover'd from the castle;
 and to enjoy the noble prospect of an in-
 finite number of stately *Mosques*, and some
 squares, and particularly a large plain
 in the midst of the city, cover'd with
 the waters of the *Xalic*.

The castle we speak of, is a little
 city, about three or four miles in com-
 pats; but as to the fortification, there
 is none modern, that can make any long
 defence. The towers are old, and the
 walls ruin'd in many places, and with-
 out the necessary cannon; so that a few
 shot would lay it level. I should rat-
 her call it a heap of disorderly houses,
 than a regular fort.

At my return I met a bier, on which
 was a green covering, or pall held up
 at the four corners by four *Mabometan*
 priests, carrying as many banners of the
 same colour in their hands. I asking
 the question, they told me that was the
 covering or pall of a tomb of one of
 their *Santones*, or religious men, which
 they carry'd about to beg alms.

Palaces.

Being desirous to see some palace of
 any one of the great men of the city,
 the interpreter conducted me to that of
Ibrahim Beg; but the owner of it, who
 then commanded in the island of *Candia*
 being absent, we saw only a part of
 it. His steward receiv'd us courteou-
 sly in the gallery, giving us coffee, sher-
 bet, and tobacco to smoak. A stair-
 case on the left hand of the entrance,
 all cover'd with vines, form'd in the
 nature of *Pyramids*, led to this gallery;
 where was the *Soffa*, cover'd with mats
 and fine carpets, as was that in a room
 adjoining, and in both of them abun-
 dance of cushions to sit down after the
 eastern manner. I was willing to spend
 some time in the first gallery, to enjoy
 the cool air, and the prospect of the
 court and garden, which was set out
 with vines, cypress, palm, orange, and
 other sorts of trees. Next I saw some
 very good rooms, curiously painted and

gilt after the fashion of the country,
 with very fine *Persian* carpets on the
 ground. In the court which was very
 large, there were beautiful deer and wild
 goats grazing.

Thence we went to see the Admiral's
 palace, who is superintendent of the *Ca-
 ravan* of *Mecca*, and was at that time
 abroad with it, which consisted of above
 60000 pilgrims, an Employment that
 yields about 100000 crowns; for the
 grand seignior allows 1000 *Zecchines*
 a day whilst the journey lasts. The court
 before this palace was larger than the
 other; in the midst of it, under a large
 white mulberry-tree, was a *Soffa* to take
 the air; there was also a white goat
 of *Mecca*, beautiful enough to behold,
 with hair as soft as silk. The goats
 of *Grand Caire* differ very much from
 them, for they have ears like a hound,
 and hair like a grey-hound; the *French*
 for their beauty carry them into *France*.
 Here, I know not for what reason, they
 would not allow us to see the lodgings;
 and therefore nor to keep the consul in
 suspense, who expected me to dinner,
 with all the religious of the *French* house,
 I return'd home.

Monday the 17th, I went betimes four
 leagues from *Caire* eastward, to see an
Obelisk standing in the place call'd *la Ma-
 teria*, in a garden call'd the garden of *Bal-
 sam*: Within it is a fountain, at which
 there is a tradition that the blessed virgin
 rested, when she came into *Egypt* with
 the infant *Jesus* and St. *Joseph*, in the
 shade of a great tree that was hard by,
 which was long preserv'd through devo-
 tion, as was said above.

Not far from this garden, stood for-
 merly the antient *Hierapolis*, or city of
 the sun; the first the divine sun of justice
 enlightned by his presence, when he
 entered *Egypt*. I saw some remains of
 its antiquity, particularly the abovement-
 ion'd *Obelisk*, which is three foot and a
 half in breadth, and 58 in height, with
Hieroglyphicks cut on all the four sides, as
 may appear by the following cut.

See Cut Number II.

Returning a good pace on our asses
 towards the city, I came in time to see
 the entry of the *Aga Hamet*, who
 brought the *Bassa* a present of boots,
 saddle, and breeches from the grand
 seignior, which denotes, that he is soon
 to depart, and another succeed him in
 the government. The ceremony was after
 this manner. The *Aga* was first receiv'd
 in a garden without the city by the *Chia-
 ga*, lieutenant, or deputy of the *Bassa*,
 who

Voyage
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Nile.

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who they said, was a crafty knave; and having stay'd there a few days to furnish himself with necessaries, he afterwards made his solemn entry. Before him went little drums and trumpets, after the country fashion, beaten and sounded by men on horse-back, and 200 soldiers well clad and mounted. Then follow'd two Persons, one of whom carry'd the scimitar, the other on the left, in a bafon cover'd with silk, the breeches of red cloth, call'd stuff, and the boots; after them follow'd 100 Janizaries on foot, well clad in green and red cloth, with their great wide caps hanging down on their backs, held up on the fore-head by a silver plate a span long, curiously wrought. Lastly came the *Aga*, carrying the *Or-*

toman emperor's letter on his breast, and the *Chiaga*, and after them two other troops of horse, like the first, clad in red, and marching two and two, some of them having clubs hanging on their backs, cas'd at the end with silver, to denote they were officers. All this company went to the castle, where the *Bassa* expected them, and thus the solemnity ended.

We return'd home through the market-place of *Enaxin*, or of brass, and other *Bazars*, where we saw rich shops of several sorts of rarities, brought thither to sell from several parts of the world; and besides in the city, there are excellent silk weavers, who weave curious thin silks for the use of the country.

CHAP. V.

An Account of what the Fathers James Albani, and Joseph Mary of Jerusalem, Franciscans, and Missioners saw in their Travels in the upper Egypt, or Thebaida.

IT being rare in *Europe* to meet with any good accounts of the kingdoms and countries of *Africk*, I thought it would be acceptable to the reader, to give him a relation, which is not my own, but deliver'd by *F. James Albani*, and *F. Joseph Mary of Jerusalem*, born in *Palestine*, and bred up at *Rome*, both missioners to *Grand Caire* in the upper *Egypt*, to whom full credit may be given, because they either saw what they write with their own eyes, or else they learn'd it from the *Arabs*, of whose language they are absolute masters.

These religious men set out from *Grand Caire*, with the president of the *Hospitium*, or house of the *Franciscans*, on the 4th of May 1691 towards *Bulac*, a city but two miles from *Caire* westward, which they say, was built by one *Polo*, there look'd upon as a god. It is about two miles in length, one in breadth, and contains above 50000 souls; is seated on the river *Nile*, and there being nothing remarkable in it, the fathers after a short stay, took boat to prosecute their voyage. About night-fall, they came to a place call'd *Cbercalfib*, or *Crisopolis*; but the wind being fair they would not stop there, so that about break of day the 5th, they were near *Bussic*, a very antient city, formerly call'd *Osios* in the *Captan* language, signifying a high place. At night they came to *Hermopolis*, which in the *Greek* imports the city of *Mercury*, antiently the greatest on the borders of the lower *Thebaida*, where there

are still many ruins of former buildings; at present the *Arabs* call it *Beniscuf*: *Abulfede* believes here stood a famous temple of *Mercury*, embracing a statue of *Venus*, and that it stood under the government of the *Greeks*, but was afterwards destroy'd by the *Mahometans*, when they came into *Egypt*.

Advancing further, they came to the village call'd *Habfelnarab*: Near to it *Habfelnarab City* is the city *Bebnese*, built by an antient *Abagus*, or philosopher, call'd *Bebnes*. Without it is a well made by one *Rogoes*, a notable magician, to discover the increase of *Nile*; it is now call'd *Bir-El-giernus*, that is, *Rogoe's* well. The natives believe, that on the fifteenth of June at night, there falls in that place a dew, call'd *Boftaa*, or dropping, through the intercession of *St. Michael* Well. A notable the arch-angel, sent that night by God to stir and bless the river; and they are the more confirm'd in this opinion, because they see the river swell from that time forward: For this reason the *Copti* christians throughout the kingdom, celebrate the feast of *St. Michael* with great solemnity, in their way; the ceremony is thus: On the fourteenth at night, their bishops, and the *Cadi* of the country go thither, and stop up, and seal the well. The next morning the bishop having said mass, they again go to open it, to measure the water, and by the greater or less increase of it, they judge of what there will be in the *Nile*, and consequently of the plenty, or scarcity of the year. This Magician

Voyage
up the
Nile.

GEMELLI 1693. we have spoke of, having done wonderful things through his knowledge of the secrets of nature, was by the ignorant multitude plac'd among the number of their gods; erecting a statue to him over the well, which was adorn'd by the natives for a considerable time.

Being pass'd *Habfel arab*, the fathers came to very uncouth mountains close to the banks of Nile. At the foot of one of these mountains call'd *Giebal-ellbeir*, that is, the mountain of the bird, are the ruins of the city *Siribis*, which they will have to be built by the magician *Siribio*; and that over one of its gates, there was an idol of that name. They further affirm, that the magician by his art set up a bird on the top of the mountain, which in a fruitful season turned his head towards the river, and in time of scarcity towards the desert; and that when any invasion of enemies was at hand, it turn'd towards that part from whence they were to come, clapping its wings, and crying very loud to give the citizens notice. At present there is a monastery of *Copti* monks in this place.

Ten miles from it is a city call'd *Munieleben-Echafrin*, and many other ruins of vast cities, where the *Arabs* have their dwellings, being places inaccessible to any but them.

On the 6th of May, they came to *Sachiel-musa*, that is, *Moses's* well, near which, towards the east side of *Tbebaida*, is *Antinopolis*, a most ancient city, and of great renown, as may appear by its ruins, and vast pillars; one of which is not much less than *Pompey's*. In this city, *Dioclesian* martyr'd 160000 christians; and *Nestorius* was confin'd to it, by order of the first council of *Ephejus*.

Further on they saw the city of *Mellani*, and went thence under an impenetrable mountain, still along the river, where the boats are in great danger, the channel being shallow, and all rock; and from thence forward they began to see crocodils.

At night they came to the foot of the mountain *Abafede*, or *Apud-finem*, as the *Romans* call'd it, once famous for being inhabited by many great magicians and masters in the art of *negromancy*. who afterwards began to fall under the *Grecian* monarchy, and had there placed idols, particularly one they call'd *Oseas*. *Egypt* afterwards falling under the dominion of the *Romans*, they call'd this mountain *Apud-finem*, because of the wonders and prodigies seen on it, holding it in great veneration. Some will have it that King *Pbarao* brought the magicians from this place to work their wonders before *Mo-*

ses. The christian faith afterwards increasing, it began to be inhabited by holy fathers and hermits, living in several caves dug out of the rock, which inspired dread and devotion in the minds of such as see them. The latitude here, is 37 deg. 2 min.

Five miles further westward, is a city *Marrofa*, call'd *Marrofaluk*, and on the mountain that overlooks it, call'd the *Green Mountain*, stood the monastery of *Elpa-bar-rach*; where there is a tradition that the blessed virgin, her son, and St. *Joseph* stay'd some time.

Thence they went to the city *Ajsul*, *Ajsul* city. formerly call'd *Bubastus*, seated on a vast high mountain, antiently inhabited by holy *Anchorites*, whose caves are still to be seen. Near to it, there were two other cities, the one call'd *Doranche*, of the name of a goddess; the other *Sciolt*, where there are still many antiquities to be seen. Here the heat of the sun is so violent, that the *Franks* have much difficulty to endure it, and the journey is dangerous because of thieves, who every night swim over to plunder the boats.

Going still forwards they saw *Abritisch*, *Abritisch* or the city of *Venus*, where there are many ancient structures ruin'd. The bishop of this place subscrib'd to the council of *Cacedon*.

On the 11th they came to *Giabel-essa*, *Giabel-bare*, that is, the mountain of *negro-mancers*, formerly call'd *Isis*, of the goddess of that name, to whom the people of the middle *Tbebaida* us'd to offer green leaves of several sorts, and made sundry sports after the *Egyptian* manner. The statue of this goddess of a prodigious bigness, is still to be seen half bury'd in the ground, at the entrance into a cave. The *Egyptians* believe, there is a great treasure under it, which the *negromancers* have often endeavour'd to dig up, but all in vain. On the top of this mountain is a cave, in which they say, there lives a viper, as long as a man's arm, which winds it self about the necks of the *Turks* that go to visit that place, which they esteem most holy, without doing them any harm; and persons of credit in other cases report, that it has been several times cut into four or five pieces, and always join'd again by means of the devil. Let him that pleases believe it. Under this mountain, the fathers stood expos'd to intolerable heat till evening, resting at night about the same place in danger of thieves.

The next day being the 12th, for want of wind, they drew the boat to the foot of

Labia, Benuoid, and Fay cities.

Abnim and Ajsul cities.

Nabopolis and Grege cities.

Labia, Benavid, and Fau cities.

of another dreadful mountain, under which is the city *Labia*. Ten miles from it is another destroy'd, call'd *Benavid*, which in the *Copti* language signifies, house of the stars, because the inhabitants worship'd the stars. Proceeding further they came to the antient city *Fau*, in the *Copti* language call'd *Saupt*, and in the *Greek* *Crocodiopolis*, the vast ruins testify its antient greatness.

Acbmim and Asjilb cities.

After many sufferings and hardships, the fathers arriv'd at *Acbmim*, by the *Greeks* call'd *Oxyringus*, a city of the middle *Thebaida*, antiently a bishoprick, as may appear by the acts of the council of *Constantinople*, *Dorotheus* bishop of this place subscribing to it. This was the second city built in *Egypt*, by the philosopher *Hermes*, in the eastern desert. Thence they went to another call'd *Asjilb*, antient as the other; its bishops *Colosirius* and *Andrew* having been present at the council of *Calcedon*. Here they found the latitude to be 26 deg. 4 min. Ten miles from this city the fathers entered into a long valley, where there are caves, and little monasteries on the mountains, in which there once liv'd holy, religious men, and which stir up devotion in the most stony hearts. Here they stay'd two days and a night to visit them, and admire the narrow dormitories and small cells cut out of the hard rock. Then they travel'd nine miles along the valley, and saw a spring gush out of the solid rock, which is call'd of the *Abissine* *Moses*, a holy hermitage in past ages. Hence they advanc'd eighteen miles further a-foot, and found a lake they call'd *Birbel-Elban*, furrounded with pleasant trees, where there were also sundry caves, hermitages, and solitary dwellings, some whereof run a quarter of a mile into the rock. The biggest cave had a large entrance, adorn'd with crosses, and other devout works. These holy places draw tears from the faithful, seeing them serve as receptacles to infamous filthy men, addicted to negromancy.

Nalopolis and Grege cities.

The fathers returning to the entrance of the vale, prosecuted their voyage, and after advancing some time westward, arriv'd at the city *Mascia*, in former times call'd *Nalopolis*, where there are many antient monasteries, and other structures to be seen, now ruin'd. Going forwards they came to the city *Grege*, but before they arriv'd at it, they saw the air covered with locusts, as big as wheat-ears, which come from *Nubia*, and do much harm in the country. *Grege* is ten miles from the *Nile*, for which reason they were forced to travel by land on camels. Here the fathers were entertain'd in the

house of a christian, whither many other christians of the country came, very desirous to be instructed, and therefore propos'd several doubts concerning the catholick rites, the *Roman* church, and the pope. They remain'd very well pleas'd and convinced by the discreet answers of those religious men, who were well vers'd in their language; saying, they had never heard such sound doctrine; and not having seen such a habit before, they were never satisfy'd with beholding it. *F. Joseph* being in a christian's house, and *F. James* without, the officers came to apprehend *F. James*, on account of the tribute, *F. Joseph* reprovd them, but it avail'd nothing; but when he was gone half way, he was rescu'd by some christians of the country.

They continu'd at *Grege* till the 20th of May, and setting out on the 21st, the same christian furnish'd them with all necessaries for their journey, and bore them company to the boat; but finding it was gone, gave them two asses, and made two of his servants conduct them to *Pardis*, six miles distant. At *Pardis* they took boat, and setting forward with a fair wind, came to the town of *Elbeliani*, where the master of the vessel stay'd to mend it. Sailing thence and coming to the island of the river, they saw a crocodile six or seven fadom long: At night they came to the foot of wild mountain, call'd *Eliareg*, where they were forced to continue that night for want of wind.

The next morning, being the 22d, they advanced to the other little island, where they found two other frightful crocodils, and continuing their voyage under dreadful mountains altogether unpeopled, still met with more crocodils. About night-fall they stop'd at a place, where one *Joseph* was head of the *Arabs*. Their provision being quite spent, they stay'd the 23d at a town call'd *Dijne*, *Dijne* and sent a *Turk* to buy a *Medine*, that is about six-penniworth of bread; but finding none they went away fasting. Some *Arabs* coming along the road to plunder them, they put them to flight with their shouts.

Next they came to the antient city *Dandara*, being the third built by *Hermes* the philosopher, in which was a magnificent temple, with many statues, and stately structures all ruin'd. Passing thence, they came to *Caane* or *Bericon*, in the middle *Thebaida*, three miles from whence the *Egyptians* had a port on the *Red Sea*, now call'd *Chosfir*, whence in *Pbarao's* time they traded to *India*, and part

GEMELLI 1693.

Pardis and Elbeliani to vns.

Caane, or Bericon.

Chosfir port on the Red Sea.

GENELEE
1693.

part of *Arabia*. There they lay that night in great fear, because three robbers came swimming, and fifteen upon the land to clap another boat aboard theirs, but they kept them off as they had done the others with their shouts.

On the 24th the master of the boat went about to gather his passage-money, and the fathers being still aboard, the judge of the country came with an officer, to enquire who they were, and what they went about. He seeing a different sort of garment, suspected they were religious men, and therefore would not be pacify'd, saying, they were *Franks* that came as spies, whilst their *Sultan* was making so great a slaughter of *Turks*. The fathers pleaded the best they could; but the judge still replying, that they were come in that habit to carry on their deceits; order'd the master of the boat not to depart without his leave. A christian of the country, the rest of the inhabitants being *Mabometans*, interposed with the judge, saying the *Franks* were come with him to visit the churches and monasteries of the christians, and that when they had performed their visitation, he himself would see them back. Yet this did not satisfy him, but he would needs send some persons with the fathers, to enquire into their proceedings. They seeing no other way to rid themselves of this trouble, produced a letter of recommendation they had from the secretary of the chief of the *Arabs*, which the judge having read, and receiv'd six *Medines*, he was appeas'd, being able to get no more of the poor fathers.

Coptus
city.

Six miles further, entering into the upper *Thebaida*, is the antient City of the *Copti*, from which not only the nation of the *Copti*, but all *Egypt* took name. This metropolis had a trade in the port aforementioned, and was seated in 26 deg. of latitude, and 62 of longitude; *Strabo* speaks of it thus. Next to the Temple of *Venus* is that of *Isis*; and then those they call *Typhonnia*, and the cut that runs to *Coptus*, a town common to *Arabians* and *Egyptians*: Then follows the *Isthmus* running out into the Red Sea, near the city *Berenice*, which tho' it has no port, yet has convenient places of entertainment, because of the nearness of the *Isthmus*. *Philadelphus* is said to be the first that open'd this way with his army, when it was destitute of water, and erected inns as well for foot-travellers as camels; and that he did so, because it was difficult sailing on the Red Sea, more especially from the upper part of it. Experience has shown, that this was of great

advantage; and now all the Indian, Arabian, and Ethiopian commodities brought up the Arabian gulph, are convey'd to *Coptus*, the mart of these goods. Not far from *Berenice*, is the port of *Muris*, which city has an arsenal, or place for building of ships. Not far from *Coptus* is the city of *Apollo*; so that there are two cities, which shut up the *Isthmus* on both sides; but *Coptus* and the port of *Muris* are now the chief. The bishop of this city of *Coptus* went to the council of *Ephefus*, as may appear by its acts.

Proceeding on their way, the boat was ^{Kno, or} forc'd to stop till midnight for want of ^{Cosborbir} wind, in a dismal uncouth place; but the wind coming up fair again, they went on, arriving at last, after many sufferings at the city *Kno*, or *Cosborbir*, which they say was *Apollo's* city, and one of the greatest on the banks of *Nile*. They could not go any further for want of wind, and the men trying to tow along the boat with ropes, were not able to endure the heat of the scorching ground against their feet; and therefore being half parch'd with the sun, they turn'd back to put in with much labour at night to the city *Niccade*, ^{Niccade} city. The fathers being come thither, went to the bishop's house almost famish'd, having been some time without provision; and producing the letter of recommendation they had, directed to him, when they thought to make amends for their past fasting, they had a wretched supper of a little cake, and fair water to refresh them. Here many doubts were propos'd to them concerning our holy faith, to which they gave excellent answers, the bishops in those parts being very ignorant. The city is beautiful, antient, and abounding in monasteries of *Copti* christians.

On the 29th, having hired another boat of a christian, they set out for *Afsun*. The wind blew so hard, that they were three times in danger of being cast away; and afterwards coming about against them, they lay still. Then towing the boat with ropes, they came on the 30th to the city *Luchferem*. It was in past times call'd *Luchfo*, or light, and built on the east side of the river, in honour of an idol; but in process of time, another idol being set up, it was call'd *Luchferem*, that is, two lights, or else had the name for being compos'd of two cities. In it, besides the remains of noble structures, there are to be seen two pyramids, each of them forty spans about, and all the four sides full of hieroglyphicks. There are also, before the gate of the old city, two idols of a prodigious

Cbaik city.

Luchferem
city.

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digious bignefs, of which all from the
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what remains is twenty-one spans high,
the shoulders are twelve spans in breadth,
the ears five spans long, and three and a
half broad. These statues might have
remain'd whole still, had not the natives
gone about to break an urn they had
on their heads, hoping to find some trea-
sure in it. The marble they are made
of, is wonderful bright, and as it were a
mixture of gold somewhat greenish, all
of a piece. The christians conducted the
fathers into the city, shewing them six-
teen pillars of several pieces, but forty
seven spans about, and further on a great
square building, compos'd of one hundred
pillars, thirty seven spans about. Hence
they went to a temple of idols, cover'd
with vast great stones, each of which was
thirty spans long, nine in breadth, and
fix in depth.

Chak city. Having seen this, they were conducted
to the city *Chak*, now inhabited by *Arabs*.
In the four principal streets of it, they
saw abundance of idols in the shapes of
bucks, goats, camels, lions, and bulls.
Going into the old city, they found the
gate of it of an extraordinary height,
and fix rods in breadth, all of large free
stone, with hieroglyphicks cover'd both
within and without, and the walls being
fallen, this stood still. Further on they
found a wonderful theatre, encompassed
with a wall of vast great stones curiously
carv'd, fourteen spans thick, and of a
proportionable height. In the midst of
it is the place for the shows, almost a
mile about, hemm'd in by six rounds,
making in all about 200 large pillars,
adorn'd with hieroglyphicks, each of
them 150 foot high, with a capital, on
which five persons may sit at their ease.
In this theatre some christians and *Arabs*
live; and because of its strength, the
robbers, when pursu'd by the *Bassa*, re-
tire to it. In the same city is a lake of
green salt water, not colour'd by corrup-
tion, but as they will have it, by art ma-
gick; nor is it known whence it springs,
or whether it flows; but it swells as the
Nile grows small, and sinks as that river
rises: what is more, dirty linnen put in-
to it immediately turns white. They say
it had formerly a hard stone bottom in
all parts, being a quarter of a mile a-
bout.

At a small distance from the lake, is
another parcel of pillars, which in times
of christianity was a church, there being
still the pictures of our saviour, the blest
virgin and angels to be seen, painted
after the *Grecian* manner. They call this
place *Sameavenegium*, that is starry hea-

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ven, because the roof, through certain *Gfmetli*
holes, artificially represents several stars, ^{1693.}
and signs of the zodiack; at present it
serves the *Arabs* for a stable.

In another place, there are two obelisks of a very great height; the pedestal of one of which is seventy six spans about, that of the other forty, half way bury'd in the ground; near to which there are two others of the same make and bignefs, but thrown down by misfortunes of times. Not far off there were two idols of the finest marble, fourteen spans high, on columns of porphyry, of a prodigious bignefs, which led into a street, cover'd with flat stones thirty six spans long, and twelve in breadth, all over cover'd with hieroglyphicks, and supported by a wall of stones of an incredible bignefs. As they were going to see another parcel of pillars, they found in their way another very large idol of curious marble; and being come to the place they design'd, saw 150 pillars sixty spans about, but made of several pieces, and an hundred spans in height, besides the capitals, on which an hundred persons might stand. At the entrance into this structure, there were two idols of the same marble, little inferior to porphyry, and of such a monstrous bignefs, that the very foot was eight spans long. A few paces further, is a fort or castle, where entering at a gate, and going up stairs, they came into a great open place, with several rooms about it, and as many more above them, in three other apartments. Close by this castle is a way under ground, that leads to the *Nile* and city *Hepalimus*, on the west side, now called *Medinalbabu*. In this city, there are also many remains of temples and theatres. There is also a small lake that fills when the *Nile* increases, and sinks as it decreases, near to which, there are two idols so big, that they are discernable ten miles off; one of them by the country people is call'd *Samula*, and the other *Damula*.

The fathers having taken some rest in the house of a christian, set forward again with much fear of robbers, and a violent heat of the sun, and at two of the clock in the morning came to the city *Licopbi*, now call'd *Armant*, renowned for many temples, and great structures, besides statues and columns. It was once the seat of a bishop, and *Volusianus*, one of those prelates, was at the council of *Ephefus*; St. *Epiphanius* also makes mention of him. Opposite to this city, in a small island made by the *Nile*, there are daily seen hundreds of crocodils of several sorts.

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GENELLI
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Democrat
city.

The next morning at sun-rising, they pass'd by the city *Democrat*, built by an ancient philosopher of that name; at present it is call'd *Democrat*. On the 31st they came to the village of *Alfon*, three miles distant from the river, on a hill, where the houses are meanly cover'd with mats, for want of better materials. Close by is the city of *Latona*, now call'd *Asue*, under the tropick of *Cancer*; the country about it is a continual oven to Europeans, not us'd to such violent heats.

On the first of *June*, they went with a letter from the bishop of *Naccade*, to find a christian, whose name was *Marc*, to carry them to see the monastery built in the plain four miles from *St. Helena*, where *Dioclesian* put to death 460000 martyrs, and of the invocation of the holy martyrs, now inhabited by some religious men; but they were dissuaded from going thither by a chief of the *Arabs*, called also *Marc*, because at that place, there was a judge, who was an enemy to *Franks*, and would either put them to death, or imprison them, and therefore not being able to perform their holy design, they resolv'd to return.

Having taken a small boat that was out of repair, it soon fill'd with water,

which oblig'd them to return to the city. Going aboard again, being call'd by the owner of the vessel, who had repair'd it, they found the men so weaken'd with fasting their *Ramadan* or *Lent*, that they could not row; wherefore *F. Joseph*, and one waterman falling to the oars, row'd the boat to the aforementioned city *Arman*, forty miles from *Alfon*, forbearing to row at night through weariness. In the morning *F. Joseph* fell to the oar again, with the same man, and they labour'd so hard, that at noon they came to *Naccade*. There they went to visit the bishop, but found him not at home; yet he returning with six *Copt* priests, receiv'd them with his usual civility. After supper, with the bishop's leave, they propos'd several questions about religion; and tho' their ignorance was convinc'd by the fathers learning, yet they would not submit, but said they would the next day produce their *Arabic* books, which did not avail them, for those very books serv'd the more to confound them; yet they would never give over, nothing talking to the purpose. After which, the good fathers return'd down the same river to their *Hospitium*, or house at *Grand Caire*.

CHAP. VI.

The Description of the Pyramids of Egypt, and Mummies of the Desert.

IT still remain'd, that I should see the pyramids of *Egypt*, and mummies of the desert, which not being practicable without a good company, for fear of the *Arabs*, I spoke to the consul for him to find some method for me to go safely. He out of his goodness took the pains to speak to some *French*, who were preparing for the same design with a good guard, and so I made one of their company.

We were to set out on *Tuesday* the 18th, but found my eyes sore, having left the window open at night, by reason of the great heat; tho' I had been forewarn'd not to do so, because that distemper is an inevitable consequence of it, and therefore in the afternoon, I rode on an ass, about the *Bazars* or markets, and publick places of the city. In my way I met a man about forty years of age, with a long beard, and all naked from head to foot, whose hands all people ran to kiss, which my ass-driver did with much devotion. Some women kiss'd the end of those parts, which in modesty ought to be cover'd, to render themselves fruitful. Asking who this was, they told me he was a great *Santone*.

We set out on *Wednesday* the 19th for *Bulac* or *Paiaac*, on twelve asses, mids. Being come thither we took boat, there being no going by land, because of the overflowing of *Nile*. We came before noon to the pyramids, or rather vast mountains of stones, the whole way being but twelve miles. Curiosity prevail'd with me and some *Frenchmen*, to go up to the top of the first of them, rather on our knees than feet, the first steps being four foot high, and three in breadth, going equally all about, and growing narrower by degrees till the top. From the top of the pyramid, is a prospect over a vast extent of country, or rather a great desert of sand. Being come down with much trouble, we prepar'd to see that they call *Pharaob's* tomb, into which the entrance is through a hole half fill'd up with sand. *F. Fulgentius de Tovar*, a capuchin, superior of their house at *Caire*, and an able mathematician, having drawn the pyramid, and taken all the dimensions, both within and without, I prevail'd with him to give it me, as also that of the well within, which *F. Lazarus*, another capuchin, had taken

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taken twenty years before, causing him-
self to be bound and let down with a rope
into that dark place, out of meer curiosity.

This great pyramid, which is the
nearest to *Caire* on the north-side, has
208 stone steps of several heights, which
are suppos'd to have been cover'd with
marble, since taken away for other stru-
ctures. Its perpendicular height is 520
foot, the length of every side 682, the
flat on the top is made of twelve stones,
being sixteen foot eight inches square;
wherefore they say, that an arrow shot by
a strong arm, would not fly beyond the
pyramid. There are sixteen steps up to
the entrance, which leads to a square way,
all of an equal bigness, that goes down-
wards. Its height is three foot and a
half, its breadth three foot and a quarter,
its length seventy six foot. At the end of
it is a place about ten foot wide, which
leads into another way, of the same length
of seventy six foot, which goes upwards,
at the end whereof there are two ways,
the one upon a level, twelve paces in
length, with a room at the end, and the
other that goes upwards, six foot
four inches wide, and 162 long. At the
end of this is a gallery to go through
into a room thirty two foot in length, six-
teen in breadth, and nineteen in height,
the roof whereof is plain, and made of nine
stones. Within this room, which is about
the third part of the pyramid, is an em-
pty sepulcher, said to be *Pbaraob's*, of
white, red, and black marble, seven foot
two inches in length, three foot and an
inch broad, and three foot and three in-
ches high, a narrow space to contain so
great a monarch. By the measure of this
tomb, it appears, that men now are as
big as they were 3000 years ago, and that
we are no less than our fore-fathers; as
also that this stone must be lay'd before
the structure was finished, because there
is no way it could be carry'd in.

Between the two ways already men-
tion'd, on the right hand, is a wall,
which appears on the ground perpendi-
cularly from the *Horizon*, making the
Figure of the *Hebrew Lamed*, in which
down seventy seven foot, there is a square
window, or inlet to a small cavern, cut
out of the soft stone that runs westward;
the pyramid being built on the hard rock.
Down fifteen foot in this cavern, there is
an oblique way, cut in the same stone,
two foot and four inches in breadth, and
two foot and an half in height, descend-
ing 123 foot, where it is stopp'd up with
sand and stones. Those *Barbarians* say,
there was a passage there under ground,
to the empty head of an idol, that stood
not far from the pyramid. As much of

this idol as remains, which is from the *GEMELLI*
shoulders upwards, is twenty six foot in *1693.*
length to the top of the head, and from
the ear to the chin fifteen. All this that
has been said, will appear the more plain-
ly, by the following cut.

See Cut, Number III. Page. 9.

- A. The entrance into the pyramid, three foot
six inches big, and three foot three inches
wide.
- B. The descent seventy six foot long.
- C. The space at the end of the descent, ten
foot wide.
- D. The ascent seventy six foot long.
- E. The ascent six foot, four inches wide,
one hundred and sixty one foot long.
- F. The way between eight and ten foot long.
- G. The empty room.
- H. The room thirty two foot long, sixteen
wide, and nineteen big.
- I. The empty sepulcher, or tomb, seven foot
two inches long, three foot and an inch
broad, and three foot three inches deep.
- L. The way into the room where the tomb is,
eight or ten paces in length.
- M. The plain on the top of the pyramid,
sixteen foot, eight inches square.
- N. The perpendicular height being five
hundred and twenty foot.
- O. The length of each side, being six hundred
and eighty two foot.
- P. The first depth of the well being seventy
seven foot.
- Q. The second depth of the well being one
hundred and twenty three foot.

The other pyramid is equal in height
to that already describ'd, and 200 paces
distant from it westward; the square at
bottom is somewhat less, and it is hard
getting to the top of it, the stones are
so worn with Age; and the more because
there are no steps jetting out like the other.
Near these two pyramids is a third, a fourth
part less, seated on a rising rock; each of
its sides is twenty foot less than the first;
and tho' it is low, and smaller, it is all of
a white stone, and the breadth equal to
the height.

In the evening, all the good company
went away northwards to the pyramids
of the mummies, two hours travel from
the others, and at an equal distance from
Grand Caire, where we pass'd the night
pleasantly in tents.

Thursday 20th, whilst our comp nions *Other Py-*
were bargaining with the *Arabs* to shew us *ramids.*
the mummies, *F. Fulgentius* and I, went
into the first of the eleven pyramids there
are in that place, whereof he taking the
dimensions both within and without, we
found every side to be 643 foot. The en-
trance

GEMELLI
1693.

trance is on the north side, about the fourth part of its height, but not in the middle of the horizontal line; for there are 316 foot towards the east, and 327 towards the west. There is but one way three foot and a half wide, and four foot high, always descending for 267 foot; at the end of it is a room twenty seven foot and a half long, and eleven in breadth arched. At the end of this room is another way upon the level, three foot wide, and nine and a half long, which leads into another room twenty one foot long, and eleven broad, vaulted like the other, and very lofty, with a square window on the west-end, which is its utmost length, twenty four foot four inches from the floor. From this room we went into another way of a considerable breadth, as high as a man, upon the level, and thirteen foot two inches long; at the end whereof is a great room, arched after the same manner, twenty six foot and eight inches long, and twenty four foot one inch broad. The floor is of solid rock, with some points jetting out unequally, leaving some space in the middle.

There is no going up to another pyramid near this, because there are no steps in the stone outward, like those already describ'd, measuring the bottom of it, we found each side to be 631 foot long.

The other nine pyramids, excepting only one, which is equal to the last spoken of, are all little, or of a middle size, but differing in workmanship; and some of them are very beautiful compos'd of stones of a prodigious greatness, such as seem impossible to be placed there by art of man.

An Arabian Fable.

The Arabian historians and writers are of opinion, that these pyramids were erected by a king of Egypt, whose name was Saurid, 300 Years before the flood, and they intermix their account with so many fables, that they lose the little truth they deliver. They write that this king having had a vision, wherein it appear'd to him that the earth was turn'd upside down, that men lay stretch'd out with their faces on the earth, and that the stars fell from the firmament; he was much terrify'd, but kept it secret. After this he saw the stars fall from heaven in the shapes of birds, which serv'd as guides to men to conduct them into two great mountains, by which they were afterwards crush'd, and the stars darkened. Being frighted at this vision, he brought together 130 footslayers, or forcerers, from all parts of Europe, among whom was the famous Adimon, and declaring his dream to them, they guess'd and foretold, that there would happen a mighty deluge, which would endanger drowning the country of Egypt, and that

this would come to pass within some years. The king hearing this, order'd these pyramids to be built, and some conveyances under ground, to turn away the water of Nile into the province call'd *Alfeida*, in the mean while conveying all his wealth into the pyramids. When they were finish'd, he caus'd them to be cover'd with rick silk, and celebrated a great feast, all his subjects resorting to it. They tell many other ridiculous Fables, and among the rest the *Coptis* write a pleasant one in their books, viz. that under the great pyramid there is an inscription of this purport.

King Saurid has built the pyramids in time, &c. and has finish'd them in six years. Whoever comes after him, or believes himself as powerful as he, let him undertake to destroy them in six hundred years; tho' it is easier to pull down a structure than to erect it. He cover'd them with silk, let another try to cover them with moss.

When the Caliph *Almamoun* came into Egypt, he had a curiosity to see what was shut up in these pyramids; and tho' the thing was represented to him as impracticable, yet he with fire and vinegar, and iron tools, temper'd after a particular manner, overcame all difficulties. In short, the entrance that is in the great pyramid was his work, and he found in a mighty thick wall such a treasure, as made good the expence of opening it. They also found a square well, and doors on all four sides, which led into certain vaults, where there were dead bodies wrapp'd up in clothes. Towards the top of the pyramid, they fell upon a stone, in which was the statue of a man, with a gold plate on his breast set with jewels; a sword of a great value, and on his head a bright carbuncle, as big as an egg. Under the stone there were characters, which no man in the world could explain to him. They add, that after *Almamoun* open'd that way, many went in, whereof some dy'd, and this is the fabulous account the Arabian writers give.

The truth is, that these pyramids were built to serve for sepulchres or tombs, The true Origin of as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* affirm; and is made out by the tomb, to be seen in the biggest of them, whether it be of *Cbeopos*, as *Herodotus* writes, or of *Cbemis*, as *Diodorus* affirms. And tho' *Aristotle* says, the kings of Egypt undertook to raise these structures to exercise their tyranny; and *Pliny*, that they did it to shew their power, and to keep their subjects employ'd, that they might not think of revolting; nevertheless the principal end of them was to serve as sepulchres, and preserve the bodies for a long time; for they believing, that the souls would continue

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continue so long with the bodies, as these continu'd entire, not to inform, but to keep them, as their first habitations; they therefore us'd all possible means to preserve them from corruption, by embalming and placing them in such famous structures. Nor have they been altogether disappointed in their design, since their bodies have been found whole, and found after lying two or three thousand years. Which mov'd *Plato*, who was thirteen years in *Egypt*, to conclude from it, that the soul was immortal.

Those good kings built the pyramids in that shape, that they might last the longer, because the tops do not press the bottom, nor the rain cannot damage them; tho' some say they made them so, to represent the figure of their gods. Yet it is believ'd, and with some reason, that the *Egyptians* from the top of them made their astronomical observations, and settled their year.

The steps of these pyramids being made of solid stone well polish'd, *Diodorus* and *Herodotus* are of opinion, they were cut in the mountains of *Arabia*, which are beyond the *Delta*. *Herodotus* further believes, that such vast stones were drawn up by wooden engines placed on the first step to raise them to the second. But *Diodorus* says, that such engines not being yet invented at that time, there was a mount of earth rais'd of such a height as was requisite, and the stones being drawn up to it, they were then let to run down towards the structure; which can never be swallow'd by any man that has not a *Greek* fancy.

We purposely forbore seeing the others that were further off, being above thirty, scatter'd about the desert, and were led by the *Arabs* to see the wells or sepulchers of the mummies, which those covetous barbarians keep conceal'd to get money of the *Franks*. In short, they would have twenty pieces of eight of us. Many are of opinion, that the mummies are found up in the deserts of *Arabia*, and that they are the bodies of people stifled and buried in the sand when the south winds blow; but they are much deceiv'd, for they are no other but the bodies of ancient *Egyptians* embalm'd. There are many of them found in caves under ground, near the ruins of the ancient *Mempis*, which is all hollow above and below. The way into those caverns is through square wells, so contriv'd that a man may go down putting his feet into holes on the opposite sides. These wells are cut in a soft white stone, found all about those parts, after going a fadom deep in sand; nor are they all of a

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depth, but the shallowest of them is forty two foot. At the bottom of them are square openings, and a passage ten or fifteen foot long, which leads into square arch'd rooms, each side of them being fifteen or twenty foot in length. By each of them is a stone, on which the embalm'd bodies lie, some of them in chests or coffins of black mulberry-tree; others in tombs cut out in the same stone shap'd like a man with his arms stretch'd down by his sides. There is generally found under the tongue of these bodies a plate of gold, weighing about two pistoles; and therefore the *Arabs* deface all the mummies, which they afterwards sell to the *Mabometans*, and they to christians, tho' sometimes they find nothing. Near the heads of these mummies there are idols found, and the shapes of birds at their feet. On the walls there are hieroglyphicks cut, which perhaps serv'd for epitaphs; and besides there are in each room several sepulchers of children and others. Going down each of these wells, there are several rooms and caves, having a communication from one to another, without any other light but what comes from the mouth of the well.

Going down into one of these, we found a room twenty foot square, cut, as has been said before, out of the stone; about it were tombs of persons of quality, and on the floor of servants. There were in it but two ordinary mummies, which I believe had been lately put in by the *Arabs* to get money. They were swath'd like children, and laid in two chests of mulberry-tree very thick and solid, in which there were some little figures in chalk, kept by me to this day, with a skull embalm'd that fell to my share; being good as they say for wounds, and some distempers.

The *Egyptians* embalm'd these bodies, I mean those of persons of note, ripping up their bellies with a very sharp stone; then taking out their bowels, wash'd them with wine, and drawing them thorough an aromatick powder, fill'd them with pure myrrh, cassia, and other sweets, without frankincense, and putting them again into the body, clos'd it up. This done, they laid the body in niter, and left it there seventy days, after which they wash'd it again, and wrapp'd it close in linnen swaths, which they anointed on the outside with a sort of Gum, which they made use of instead of salt. These bodies they plac'd in chests or coffins of black mulberry-tree, coarsely hew'd to the shape of man or woman, as they are daily found in those caves.

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GEMELLI
1693.
A labyrinth.

Being come out of the well, the *Arabs* conducted us to see a labyrinth, where the ancients bury'd birds. We went down a narrow passage into a room, out of which we crept on our bellies through a hole to certain ways where a man may walk well enough upright. On both sides of them there are urns, in which the birds were bury'd; there is now nothing in them but a little dust. These ways are cut out of a nitrous stone, and run several miles, like a city under ground, which they call a labyrinth.

At night we return'd to *Grand Caire*, my share for the expence of this short journey amounting to four zecchines, that is thirty two shillings.

In the way between *Old Caire* and the *New*, I saw the *Turkish* soldiers exercise in a curious plain near the *Nile*. They were about 4000 horse, who ran two and two, dextrously striking a piece of palm-tree with their lances in their full career. *Hali*, then *Bassa* of *Caire*, came every *Wednesday* and *Saturday* to see them from a balcony in a great man's house; besides the great resort of *Begs* and princes, with their subjects and slaves well enough clad. I was told that the eighteen *Begs* that are at *Caire* have many lands, and 500000 crowns revenue each of them, which they spend in supporting the *Mabometan* pride and arrogance with magnificence, keeping hundreds of horses in their stables.

CHAP. VII.

The Author continues his Travels to Jerusalem.

Monsieur *Benovist Maillet* having invited me to be at the feast of *St. Louis*, with all the *French* merchants, would not have me depart upon any account; but I having resolv'd to leave *Grand Caire*, return'd thanks for all the favours so generously bestow'd on me during my stay there, and prepared to set forwards. Accordingly on *Friday* the 21st I went to *Bulac*, which is but a mile distant. By the way I met the funeral of a *Turk* of some note, with a great turbant on his coffin. Priests of the *Mosque* went before singing, and his women follow'd weeping on asses. Many of these ceremonies ought to be perform'd in a day to satisfy the desires of the *Mabometans*; for they say, that it being dear living in company of former times, when they might buy thirty eggs, or two pigeons, or a fowl for a penny, and therefore now a plague were necessary, that the survivors might live the better.

I embark'd on the *Nile* before noon for *Damiata*, and running down the stream without sails, got into the arm of the river that passes by that city. To say the truth, I should not have made it my business to go to this place, had not the ships bound for *Mecca* been gone three weeks before from the port of *Sues*; for I should have embark'd aboard them, to take a short cut to the *East-Indies*, as the consul had advis'd me, whereas the way I was now going was very tedious.

Saturday the 22^d, we continu'd our way with our oars, because the boat was small. This arm of the river towards

Damiata is not so full of water as that of *Roseto*; which is the reason it often happens that the boats, by reason of the shallowness, are stop'd for several months near the sea, without being able to get out. There are dwellings enough along the banks of this branch of the river, but not so large as those on the way to *Roseto*.

Sunday the 23^d we arriv'd at *Damiata*, within an hour after day, having run 103 miles; yet we stay'd in the boat till the custom-house was open'd, and were clear'd without that strictness used in *Italy*. I took up my lodging in the house of a *Maronite*, procurator to the religious house at *Caire*, to whom I was recommended by the father president, because at *Damiata* there were no religious men, nor consul, or *French* merchants.

Damiata is seated on the right side of *Damiata* the *Nile*, in 30 degrees of latitude. It is ill-inhabited by reason of the unwholsomness of the air, and is not above half a mile in length, and as much in breadth; yet because of the convenience of the port, and shipping off, it is much resorted to, and has a vast trade.

Not very far from it eastward, on the top of mount *Casius*, is the tomb of *Pompey* repair'd and beautify'd by the emperor *Adrian*.

I endeavour'd immediately to inform my self, whether there was any convenience of vessels bound for *Jaffa*, or *Joppe*, and being told there was one ready at the mouth of the river, I would not slip the opportunity, laying in at once all the necessary provision for the voyage, and particularly of excellent dry'd

dry'd rows of mullets which are there extraordinary cheap. As I pass'd by the custom-house, the *Janizary* demanded a zecchine for my permission to embark; but I telling him I was a *Frenchman*, he was forced to be satisfied with the third part of a crown. This happened to me because there was no consul, and the *Jewish* interpreter would not speak one word to my advantage, for fear of being bastinado'd; and when I would have had him go four miles down with me to the vessel, to be my interpreter with the master, he refus'd it, letting me go alone at the discretion of the watermen whom I did not understand. These presented me to the customer of *Hiba* on the right side of the river, who took no duty of me, because I carry'd nothing but provisions. But a *Black* of that place, not willing to let slip so fair an opportunity of cheating, seeing me alone, and without any body to stand by me, stop'd me, demanding a zecchine for my liberty to pass, and tho' I answer'd it was not his due, and that I would write to the consul at *Caire*, to complain to the *Bassa*; yet he continuing positive in his demands, bid me pay first, and then write at pleasure; nor did he desist, tho' I offer'd to go back to do as I said. Therefore not to let slip the opportunity, which once lost I must have stay'd some months for another, (as happen'd to a religious man, the mouth of the harbour being choak'd up with sand) I turn'd again and gave the *Black* two *Dutch* crowns.

The watermen would also have play'd their knavish part; for tho' we had before agreed what I was to give them, yet now they demanded more, before they would take me into the boat; holding me in suspense when I was most eager to be gone, till they had got their will; after which they carried me abroad the great bark which was then taking in that part of her loading of rice, salt, and beans, which she had left behind, to be able to get over the flats of the river. Being come thither, the *Rais* or master began to play his part, asking twice as much for my passage as was usual to pay, which if I would not pay, I might return to *Damietta*, which he knew was not in my power. After much contending, I being sometimes silent because I did not understand, and other whiles expressing my self by signs, I comply'd with his will, to avoid protracting the dispute to no purpose. Truly a christian that falls into the hands of these barbarians, is much to be pity'd, for they have not the least spark

of modesty or compassion. They are never satisfy'd till they have empty'd a man's purse, giving one another notice of the nature of the prize; for which reason in these countries, but particularly in *Europe*, it is absolutely necessary to be stock'd with patience as well as with money, which I endeavour'd to furnish my self with in order to visit the holy land.

Setting out about evening that same *Sunday* the 23d, we sail'd all night with a fair wind, and coasting along a sandy desert country on *Monday* the 24th, with the same prosperous gale, arriv'd at *Jaffa* an hour after night-fall, having run 150 miles. I had no other disturbance by the way, but the continual cries of those barbarians, who are but little skill'd in the art of navigation; for tho' they have learn'd it of the christians, and therefore use the same sea-terms, yet they are not so expert at it.

Having rode at anchor all night, we landed with much difficulty on *Tuesday* the 25th, after paying the master of the vessel a zecchine and a half for mine and my man's passage. I took my lodging in a *Jew's* house who was an interpreter, as all those do that go to the holy land, there being neither friars nor *French* in that little place.

Jaffa, *Joppa*, *Zaffa*, or *Artusa*, *Jaffa* city as others call it, is thought to have been built by *Japhet*, *Noah's* son, before the flood. It is seated in the latitude of 32 degrees, and is the port all pilgrims resort to, who go to visit the holy places at *Jerusalem*. Here it was the materials for the building of *Solomon's* temple, brought from mount *Libanus*, were landed; and here the ancients feign that *Andromeda* was expos'd to be devour'd by the sea-monster. Here it was *St. Peter* rais'd *Tabitba* to life again, and in its neighbourhood he saw the sheet let down from heaven with all sorts of creatures in it, by which God gave him to understand, that he ought not to scruple admitting the *Gentiles* to the faith and baptizing them. Whilst I was here expecting the caravan of camels, which comes from *Rama*, there rose such a violent storm on the sea, that no vessel could come in for several days, and those that were in the unsafe harbour were all lost, particularly ours which took in its loading in the day, and on *Wednesday* night, the seamen going all to sleep, without taking care first to secure her, she sunk with all the goods, only those sleepy beasts being sav'd by swimming ashore.

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The camel-driver came betimes on Wednesday the 26th, to awake me, in order to let out with a small caravan of thirty camels, but I chose to ride upon an ass. Having travel'd ten miles thorough a plain country, part untill'd and part till'd and planted with olive-trees, we came to *Rama* at break of day, where I was receiv'd by the superior of the house of the capuchins of *Jerusalem*, who presently gave an account of my arrival to the father guardian of *Jerusalem*, that with his leave I might go to that city.

Rama
town.

Rama, *Ramma*, *Ramle*, or *Ramola*, memorable for the sepulcher of *Rachel*, and slaughter of her innocent children, is a little open town, inhabited by *Arabs*, *Jews*, and *Christians*. The country about it is fruitful, producing besides wheat, good fruit, as grapes, figs, melons, and other sorts. It was, as some believe, the country of *St. Joseph* of *Arimathea*, a secret disciple of *Jesus Christ*.

Thursday the 27th, I went with some fathers three miles off (I always mean *Italian miles*) to visit the place call'd *Lida*, where *St. George* was beheaded, being a church serv'd by *Greeks*. As I return'd I was shew'd a *Mosque*, which had been a christian church built by *St. Helena*, where under the high altar forty martyrs are bury'd, brought thither by her out of *Armenia*, but the *Arabs* do not allow us to go in. The fathers also shew'd me, near the church of their *Hospitalium*, the house of *Nicodemus*, who took our saviour down from the cross.

Friday the 28th, leave being come from the father guardian of *Jerusalem*, I paid the customer for *Casparre*, or tribute, fourteen *Albulchels*, worth so many ducats of *Naples*; and he according to his duty furnishing horses, I set out on Saturday the 29th with some fathers, and the *Cadi* who was returning to *Jerusalem*. We travell'd twelve miles over the plain, and eighteen more over

mountains planted with olive-trees; passing thorough the village of the good thief, so call'd because he was born there, consisting of about 300 houses, and seated on a mountain, with a ruin'd castle. About half way we saw *Jeremy's* village, where they shew'd me a ruin'd monastery of *Franciscans*, who had abandoned it, because some of them had been kill'd by the *Arabs*. Not far from it is seen the village where *St. John Baptist* was born. Passing over the bridge we came into the valley of *Elab*, famous in holy writ for the combat between *David* and the giant *Goliath*, whilst *Saul's* army look'd on from the mountain next *Jerusalem*; and that of the *Philistines* towards *Rama*. Hereabouts I also saw the noted cattle of *Emaus* on a hill, where the building is still preserv'd standing (if it be the same) in which the two disciples, after the resurrection knew our saviour in his breaking of bread.

Being come to *Jerusalem* about the evening, the fathers directed me to go in at the gate of *Damascus*, that the *Turks* might see me and receive the tribute, because I had not been at *Jerusalem* before. I went thither accordingly with a servant, and finding no body at the gate, proceeded directly to the monastery of *St. Saviour*, without any stop; but the guardian fearing some mishap, persuaded me to return and send some christian to give notice to the *Turks*, that they might come to the place appointed to enter my name, as they did. Then I went to the monastery, where the guardian receiv'd me very courteously. The structure of this monastery is not large, nor lofty, but convenient. There are five small altars in the little church; three at the upper-end, and two against the pillars that support the arch. The floor is laid with good black and white marble, but the main point is, that the church is decently and devoutly served by fifty fathers.

CHAP. VIII.

The Description of Jerusalem, and the Holy Places.

Jerusalem
city.

Jerusalem, formerly call'd *Salem*, *Solima*, and *Capitolina*, by the *Turks* *Curumbarech*, and *Leucost*, and by the *Natives* *Cbutz*, and *Godtz*, is in 31 degrees of latitude. It was built by *Melchisedec*, between two mountains, *Calvary* on the west, and *Olivet* on the east, between which and the city runs the brook *Cedron*, that loses it self in the dead sea. The remains of so many no-

ble structures as are to be seen about this city, are a sufficient testimony of its ancient splendor, tho' it be now quite alter'd from what it was, through the vicissitude of fortune, and terrible havoc made in it at several times by sundry nations. What cruelties were not executed in it by *Antiochus*, the son of *Seleucus*, and the other *Antiochus* his son? who spar'd neither the walls, nor *Solomon's*

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mon's temple. *Simon Maccabeus* having fubdu'd and reftor'd the regal feat to it, 611 years after its firft erection, *Pompey the Great* came eighty one years after, took it, and left only the name and fhadow of its magnificence. The tyrant *Herod*, having taken it after a long fieve from *Antiochus*, in whom after 106 years the race of the *Affamoneans* ended, cruelly abandon'd it to fire and fword. Nor was *Agrippa* any better, being the laft of his flock, who dy'd wickedly as he had liv'd, about the time of *Julius Cæfar*. In him ended the regal title among the *Jews*, but not the calamities of *Jerufalem*, fince not only the city was afterwards deftroy'd, but its famous temple wholly overthrow'n by the emperor *Titus*, who with famine and fword flew a million and an hundred thoufand citizens about the year of our lord 71. He that would have a further account of its miferies, may find enough of it in both facred and prophane hiftories, that being a fubject from my purpofe.

The prefent *Jerufalem* is not the fame it was formerly, for its compafs is lefs than three miles, and the inhabitants under 20000. It is feated at the foot of the aforementioned mountains, high on the weft, and low on the eaft. It has fix gates, which are thole of *Bethlem*, mount *Sion*, *Sterquilinia*, or the dunghil-gate, *St. Stephen's*, *Herod's*, and of *Damafcus*; befides the golden gate, which is shut up. The walls are not ftrong, nor have they any bafions, but fmall towers, without cannon, or a ditch, except on the weft fide, where it is not very deep. Clofe by is the caftle built by the *Pifans*, on the ruins of *David's* tower, which reaches over the walls of the city. There is but a fmall garrifon in it, and fome pieces of cannon difmounted, which they dream to have been *Godfrey of Bolloign's*. The old caftle, when *David* had fix'd his court in it, after expelling the *Jebufites*, was by him call'd *Sion*.

In the city they drink no other water but what they keep in cifterns, which fcours the belly like a purge; for that of the *Fons fignatus* runs only to the temple of *Solomon*, and the *Cadi's* Palace, and for many years paff water is as dear as bread. The city and country about is govern'd by a *Sangiack*, fubordinate to the *Baffa* of *Damafcus*.

The fathers had been shut up feven months by reafon of the plague, which had rag'd all about them; and the chriftians being to be admitted to the bleffed facrament, within a few days, the time was anticipated for my fake. Hereupon

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all the faithful went on Sunday the 30th to hear mafs at the father's church, where I obferv'd that the women there do not cover their faces, with a mask, like the *Egyptians*, and all their body is wrap'd in a white fheet, wearing on their head a *Tadema*, that is, a cap with feveral points. An infant was baptiz'd, and the father chofe me for godfather.

About Evening I went to vifit the holy places, attended by a father appointed for that purpofe, and the interpreter of the monaftery. Firft we went to mount *Calvary*, and afcending many Mount fteps, entred into a fmall church, fup- *Calvary*. pos'd by the *Greeks* to be the place where *Abraham*, by order from God, would have facrific'd his fon *Ifaac*. A few fteps further is a dark vault, formerly *St. Peter's* prifon, and the *Turks* ftill make ufe of it as fuch.

In another *Greek* church, which was once the houfe of *Zebedee*, they fhew the place, where *St. John Evangelift*, and *St. James's* fons were born; and behind it the apartments that belong'd to the knights of the holy fepulcher. Then we pafs'd through a midling arch, which they call the iron gate, through which *St. Peter*, when deliver'd out of prifon, went out of the city with the angel. Not far from thence we came into *St. Mark's* houfe, where they fay *St. Peter*, when the angel left him, withdrew to meet the reft of the apoftles; who are faid to have there begun to baptize in a ftone-font, ftill to be feen: at prefent this place is a little church of *Sirians*. At a fmall diftance is the houfe where *St. Thomas* liv'd, which now is a *Mofque*, and the houfes of the three *Marks*, of *Cleopbas*, of *James*, and of *Salome*, into which there is no entering, becaufe they are inhabited by *Turkifh* women. Further on, entering into a fpacious court, I faw the church of *St. James*, with a good monaftery inhabited by fifty *Armenian* fathers. There are two great gates to the Church, which is fupported by four large pillars, making a fquare, and three ifles, laid with good marble. It was built by the *Spanifh* nation, in honour of *St. James*, who was beheaded in that place; and the particular fpot on which he fuffer'd martyrdom is feen in a fmall arch, in the third chappel on the left fide of the gate. In the firft on the fame fide, is worfhip'd the body of *St. Macarius*, *Bifhop of Jerufalem*. The *Armenian* patriarchs feat it on the right hand of the altar. In a mile of the womens little church, on the left of the great one, there are three fpeckled ftones, on the biggeft whereof, brought from

GEMELLI

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mount *Sinai*, *Moses* broke the tables of the law, when the people would not keep it; the other on the right was taken out of the river *Jordan*, near the place where *Christ* was baptiz'd by *St. John*; the third on the left, was on mount *Thabor*, in the very place where our Saviour was transfigur'd. All the pilgrims that come to visit the holy places, are well treated by these *Greek* fathers, who find them good lodgings, and stables for their horses.

Houſe  
where the  
blessed vir-  
gin died.

Going out of the city at king *David's*, or mount *Sion* gate, we saw the burying place of all our catholic christians, and close by the remainder of an old wall of the house in which the blessed virgin dy'd, and *St. John* laid mafs sometimes.

Church of  
the apo-  
stles made  
a Mosque.

Then paying a zecchine, I went in to see the church of the holy apostles, which now serves for a *Mosque*. It has but one isle, but large after the fashion of the country, with only two pillars. At the west end is the tower or steeple, whence the *Santone* calls the people to prayers. A few steps lead down to the under-church, which is low, but longer than the upper. In this place our Saviour kept the passover with his disciples, instituting the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist; appear'd to them after his resurrection, and consecrated *St. James* bishop of *Jerusalem*. Here the holy ghost came down upon the apostles in fiery tongues. Hither they say *St. Peter* came when he was by the angel deliver'd out of prison; *St. Matthias* was elected into the number of the apostles, instead of *Judas*; *St. Stephen* was made deacon with his six companions; the apostles hid themselves during the persecution of king *Agrippa*; and they held the counsel where it was decreed that circumcision was not necessary. Here the pillar was kept at which our Saviour was scourg'd. Here *St. Peter* said his first mafs on the feast of *Pentecost*, as did *St. John*. Here is to be seen King *David's* sepulcher sixteen spans long, made by *Solomon*. Some authors also affirm that *St. Stephen's* tomb is here. Near the *Cenaculum*, or great room, they shew the place where king *Manasse* was bury'd. They will have it, that the lamb our Saviour eat with his disciples at the last supper was roasted under the stairs that come down to this place; which as it may be likely, is a matter of no moment. Without the church is the cistern, where the apostles parted in order to go preach the faith throughout the world. This church was built by *St. Helen*, as were all the others

of the holy places, and afterwards repair'd by *Sancta*, Queen of *Naples* and *Sicily*.

On mount *Sion*, which is close by, Mount and where the ruins of *David's* palace *Sion* are still to be seen, is another small but neat church, kept by the *Armenians*, in the place where *Caipbas* the high priest's house stood, in the porch whereof was the fire at which *St. Peter* was warming himself, when he deny'd *Christ* three times; and therefore they shew in the wall of the same church, the place where the cock crow'd, the pillar not being there at present. They also shew on the left of the altar, a vault in which *Christ* was confin'd and scourg'd the first time. On the altar is fix'd, and takes up a great part of it, the stone of the holy sepulcher, which the *Armenians* took from that church, during the war of *Candia*, when it was given then in custody, the catholic fathers being cast into prison. In this same place *Judas* sold *Christ* for thirty pieces of money, and here he restor'd them to go hang himself in despair.

In a cross-way without the city, they shew'd me where the blessed virgin wrought the first miracle after her death, as the apostles were carrying her body to bury it in the valley of *Josaphet*.

Returning into the city by the same gate, I took notice, behind the garden of the monastery of *St. James*, of the house of *Annas*, where *Christ* was bound to an olive-tree, the branches whereof are still in the porch of the church built there, and held in great veneration by the *Armenians* that officiate there. On the left hand within the same church, they shew the door, now made up, at which our Saviour went out, after he had been examin'd, concerning his doctrine and disciples, and struck over the face.

We went out at again at the *Porta Sierquilinia*, or dunghill-gate, so call'd because of the filth hard by it, thorough which our Saviour was led bound to *Annas*. An hundred paces from it I saw a grot or cave, now ruin'd, where *St. Peter* bitterly bewail'd his offence in denying his master.

Entering the city again, we went down where the towards the lower part, and pass'd thro- b. virgin rough a garden under the arches of was pre- the temple, where the virgin *Mary* was sented. presented by her parents. It was once a church call'd of the *Presentation*, with a monastery of nuns; but is now a *Mosque*, where the *Turks* keep their young daughters to be educated under the tuition of certain matrons, till they are

Bethesda  
Pool.

A Church  
of several  
Nations.

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are marriageable. The structure is magnificent, being built of very large smooth stones, the least of them being four spans square; and by what could be discern'd going under it with a light, the church is large with seven out-lets, compos'd of the six orders, each of which has three pillars.

Going along the Bazar, or market, we came to the gate call'd *Speciosa*, through which Christ entred when he went to the temple, and disputed with the doctors. The blessed virgin entred at the same when she came to present the child *Jesus* in the hands of holy *Simeon*, and there it was *St. Peter* heal'd the *Paralytic*. This leads to long and lofty arches that run to the temple of *Solomon*, absolutely forbid being seen by christians.

Monday the last day of *August*, I went to see the hospital of *St. Helen*, which is really a great structure. It was built to lodge the pilgrims that visited the holy places. For which purpose there are several long galleries, and there still remain seven great cauldrons, in which they dress'd meat for the poor. The *Turks* now do the same, giving alms some days even to christians.

Bethesda  
Pool.

Going on near the gate of *Cedron*, now call'd *St. Stephen's*, I was shewn the *Piscina Probatica*, or Pool of *Bethesda*, where our saviour heal'd the man that had lain thirty eight years under his distemper. It is a hundred paces long, sixty in breadth, and forty in depth, all made of good stone. In the upper street is the house of the *Pharisee*, where *St. Mary Magdalen* pour'd forth her precious ointment on the feet of our Lord, washing them with her tears, and wiping them with her hair; by which means she obtain'd pardon of her sins. In memory whereof there is adjoining to it a devout chappel of the invocation of the same saint; tho' the house is inhabited by *Turks*. Near the same gate of *St. Stephen*, adjoining to the wall of the city, is the house of *St. Anne*, where the blessed virgin was born, with a good church, but not well adorn'd, as being in the power of *Mabometans*. Without the gate, along a street that goes down I was shewn the place where *St. Stephen* was ston'd, and the cistern cut out of the solid hard rock into which his body was cast.

A Church  
of several  
Nations.

Going further, beyond *Cedron* I went into the church where the blessed virgin was bury'd. Descending forty seven steps, I saw on the right, the altars, where *St. Jacobim*, and *St. Anne* were bury'd, and on the left about half way the stairs, where *St. Joseph* was interr'd; on the floor of the church, near the

well, stands the altar on which the *Coptic* priests say mass; on the right is that of the *Jacobites*; on the left that of the *Gregorians*; the high altar without them belongs to the *Armenians*; on the right that of the *Sirians*, and behind that of the *Grecians*. Within another very little chappel, to which there are two small doors, is the altar where the blessed virgin was bury'd, which is serv'd by our catholics; there I heard mass, celebrated by two fathers of *St. Saviours*. Without the church on the right is the grotto, or cave, where our saviour sweated blood. It was enlarg'd and made more lightsome, that it might contain a greater number of christians; and because (besides the inconveniency) it seem'd less decent to go into it from the garden of *Getsemani*, through that narrow hole our saviour went in at, the door was made which serves now, the other being shut up out of respect. There still remain in this garden of *Getsemani* eight olive trees, which as they say, are sprung from those that were there when our saviour pray'd; the ninth having been burnt by the *Turks*. There is also the place where the blessed virgin was, whilst *St. Stephen* was ston'd; as also where she left her girdle to *St. Thomas*. In other respects it is no fruitful place, being for the most part bare rock; but there are excellent figs, whereof I eat as many as I could, the fathers inviting me so to do, because the place belongs to them, through the charity of an *English* Man, who bought it of a *Mabometan* to give it to them.

Returning to the city, I went along the dolorous street (which begins at *Pilate's* house, and ends at mount *Calvary*) the same way our saviour pass'd with the cross on his back. First we went into *Pilate's* house (near which is a black arch'd room, where our Lord was scourg'd the second time) and went up other stairs than those our saviour was carry'd up, which were long since remov'd to *Scala Santa* at *Rome*. In the first floor is a lightsome arch'd room, which was the *Pretorium*, or court, where *Pilate* gave sentence of death against our saviour; here being a sort of *Divan*, or place lifted up one step: Under it is a dark room, now made a stable, in which our Lord was crown'd with thorns. Going up to the top of the house, I took a full view of *Solomon's* temple.

This temple was built by that king, *Solomon's* with an incredible charge, in the space of eight years, laying out on it, not only his own excessive wealth, but also the rich spoils his father had taken from

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**GEMELLI** from his enemies. I will forbear speaking of its glory and magnificence, because holy writ speaks of it at large, and shall only by the by hint at the many calamities it fell under at several times. First, *Sefac*, king of *Egypt*, rob'd it of all its ornaments, being afterwards restor'd by king *Jofias*; in the eighteenth year of his reign, it was again utterly subverted by the impiety of king *Zedechiab*; who went not unpunish'd for his wickedness, being taken prisoner by *Nebucadnezzar*, and his eyes put out, after he had seen his wretched sons cut in pieces. Being again rebuilt, *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus* plunder'd, and profan'd it; and being still restor'd, tho' not to its first splendor, it was destroy'd by the emperor *Titus*, and the whole city subverted in the year of Christ seventy one. At last *Adrian* the emperor, on its ruins, erected a temple to *Jupiter*, after he had subdu'd the rebellious country of *Jury*; not to mention other vicissitudes, this wonderful structure has run through since those times, so that it is now quite another thing than what it was.

What I could observe from the afore-said place, is a large square a mile about, with twelve gates. About it there are many chapels, and dwellings of priests, as also the *Cadi's* palace, where our patriarch once liv'd, and several trees in the middle. Thence they go into the second place which is round, and less than a quarter of a mile in compass, enclos'd with walls, with several stately gates and marble pillars. In the midst of this place is *Solomon's* temple, in the form of an octagon, with four gates diametrically opposite to one another, built on the out-side of tile, or hard brick, till where the cupola begins, which is of lead, which closes it beautifully. Adjoining to the temple on the east-side, is an open gallery, supported by small pillars, where they say, there is a stone brought from mount *Olivet*, on which our saviour stood when he ascended into heaven. I could discover nothing else at that distance, for the *Turks* put to death all christians that go into it, or oblige them to renounce their faith.

*Herod's Palace.*

Opposite to *Pilat's*, is *Herod's* house, tho' all late built, and little of antiquity to be seen in it; yet we went in at a little door, the first being shut, near which is a small arch, where our redeemer stood, before he was carry'd into *Herod's* presence; and going up, we saw the court of justice, like a little hall, where he was examin'd by *Herod*, and not answering clad in a white garment, and sent back to *Pilat*.

In the square is the arch that supported the balcony, or open gallery, where *Pilat* shew'd him to the people, saying, *Behold the Man*; and there is no doubt of its being the same, because the stones worn by time testify its antiquity.

Further on is the door, through which the blessed virgin passed to meet our saviour, not being able to come the street-way because of the throng; and seeing him fall down under the weight of the cross, she fainted; for which reason, the church that now stands in that place is call'd of the *Swooning*. There they say, *Simon Cyreneus* help'd to carry the cross. A few paces further, is the little house of *Lazarus*, and further still, that of *Dives*, built on arches, under which, there is a thoroughfare. In this the governor lives, in *Pilat's* the *Bassa*, and in *Herod's* one

*Mustapha* a *Turk*. In the same street of sorrow, is the little house of *St. Veronica*, who, as the ancient tradition affirms, brought a cloth to wipe our saviour's face, and the picture of it, remain'd imprinted on it. Not far from it is the justice gate, through which our saviour went out, with the cross on his back, now shut up; where there is a marble pillar, on which the sentence of death was affix'd according to custom. At a little distance is a small tower of hard stone, which deserves not the name of a fort, call'd the tower *Antoniana*, where *Saladine* fortify'd himself, when he took the holy city; and hard by are the ruins of the palace of *Godfrey of Bolloign*, king of *Jerusalem*.

That same Monday in the evening, the father *Guardian* perform'd the ceremony of washing mine, and six other religious pilgrims feet, with so much solemnity, that it lasted two hours. This good religious man, whose name is *F. John Baptist d'Antine*, daily exercises himself in virtuous acts of christian humility, even to washing the dishes of the refectory. I am much oblig'd to his goodness, because he continually attended me in some indisposition I had, and treated me affectionately with sweetmeats of the country.

Going out on Tuesday the first of September, betimes in the morning at *Beit-lehem* gate, and ascending to mount *Sion*, the way the apostles carry'd the blessed virgin to her tomb, as has been said before: I was shewn opposite to it, the valley call'd of *Ill-Connfel*, because there *Caiphas* and his counsellors resolv'd our saviour should die; which has also given the name to the little village, inhabited by *Arabs*, on the top of the mountain,

The place where Christ was shew'd.

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Other particulars.

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Valley of *Ill-Connfel* ill Coun-fel.

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mountain, which over-looks the valley. Going over a-foot to the further end of the said valley, we found several tombs of Jews, and at the foot of the mountain, the holy field, bought with the thirty pieces of money Christ was sold for, to bury pilgrims. This sepulcher is thirty foot square, cut out of the rock. In the upper part of it, there are some vent-holes, through which the Armenians let down their dead bodies. Below that is the cave, where eight of the apostles hid themselves, when Christ was crucified; and below that again, is a deep well, where Nebemiah the high priest hid the holy fire, when the Jews were carry'd captives to Babylon. A little higher is the place, where the prophet Isaiah was saw'd in the middle; and a white mulberry tree instead of the cedar, that open'd and hid him in its trunk. Close by the said mulberry tree, is the pool of Siloe, where our Lord gave sight to the blind man. It is all artificial, forty spans long, sixteen in breadth, and twenty in depth, with water in it, which is not very good, and runs out to the fountain, where they say, our blessed lady wash'd the linnen of her infant Jesus; there are above twenty steps down to the water.

Proceeding along the valley of Josaphat, they shew'd me on the right, the country house of Siloe, where Solomon kept his concubines, and on the top of the hill, the palace of the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt; which for that reason, is now call'd the mountain of scandal. At the end of the same valley, and at the foot of another mountain, which is the very same on which Judas hang'd himself on one of Pharaoh's fig-trees, are the sepulchers of the Jews, who on that score, pay the Turks a Zecchine a day, whether they bury or not. Further on, is the sepulcher of Zachariab, the son of Barachias, who was slain between the temple and the altar, all of one piece, cut out of the rock: close by which is the cave in which St. James hid himself, when our saviour was crucify'd, swearing, *He would not eat, till he saw him risen from the Dead*; for which reason, our saviour appear'd to him the third day, bringing him something to eat. A few paces further, is the sepulcher of Abjalom, all of a piece as far as the first cornish, like St. James's cave, and it being empty, I went in as far as the cupola. Behind this was made such another sepulcher, cut out of the hard rock to bury king Josaphat. In the midst of the brook Cedron, which at present is quite dry, on a stone, is to be seen the print of our saviour's foot when he fell there, as he was led bound.

Going up again, I went to see the two <sup>GEMELLI 1693.</sup> arches of the golden gate, through which our saviour entred in triumph on Palm Sunday, but it is now shut, 's was said before. After evenfong, the holy sepulcher being open'd, I went in to visit all the holy places belonging to it.

Having heard mass betimes on Sun- <sup>Bethania.</sup> day morning, being the 2d of September, I mounted one of the father procurator general's horses, and set out for Bethania, attended by the interpreter and fathers. Having travell'd a mile and a half on the mountain, I was shewn the place where Christ coming from the river Jordan, curs'd the fig-tree, of which no memory remains. Beyond that on the right hand is a great wall, which they say, is an outlet of the house of Simon the leper, who invited our Saviour. Below that, and above the city Bethania, is the castle of Lazarus, whereof a wall is still standing fourteen spans thick, and as firm as a rock. Under it, entering at a narrow door, there is a descent of twenty eight steps to his sepulcher, cut like the rest out of the hard rock. First, there is a little room, out of which is a passage through a narrow hole, that was shut up with a stone to another, where there is only a small altar, to say mass upon the very tomb, whence he was called by our Saviour. Above that, is seen the foundation of St. Mary Magdalen's house, and of Martha's, with a cistern cut in the stone, whose water I found was not good to drink.

Not far off, they shew a sharp stone, on which they say, our Saviour fate, whilst he was talking to Martha about the death of Lazarus; and going on the way of mount Olivet on the right, in the place call'd Bettafen, they shew a hillock, where Christ mounted upon the ass, to enter Jerusalem upon a Palm Sunday.

Above that is mount Olivet, whence Mount Christ ascended into heaven, leaving Olivet. two prints of his feet behind, one of which was carry'd into Solomon's temple, and the other remains there upon a hard pebble stone. This place is shut up within a round chappel, the key whereof is kept by a Mebometan Santone. Next, in a great court, enclosed with a wall, I saw the stone on which the apostles fate, call'd Viri Galilei, or men of Galilee. Descending from the mount on the left hand, a pillar lies on the ground, near which, the angel appear'd to the blessed virgin, who was visiting the places of the passion, giving her a branch of palm tree, as a preface of her death; and on the same side is

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GENELLI the cave, where St. *Pelagia* did pennance  
1693. and dy'd.

Opposite to it, is the place, where they say, Christ compos'd the lord's prayer; at a small distance on the right, where he wept on the city of *Jerusalem* (now there is a house) and not far from it he preach'd to the apostles upon the day of judgment. Lower still are the sepulchers of the Prophets, that open'd at our Saviour's death; and twelve caves cut in the rock, where the report is, that the apostles compos'd the creed.

There being no going to the river *Jordan* at any time but *Easter*, when there are many pilgrims, and a good guard of soldiers for fear of the *Arabs*; I was satisfy'd with beholding it from the top of mount *Olivet*, as also the dead sea, where the five cities of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, &c. were destroy'd; and which they told me was 160 miles long, and sixteen in breadth, and its water very stinking. They also shew'd me at a distance another mountain, called of the *Quarentine*, where Christ fasted forty days.

After vespers, going out at the gate of *Damascus*, a *Dervis* came to open us their *Mosque*, where there is a vast cave cut in the solid rock, 150 paces about, and thirty in height. In the midst of it, is a large plain place, where they say, the prophet *Jeremiah* walk'd, when he compos'd his *Lamentations*; and up high on the right hand coming in, the stone on which he lay. Half a mile further, are the tombs of three kings cut out of the rock. The first entrance is thorough a narrow hole, crawling on all fours, into a handsome room fifteen foot square, in which there are little doors. The first on the left, leads to a room little less than the other, about which, there are six other small doors, being the passage to as many tombs. The second door is the way to such another room, containing seven sepulchres; but there are two or three tombs in every one, and particularly one of marble uncover'd, where they said, a king had been bury'd. The third also, is a thoroughfare to a room, that has nine little doors to other Sepulchers, with two or three burying places on a side. Entering at one of these doors artificially made of marble, and which only is now standing, of many more there were, we saw another king's tomb open, which had for its device a bow, and a bottle carv'd at the head of it. The fourth door in the first room gives passage, tho' difficult, to the third royal sepulcher, whose marble tomb is broken. These sepul-

chers are certainly the most rare and wonderful work to be seen at *Jerusalem*; and the more because all the necessaries for shutting and opening are made of the same stone.

Going thence towards the wall of the city, is *Jeremiah's* dungeon, which is a double arch'd pool, in which they say, that prophet stood up to the neck in water. All these places are seen at the expence of a few *Medines*, or sixpences, because the miserable condition of those *Arabs* makes them be satisfy'd with a little.

*Thursday* the third, the father procurator lent me his horse to go to *Betlehem*, ordering two interpreters and three fathers to bear me company. We could not get out of the city betimes, because the *Turks* kept the gates shut, by reason of the prayers, the grand seignior had order'd to be said every *Thursday*, for the good success of the war; the which being ended, and the gates opened, we went on, seeing near the city *Bathsheba's* bath, enclos'd with high walls, one hundred paces in length, forty in breadth, and thirty in depth, so seated, that it might be overlook'd from king *David's* palace, which stood on the side of the hill, as has been said before.

Two miles from *Jerusalem*, on the left, is a fig-tree, in the very place where the oak was planted, under which the virgin *Mary* rested with the infant *Jesus*, when she came to present him in the temple. Opposite to it, but a mile from the road, on the top of the hill, is a tower, where they say, St. *Simeon* dy'd. Further on, in the midst of the way, is a cistern, near which, the three wise men saw the star again, and on the right of the road, a few paces from it, there appear two walls standing, which, as they say, belong to the house where the prophet *Habakkuk* was, when the angel carry'd him to *Babylon*, to give food to *Daniel* in the lion's den. At a small distance is the place where *Elias* the prophet rested, when he fled the persecution of *Jezabel*; a plain proof whereof, is the print of his limbs left in the hard rock on the right hand of the road. The *Greeks* in memory hereof, have built a monastery close by on the left, under the same title, where they celebrate the divine office.

Further on the right, there is still standing part of the wall of the tower where *Jacob* rested, when he came out of *Mejopotomia*; and the remains of the sepulcher of his wife *Rachel*, who dy'd there, are half a mile further.

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Before we came into *Betlehem*, we took notice of the cistern, of whose water, *David* having a desire to drink, yet afterwards refus'd it, because his commanders pass'd through the midst of the enemies army that lay about it, with great danger of their lives to fetch it for him. At last, after six miles riding, we came to *Betlehem*, and rested our selves in the monastery of the *Capuchins*.

*Betlehem*, the most glorious city in the world, for the birth, not of *Benjamin*, but of the Saviour of the world, is seated in 31 degrees of latitude; thinly inhabited, and by very few catholics. Being seated on a pleasant hill, it enjoys an excellent air, so that *St. Paula* the *Roman* had much reason to choose it for her place of abode, and dy'd there in the year 404. The chief church of this city, restor'd not long since by the *Greek* religious men to the catholics, is one of the best in the east, for it has five isles, made by four rows of good marble pillars, ten in a row, in all forty; besides which, there are ten in the choir, which is enclos'd quite round with a wall. The pavement is handsome, and the roof of a proportionable height. The monastery has a good garden, and convenient lodgings, in which twelve religious men live. They have another small church, dedicated to *St. Catherine*, pav'd with good marble of the country, which they made use of, before they recover'd the great church. The *Greek* fathers have also their church and monastery adjoining to the great one, separate from that of the *Armenians*, which is near to the great gate, with a way into our church, that they may have the conveniency of worshipping the holy manger, and the place where our Saviour was born. There is a descent to this happy, and most venerable place, out of the choir of the great church, down two opposite stair-cases of sixteen steps each.

Place of  
our Savi-  
our's birth

The very place of the nativity, at the end of the cave, is cover'd with a great marble stone, in reverence to it, on which a star is cut; and they use to lay mafs, as on an altar. The manger is adorn'd the best it could be, with three pillars, one in the middle, and the others at the ends. In the angle, a step lower, are two other small pillars of an equal bigness, between which, is a thing like a manger, of marble, with a little space in it, big enough to hold an infant; and opposite to it is the stone, on which the blessed virgin sat, with her son in her arms, when the wise men came to adore him. This little cave is all become

black, and unequally cut out in the rock. GEMELLI 1693. On the west side it has been a little enlarg'd, that it might contain the faithful; the floor is pav'd with a marble, and all the place breaths sanctity and devotion.

From the little church of *St. Catherine*, there is a dark descent of twenty four steps cut in the rock, to a cave, where many of the holy innocents were bury'd, that were slain by *Herod*; and an altar erected in honour of them. On the left is *St. Joseph's* chapel, whither they say, he retir'd at the birth of our Saviour: and then going up ten steps, there is another door at the foot of the cave of the nativity. Turning back at the end of these stairs on the right, a little door leads to a path cut in the rock; on the right hand whereof, is the tomb of *St. Eusebius* the abbot; and then again, entering into a little cave on the right, is the tomb of *St. Jerome*; and on the left that of *St. Paula*, and of *Eustachia* her daughter. Beyond that, in another larger room is *St. Jerome's* oratory, where he translated the holy bible. On the left of the church, there are certain stately oracles, supported by five pillars, where they say, the same Saint taught; at present it serves the *Armenians* for a stable.

After dinner, I went about to see the other memorable places without *Betlehem*. In the first place, about a mile and a half out of the city, I saw in a plain, the village and cave of the shepherds, to which there is a descent of fifteen steps under ground. Within it is an altar to lay mafs, and by it an arch, under which, there was formerly a church, since decay'd with age. In this same village, now almost disinhabited, is the cistern they call our lady's; because she passing that way, and being refus'd drink, the water of it self miraculously swell'd up to the brim, and when she had drank, return'd to its place, as is deliver'd by tradition. Three miles thence appears a round hill, which they call of the *French*; because that devout and valorous nation, maintain'd it self there forty years after the taking of *Betbalia*, which was at the foot of the hill. There are still remains of structures on the top.

Within *Betlehem*, a pistol shot from Our lady's the monastery, is the cave call'd our lady's, because the blessed virgin retir'd thither as she was flying to *Egypt*. Entering through a narrow hole, there is a descent of ten steps, at the bottom whereof is the little cavern, with an altar in it. True it is, the devotion of the

GEMELLI  
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the faithful has been always making it bigger than it was, by carrying away some of that white stone, which is very good for people in fevers, and for women that have lost their milk, and therefore it is now call'd the cave of the milk. Not far from thence, are the remains of the hospital, built by St. Paula. The ruins of the monastery built by her, are half a mile from the shepherd's cave. St. Joseph's house was a musket shot from our lady's cave; but at present there remains no other memory of it, but only some small part of the foundation.

Solomon's  
country  
house.

Two miles from *Betlehem*, on the way to *Tecue*, where the prophet *Habakkuk* was born, on the top of a hill is *Solomon's* country house, and a plentiful fountain of water, which perhaps was that king's delight; as also somewhat lower, his enclosed garden (truly enclosed by nature) where formerly there was fruit of all sorts, but at present it is a meer field. Ascending from the garden to the house, about two miles from it, there are three great fish-ponds, so ordered, that the spare water of the upper, falls into the lower. The first is 200 paces in length, and 90 in breadth; the second 220, and 90; the third of the same breadth, 160 in length; and all three eighteen paces in depth. In *Solomon's* time, they were fill'd with water, from the *Fons signatus*; but the conduit being now ruin'd, they receive none but rain-water.

*Fons signatus*.

Since we have mention'd the *Fons signatus*, it will be convenient to inform the reader, that it is in the road to *Hebron*, above the fish-ponds, and fourteen spans lower than the road; and that the water has three several sources, which being all join'd, are convey'd by an aqueduct, to the holy city, into *Solomon's* temple, and the *Cadi's* palace. This may be suppos'd to have been some place of recreation of King *Solomon's*, there being several curious pillars, and pieces of *Mosaic* work about the hill, perhaps the remains of some delightful mansion-house.

S. George's  
chain.

A mile from the aforesaid fountain, is a church, dedicated to St. George, with a monastery, inhabited by four *Calovers*, or *Greek* priests, very poor, yet respected by the *Turks* for the Saint's sake, because they have the chain he was bound with, which being laid upon the neck of *Turk*, *Arab*, or other person of any religion whatsoever, infallibly cures madness. Having seen all this, we return'd very late at night to the monastery in *Betlehem*.

Tuesday the 14th having heard mass, and receiv'd the blessed sacrament at the altar of the holy nativity, I set out with the aforesaid company. A mile from *Betlehem*, I saw a plain in the valley, call'd *Senacberib's* field, where the angel in one night slew 185000 men that went to besiege *Jerusalem*; but tho' the story be certain, as deliver'd in holy writ; yet there is much reason to doubt of the place, because of its small extent for so great a number of men to encamp.

Further forward, on the right of the hill, they told me, was the place where the men (sent to discover by *Moses*) found that great bunch of grapes, which was carry'd between two. Going on along the same valley, we came to a fountain of excellent water, where they told me, St. Philip baptized queen *Candace's* eunuch; and towards the top of the mountain, is the country house where that Saint was born.

Two miles beyond the mountain is the desert, where St. John Baptist liv'd twenty three years, flying the cruelty of *Herod*. There is to be seen a haw-tree, on which they say, the Saint fed, and a spring of good water. Going down a considerable way into the hollow of the rock, is the cave, where he led a very penitential life, lying on a hard rock; there is now an altar to say mass.

Keeping on the way towards St. John's monastery, half a mile short of it, is the house of *Zachary* (formerly a nunnery) whither the blessed virgin went to visit St. Elizabeth, and there compos'd the *Magnificat*. The building is half bury'd in the ground, so that there is a descent of twenty five steps. There is an altar to say mass, and by it, two great arches, which were the cellar and refectory of the nuns; in the biggest of them, is a cistern of extreme cold water, but not very good to drink.

Thence we went to the monastery, St. John's. where the fathers receiv'd us very courteously. The church is small, and has a cupola supported by four pillars. On the right, there is a descent of ten steps to the place where St. John was born, made in the same manner like our Saviour's. On the top of a hill, opposite to the desert, is a country house, call'd *Modin*, or *Suva*, in the language of the country, in which the *Maccabees* were born, and afterwards bury'd near St. John Baptist's house, where there are still seven arches of their tombs standing. St. Samuel was interr'd on the same mountain, and there is now a church on the place.

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Holy  
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Four miles from St. John Baptift, in the fame valley, is the monastery of the holy crofs, with thirteen Greek fathers, in the place where they fay, the wood of the crofs was cut. The ftructure is good, and the church, tho' small, handfome; adorn'd with painting, and the pavement of Mofaick work. On the high altar is a hole, where the tree flood, that was cut down to make the holy crofs.

Drawing near to Jerufalem, is the place call'd Gibon, once the place king David delighted in, where Solomon was crown'd. Very little appears of the ftructure, be- fides a fish-pond fifty paces in length, thirty in breadth, and fifteen in depth. Here are the fepulchers of Turks, and they talk as if it had been the habitation of giants.

Not being able to go thither for fear of the Arabs, I endeavour'd at a diftance to take a view of the place, where Chrift fell into the company of the two difci- ples, Luke and Cleophas: The village of Belezazar, where Abfalom murder'd his brother Amnon, for forcing his fifter Tamar: The houfe of Cleophas, where Chrift made himfelf known in the break- ing of bread: The field call'd Gabaon, where Jofhua overthrew five kings, mak- ing the fun to ftand ftill, that he might have a compleat victory: Samuel's foun- tain, and his fepulcher: The fepulchers of the Jews: The fepulcher of queen Helen, and that of the queen of Sheba: The cells of St. John Chryftome, St. John Damafcen, and St. Bafil; the grave where forty martyrs were found: The orato- ry of the abbot Arfius: The fountain and oratory of St. Sabas; and laftly the cave of Engeddi, where David cut off the hem of Saul's garment, when he perfecut- ed him.

The holy  
fepulcher.

Saturday the 5th, I paid sixteen piaftres, to have the holy fepulcher open'd; which charge, no chriftian that enters the gates of Jerufalem can avoid, the Turks to that effect taking notice of their com- ing in. After dinner, I was very cha- ritably receiv'd by the guardian, and twelve friars that live there; they mak- ing the ufual proceffion, together with the priefts of the upper monastery, that I might vifit all the holy places; which ceremony is alfo practis'd at Beblehem, when pilgrims arrive there. That night I was shut up in this facred place, becaufe the Turks lock it up and carry away the keys.

Sunday the 6th I heard mafs, and re- ceiv'd the blefs'd facrament in the holy fepulcher. In the court before the gate of the church, there are fix chappels, or little churches, call'd St. Mary of

Vol. IV.

Golgotha, St. George, St. John Baptift, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Michael, and St. Angel; kept for the moft part by Greeks, Armenians, and Coptis, who all have their churches and dwellings in the fame place. The Greeks are about twelve, the Armenians forty one, and only one Copti. The Sirians and Abiffinians have no place there.

The church of the holy fepulcher has nothing beautiful, but it fpires, piety and devotion. It is very antient and dark, having no light but what comes from the top of the cupola, clos'd by a net of filed iron, through which, of necef- fity, it rains down in winter upon the chappel of the holy fepulcher, there be- ing no light to be let in any other way. It is all round up to the top, with four- teen marble pillars, and fix very antient pilafters, which fupport the arches about the church, over the which, there are feveral rooms, eleven of the Francifcans, and fix of the Greeks, but dark, and with- out ornament.

These lift have a beautiful church on the right hand of the gate, with good paintings, and a cupola, as alfo an excellent choir, and altar; near which is a majestick chair for their Patriarch. The Francifcans officiate in theirs ad- joining to the fepulcher, which though small, is decently adorn'd. There are in it two round pieces of marble, near which our Saviour appear'd to the blefs'd virgin after his refurrexion. Tho- rough an iron grate is feen the pillar, at which Chrift was feourg'd, which is of marble, of feveral colours, and three fpan high; near which is a ftone, that was found in the fepulcher. In the fame great church, defcending four fteps, is the place where our Saviour appear- ed to St. Mary Magdalen like a gar- dener, but cover'd with a round mar- ble out of refpect. Still proceeding along the firft arch'd way on the fide of the church, which on that fide has two ifles; there is a defcent of three fteps into the prifon where our lord was kept, whilst the crofs was prepa- ring: it is a dark arch'd chappel, fup- ported by small pillars, which divide it into three ifles. Turning back towards the left, there are two holes, where they fay, Chrift fell: And going on to the fecond arch'd way, behind the Greek church, is the chappel of Longinus, arch'd like the reft, meanly adorn'd, and poffefs'd by the Greeks, as is that of the prifon. Clofe to it is another chappel, with the place where the fol- diers divided our Saviour's garments, kept by the Armenians. On the fame

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side.

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**GENEVI** side, there is a descent of thirty steps to the chappel of *St. Helen*, which is bigger than the rest, with a good cupola, supported by four pillars, which on the sides leave two small isles; where on the left, is the chappel of the good thief, kept by the *Armenians*: On the other side is a chappel, kept by the *Greeks*, in which, near the stairs of mount *Calvary*, is the pillar of reproach, made of marble, of several colours, three spans high, and six about.

Eleven steps cut in the rock, lead into the place, where *St. Helen's* cross was found: This is a lofty dark chappel, belonging to the catholicks.

Mount  
Calvary.

A little further, behind the *Greek* church, there is an ascent of eighteen steps up to mount *Calvary*, with four arches. In the first on the right, three spans above the pavement, is a hole in the stone, in which the holy cross was fix'd, with a round piece of marble, on the floor, covering the spot, on which the blessed virgin stood, whilst the cross was raising; and near by it, a great and very deep opening; and this belongs to the *Greek* fathers. On the left, is the place where our Saviour was nail'd to the cross, with two altars, a great, and a little one. Under the fourth arch, there are five stones, which denote the place where christ was stripp'd, belonging to the catholicks, as does our lady's chappel, close by it, to which there is a door from without. There it was, the blessed virgin and *St. John* stood, when Christ looking on them from the cross, said, *Woman, behold thy Son*; and to *St. John*, *Behold thy Mother*. On the same mountain is the dwelling of the *Greeks*.

Descending from mount *Calvary*, we went into a chappel, kept by the *Greeks*, call'd *Adam's* chappel, because there they say, our first parent's head was found. On the right of the door, is *Baldwin's* sepulcher, and on the left, that of *Godfrey of Bolloigne*, brothers. There is another, they say, is *Melchisedek's*; but I know not what ground they have for it.

Opposite to the great gate, is the stone of the holy anointing, on which our redeemer was anointed. It is of white marble, eight spans long, and four broad, enclosed within iron banisters. Below it, is a place kept by *Armenians*, mark'd on the pavement by a round stone, where Christ's friends stood to observe where he was bury'd. All these places are lighted by several lamps, and I visited them in this order, in procession with the fathers.

The chappel of the holy sepulcher is about twenty four spans in compass, in the midst of the church, with a little cupola, supported by twelve small columns. Entering into it, at a little door, there appears by the light of seventeen small lamps, that burn day and night, the stone the angel remov'd from the mouth of the sepulcher, half bury'd in the ground. A narrow hole gives a passage into the sepulcher, which is eight spans square, where is the tomb, of the same length, which being cover'd with a marble stone, serves for an altar to say mass on. Tho' there be three holes on the top to let out the smoak, yet the place is excessive hot, by reason of forty seven lamps burning there continually. Both this, and the oratory that contains it, are all hung within and without with silk. The *Coptic*s have their chappel adjoining to the back part of it; opposite to which (first passing through the chappel of the *Sirians*, and then through a way cut in a rock) are to be seen the tombs of *Nicodemus*, and *Joseph of Arimathea*, cut out at length in the stone; besides that, which the latter caus'd to be made for himself, in imitation of our Saviour's.

Then I went up the stairs near the place of Christ's friends, to the chappel of the *Armenians*, and saw them say mass. The priest had on a cope, with a collar, like that of the habit of the *Theatins*, and a long cap on his head. He came out into the chappel, with a small chalice, cover'd with a veil; several silver horsebells the people there present had in their hands ginglyng, because they are not allow'd there to ring other bells; but instead of them, they make use of a piece of wood twelve spans long, which upon occasion, they beat with a wooden mallet.

The plate that has been given by so many kings and princes to the holy sepulcher, is kept bury'd, for fear of the *Turks*, nor do they shew it to any pilgrim; but the father guardian did me this special favour, by ordering it to be taken up, which the sacristan was unwilling to do. This rich church stuff, consisted of a lamp of about 300 pound weight, sent thither by *Philip III.* king of *Spain*; a cross, chalice, and most costly vestments, the gift of the most christian *Lewis XIV.* king of *France*; other vestments adorn'd with gold, pearls, and precious stones, sent by king *Philip II.* and other christian princes; a chalice by queen *Catherine of England*, and six candlesticks, four flower-pots, and a silver cross, given by the city of *Messina*, in memory of the

Greek  
Sanctum  
Sanctum.

the letter, which those people verily believe was writ to them by the blessed virgin: The Festival whereof they celebrate with great pomp, on the second of *June*; of which furniture, for its excellent workmanship, they make use upon the greatest festivals.

Greek  
Sanctum  
Sanctorum.

The *Greeks* also open'd to me their *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where I worshipp'd some precious reliicks; as an arm of *St. Mary Magdalen*; a great piece of the holy cross, and *St. John Baptist's* scull. Besides this, I saw several boxes, censers, and other vessels all of silver, such as they use in their ceremonies, and a wooden cross of wonderful workmanship, carv'd by a *Greek*, with such small figures, that it requires a microscope to discern them; as also some excellent pictures, drawn by *Candiots* and *Muscovites*.

Over this holy place, a *Mabometan Santone* has his dwelling; not so much to guard it, as to receive the money paid for opening of it: And therefore on *Monday* the seventh, after having perform'd my devotions in the holy sepulcher, I made him open me the door to go out. I went directly to *St. Saviour's*, where I was shew'd the curious and artificial lamp, sent by the commissary of *Naples*, worth fourteen thousand crowns; and the copy of the holy *Sudarium*, or picture of our Saviour, imprinted on the cloth-where-with the *holy woman Veronica* wip'd his face, sent by the duke of *Savoy*.

It is fit the reader be inform'd, that these holy places were many years since seiz'd upon by the *Greeks*; but after a long trial before the *Divan* at *Constantinople*, they were restor'd to the *Capuchins*; the marquis *de Chateaufort*, his most christian majesties ambassador to the port, particularly supporting them for twelve years together, with the assistance of *B. Dominick* of *Ruizaval* a *Biscainer*, a person of admirable capacity, tho' a lay-brother. In memory of which benefit, those fathers have put down

the marquis in their table of masses GEMELLI 1693. for benefactors, immediately next to the crown'd heads. Thus seven masses being sung every week in the holy sepulcher; the first is appointed for the pope, the second for the emperor, the third for the king of *Spain*, the fourth for the king of *France*, the fifth for the king of *Poland*, the sixth for the republic of *Venice*, and the seventh for the marquis *de Chateaufort*.

To return to the business in hand; this country is most holy and worthy of all veneration, as having been sprinkled with the most precious blood of our Saviour; but on the other side it is to be fled from, because of the *Turks* and *Arabs*, who forbear no robbery or insolency they can commit; and therefore the discreet pilgrim, as soon as he has perform'd his devotions, must make haste and be gone, to be out of the power of those *Barbarians*, who are utter enemies of the christian name. Nor is it allow'd on any account, for a christian to stand upon his defence, but he must suffer himself to be beaten; for if a christian happen to kill a *Mabometan*, his blood alone, which is certainly spilt, and his goods seiz'd, is not a sufficient atonement, but all his abettors, and his whole nation must pay several thousand crowns.

*Tuesday* the eighth, being the day of the nativity of the blessed virgin, and I to prepare for my journey, I heard mass four hours before day, in the very house she was born in. Many religious men, and christians of the country were present; and besides private masses at several altars, there was one mass sung, after which, I, and all the catholicks receiv'd the blessed sacrament. I should not have had that convenience at another time, because the *Turks* have a *Mosque* over it, and do not suffer mass to be said there, but only on that day; and this privilege bought with a considerable sum of money.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Author's return to Alexandria the same way he came.*

I Return'd before day to *St. Saviour's* church, where the reverend father guardian gave me his blessing in his patriarchal vestments; and then came to my lodging to wish me a good journey, with many expressions of tender affection, and with him the father procurator general, both of them presenting me with chocolate, and some devout gifts; and to compleat their kindness,

caus'd two masses to be said, one in the holy sepulcher, and the other on mount *Calvary*, for the happy success of my voyage.

Getting on horse-back without *Belebem* gate, with only the guard of the muletier, whom there they call *Muccaro*, I took along *Jeremiab's* road, and met with no trouble till I came to that mountain, where two peasants, who observ'd me at a distance, would have me

GEMELLI  
1693. me go to them. I stopp'd till my *Muccaro* came up, who had stay'd behind to eat figs (whereof as also of grapes, olives, and pomegranats, there is great plenty on the neighbouring hills) he being come, had a quarter of an hours dispute with the peasants. They seeing I had a red coat on, thought I was some merchant loaded with money, and had a mind to rob me; as I, tho' ignorant of the language guess'd by their actions, so that the *Muccaro* had enough to do to persuade them, I carry'd no money, whilst I fretted to see my self in a country, where two naked men durst impose upon me.

But I fear'd worse in the village of the good thief, where a wretched barefooted fellow ran after me, call'd to me to stay, till the receiver of the tribute, or duty, who was his master, and an *Arab* came up. I obey'd, and he being come, began by signs to demand money of me, tho' the *Muccaro* had already pay'd the duty, because he also by my habit, took me for a merchant. Having told him I had none about me, because I had left it at *Rama*; he fell to search me, beginning at my breeches, as being excellently skill'd in the art of robbing; and finding I had none, would have me promise to pay him a piastre at *Rama*, or else he would carry me away prisoner to the next mountain. To avoid this danger, I promis'd what was not his due, and he came punctually to receive it, but I made the muletier pay it, who had undertaken for twenty eight piastres, to clear me from all such impositions, and carry me to *Jaffa* upon his own charge.

By these passages, any one may judge how little justice is to be had in those countries, since the tax-gatherer robs so openly, and without controul: Nor is this to be admir'd at, because the people of that nation are naturally, or through custom lazy, and therefore love to live by robbing, without taking the pains to till the ground. Besides, if any of them would labour, he should not reap the fruit of it; and therefore there are continual scuffles between the country people and the *Arabs*, who are always stealing their corn. One day, before I came to *Beiklebem*, seven *Arabs* and three country men had been wounded in a fray. There are mortal enmities among the *Arabs* themselves, some being of the white banner, and some of the red, which is the cause that many of both parties are kill'd daily. Thus both *Arabs* and peasants live a wretched life, lying on the bare ground, and feeding on a little bread, without any other food,

because they cannot always meet with *Franks* to rob. After the tax-gatherer had left me, I put on a scurvy black garment of the *Muccaro's*, that my own might not call thieves, and made halt to *Rama*. Being come thither, I stay'd all *Wednesday* the ninth expecting the convenience of some *Caravan* to *Jaffa*.

*Thursday* the tenth, I paid the visit to some christian *Maronites* of note that had been to see me. *Friday* the eleventh I went with some fathers to the holy places about *Rama*. *Saturday* the twelfth we saw a cavalcade of *Arabs*, with pipes, carrying two children to be circumcis'd, which ceremony ended in a plentiful treat of many dishes of *Pilau*; that is, meat boil'd with rice.

*Sunday* the thirteenth I set out after dinner for *Jaffa*, with a *Caravan* of *Arabs*, and came thither at sun-set. The *Muccaro* would have me give him another reward, besides what he had from the customer, but I would not hearken to him. The visiting of the holy places, cost me seventy crowns of our money in all. The poor and disabled pilgrims, who cannot go up to *Jerusalem*, gain all the indulgences of the holy land at *Jaffa*, as if they had visited it, and from *Jaffa* return into *Europe*.

I embark'd on *Monday* the fourteenth *St. John* with a fair wind, and sailing all night, arriv'd on *Tuesday* the fifteenth at the ancient *Ptolemais*, now call'd *St. John of Acre*, mostly ruin'd and void of inhabitants. I went to the monastery of the *Franciscans*, where I was furnish'd with necessaries to go to *Nazareth*.

*Wednesday* the sixteenth I set out with an interpreter, and got into *Nazareth* about evening, the days journey being twenty five miles. *Thursday* the seventeenth I perform'd my devotions, worshipping the holy place, where the angel saluted the blessed virgin, serv'd by the *Capucins*, who receiv'd me with much civility and affection. *Friday* the eighteenth having visited some other devout neighbouring churches, I return'd to *St. John of Acre*, it being impracticable for pilgrims to go further to see *Galilee*, and other holy places, for fear of the *Arabs*.

*Saturday* the nineteenth there was no convenience of boats, and therefore I departed on *Sunday* the twentieth after noon. That night we were becalm'd, but *Monday* the twenty first made much way, yet came not to *Jaffa* till *Tuesday* the twenty second, *Wednesday* the twenty third I bargain'd for my passage to *Damiata*, aboard a *Saïque* that was returning thither, on *Thursday* the twenty fourth to return to *Alexandria*, where I had left my equipage.

*Friday*



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Friday

Friday the 25th the wind prov'd fair, and so continu'd till midnight, but came about almost in our teeth on Saturday the 26th. Sunday the 27th, it blew brisk and fair, so that on Monday the 28th, we arriv'd at the *Bogasi*, or mouth of the river of *Damiata*, near which St. *Lewis* king of *France*, after taking that city, caus'd a fort to be built, which is still to be seen. I took a boat to carry me to the city, and tho' I endeavour'd to shun the knavery of the *Black of Huba*, yet I could not shun the *Janizaries*, who exacted half a piastre for suffering me to pass, and then search'd my portmanteau for the duties of the custom-house.

I thought I should have a good night's rest, in the house of the christian *Maronite*, who is procurator to the religious of *Jerusalem*; but it was my misfortune to pass it much worse than I had done the four last at sea, because of some small night insects there were in the room; and of a black woman, who being in labour close by, cry'd out all night as if she had been possess'd.

I resolv'd in the morning to complain to the customer against *Selim the Black*, who had extorted two piales more than his due: He answer'd me, he had no power over him, but that I might acquaint the *Bassa of Caire* with it. The boat being ready to depart, I was obliged to go aboard it with the customer, who went the same way, lest I should let slip that opportunity.

Wednesday the last day of the month, we sail'd with a fair wind up the same branch of the river *Nile*, before describ'd; and on Thursday the 1st of October, we run up the river. The customer was pleas'd to live two days without eating any meat, because there was never a Jew there, who with a knife, without any blemish, might kill some gelt goat, hen, or other fowl there were aboard, according to the *Mabometan* superstition.

Friday the 2d of October we arriv'd at *Bulac*, and that being the day the boat was to set out for *Roseto*, I only went out of one vessel into another, running down the *Nile*, which had drown'd all the coun-

try. I said before, and I say it over a-  
gain, that a christian who travels into  
*Egypt*, and the holy land, must arm him-  
self with patience, and be deaf, because  
christians are equally hated by *Turks* and  
*Arabs*, and must take abundance of affronts  
from them both; for very often a naked  
scoundrel, that has not rags to cover him,  
has the impudence to scoff at grave peo-  
ple. The other mischief is, that they  
think all the *Franks* are Physicians, and  
therefore, tho' they be in health, will have  
them feel their pulse, which I was forc'd  
to do, to avoid some greater trouble,  
knowing I should not be thank'd for it.

Saturday the 3d, the wind was contra-  
ry, so that we made little way; the same  
on Sunday the 4th. Thro' the negligence  
of the ignorant sailors, the bark run a-  
ground, and they were forc'd to unload  
it to get off, and then load again, which  
took up a great part of the day; but the  
wind coming up fair, we arriv'd at *Roseto*  
about sun-setting. Monday the 5th, I  
imbark'd for *Alexandria*, and landed there  
before night. In that port, I found a  
*French* vessel ready to sail for *Leghorn*,  
with whom, if I would have returned in-  
to christendom, I should have ended this  
curious voyage in three months and a  
half; but being resolv'd to go on into  
the east, I slighted that opportunity. On  
the other side, being inform'd there were  
some vessels at *Bicbier* ready to sail for  
*Constantinople*; I made it my business  
to have a passage aboard them, wherein I  
was much forwarded by the civility of  
*Arrigo Grimaud*, a merchant of *Marseilles*,  
who during my whole stay at *Alexandria*,  
very affectionately labour'd to clear me  
from any trouble at the custom-house.

Tuesday the 6th, I got a letter writ to  
the *Aga* of *Bicbier*, to procure my pas-  
sage aboard one of those vessels. Wed-  
nesday the 7th I went about to take my  
leave of the consul and merchants. Thurs-  
day the 8th, monsieur *Grimaud* treated me  
with all that the country affords; and  
Friday the 9th, being to depart the next  
day, I supp'd at the consul mounfieur  
*Tamburin's*, with all the *French* that diet-  
ed there.

## CHAP. X.

### Of the Religion, Government, Customs, Habits, Fruit, and Air of Egypt.

BEFORE I depart *Egypt*, it will not be  
amiss, but rather very advantageous,  
and delightful to the reader, if after these  
particulars, I give some general account  
of the present state of that kingdom,  
which has suffer'd so many revolutions:

VOL. IV.

First under the yoke of the *Pharaoh's*, and  
since, from time to time under the *Ptole-  
mies*, *Romans*, *Agarenes* of *Arabia Felix*  
and *Turks*, who are now possess'd of it.  
The christians of the country call'd *Egypt  
Maffr*, the *Turks* *Misir*, and the *Jews*

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*Eretmisraim*. It is bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean*, on the east by *Arabia* and the *Red Sea*; on the south by *Abissinia* and *Nubia*, and on the west by the deserts, and kingdom of *Barca*. It is generally divided into three parts, which are *Babri*, or the *Lower Egypt*; *Vostani*, or the *Middle Egypt*; and *Said*, or the *Upper Egypt*. The *Lower* contains all the space between the sea and *Caire*, being that which the antients call'd *Delta*, because the arm of the *Nile*, and the sea that bounds this part, make a triangle, which is the same as the *Greek* letter *Delta*; and the chief city of this *Lower Egypt*, is *Alexandria*. The *Middle Egypt* is bounded by the village of *Giza*, and *Momfalot*, and its principal city is *Caire*. The *Upper Egypt*, otherwise call'd *Thebaida*, has for its chief city *Aina*, or *Igne*, formerly *Syene*, built on the banks of *Nile*.

*Egypt* is inhabited by *Coptis*, *Moors*, *Arabs*, *Turks*, *Greeks*, *Jews*, and other nations. The prevailing religion is the *Mahometan*, of which I shall speak in the description of the *Ottoman* empire. The *Coptis*, so call'd from *Copt*, the son of *Misraim* king of *Egypt*, were formerly idolaters, like all the other *Egyptians*, worshipping not only *Isis* and *Serapis*, but many other monstrous deities; but after the coming of Christ, they were the first in *Africk*, converted to the christian faith, by the preaching of St. *Mark the Evangelist*, their apostle. They continu'd catholic till the time of their patriarch *Dioscorus*, who fell into the error they still continue in to this day. In past ages they were a very considerable number, 600000 paying tribute; at present they do no more amount to 15000 souls. One of the principal causes of their decrease, has been their contancy in the christian religion, which so provok'd the rage of the *Pagan* governors under the *Roman* empire, that they butcher'd many thousands at a time, and now they are the people most oppress'd by the *Turks*. The government of *Egypt* is subject to the *Ottoman* laws, and manag'd by a *Bassa*, sent thither by the port.

As for the inhabitants, as formerly they were accounted ingenious, courteous and civil, some attributing to them the invention of geometry, arithmetick, astrology, and physick; so now, they are barbarous, rude, fierce, sloathful, false and treacherous; great thieves, and extremely covetous; insomuch, that they will sell their own brother for the value of six pence; but above all, they hate the very name of a christian, and have insus'd that aversion into their very beasts; for even the dogs run after the *Franks*, knowing them by their apparel. The habit of the better sort of *Arabs*, is almost the same as that of the *Turks*; but the inferior people wear a sack, or as they call it, a *Caban* over their shirt, wrapping a poor piece of cloth or silk about their heads instead of a turban. The women cover their faces with a mask of cloth or silk, and their bodies with a long cloth over their garments; the better sort of them wear high wooden clogs, insomuch, that to us, they look like monsters. Of themselves, they are low and brown, and their greatest beauty in the opinion of the natives, is a sparkling eye.

Their seasons are three months before ours, for they eat figs and grapes at the beginning of *June*. All the sorts of fruit known in *Europe*, are there in a greater perfection, by reason of the goodness of the soil, especially pears, pomegranates, apples, and some others; not to speak of dates, which are peculiar to *Africk*. As for birds, there are all sorts we have in *Europe*, and many particular. There are most delicious *Beccaficos*, like wheat-ears; and the turtles are so numerous and tame, that they walk about the streets and houses like pigeons, but their partridges are small and hard.

The air of the country is unhealthy, by reason of the great heat, and therefore there is no travelling at all times of the year; partly by reason of the overflowing of *Nile*, and partly because of the violence of the sun.

*The End of the first Book.*

A



# *A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part I.*

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in  
TURKEY.

## BOOK II.

### CHAP. I.

*An Account of the most remarkable Things the Author saw in the Islands of Rhodes, Stanchio, and Scio, and in the City of Smirna.*

THE boat being ready, I went aboard it on *Saturday* the 10th of *October*, being bound for *Bichier*, where I arriv'd about noon, and gave my letter of recommendation to the *Aga* of the castle, who spoke to the *Rais*, or master of the vessel for me. Being agreed about my passage, I caus'd my baggage to be put aboard the ship, which was under sail, and began to make way within two hours, with a fair wind, which lasted all night, I pass'd it indifferently, because these sort of vessels, call'd *Londras*, have the poop, deck, gang-ways, and masts like a galley, only they have one little mast and sail more.

The wind continu'd fair *Sunday* the 11th till noon; but after that, it began to blow so hard, and contrary, that it oblig'd the fearful master and sailors to turn back. Thus on *Monday* the 12th, we came again into the port of *Alexandria* at two in the afternoon, and going aboard I went to pay my respects to *monfieur Tamburin*, who oblig'd me to stay in his house, where he and all the *French* often drank to my good voyage.

*Tuesday* the 13th, we sail'd again with a fair wind; but when we had run forty miles, the master, who was better skill'd upon rivers than at sea, out of a vain fear, stood about again for *Alexandria*, tho' neither the sea ran very high, nor the wind was very boisterous. Being sensible of his mistake, he stood his course again, but we had not sail'd far, before fear and ignorance brought him about again, and we put into the port

of *Bichier*: on *Wednesday* the 14th. It was a torment to me to see my voyage retarded by his folly, and would have given any money to be aboard a christian ship to be out of the hands of scoundrels.

*Thursday* the 15th, there was as dreadful a storm by sea and land, as was ever known in *Italy* in *December*. *Friday* the 16th it rain'd hard, by which it appears they are much deceiv'd, who think the sky is clear all over *Egypt* in winter; for the ancients, who deliver'd this account, meant it only of the *Upper*, but not of the *Lower Egypt*.

*Saturday* the 17th, I went ashore to divert the melancholy I was troubled with for being among *Turks* and *Greeks*, where no body understood me. Going aboard again at night, all the provision I carry'd with me was eggs, the country affording nothing else.

*Sunday* the 18th, the wind began a little to fall. *Monday* the 19th it rain'd again, and held on *Tuesday* the 20th, which settled the sea. The seamen stay'd *Wednesday* the 21st to dry their sails, and prepare to sail; and at length, *Thursday* the 22d, the *Rais* or master, encourag'd by other vessels that shew'd him it was safe going to sea, crept out of his hole. The wind blew so brisk and favourable that day and *Friday* the 23d, that our vessel carrying three sails, left three *Saiques* a-stern; and *Saturday* the 24th, before noon, we happily arriv'd at the port of *Rhodes*, having run 500 miles in forty seven hours.

The

GEMELLI  
1693.  
Rhodes.

The city *Rhodes*, once one of the most flourishing in *Asia*, is in the latitude of 36 degrees. It maintain'd it self a long time as a commonwealth, gaining so much reputation by sea, that the emperor *Antoninus Pius* doubted not to decree, That the pretensions of one *Eudemus* should be decided according to the laws of the *Rhodians*. But this city afterwards falling under the dominion of several princes, was at last granted by *Emanuel*, emperor of *Constantinople*, to the knights hospitallers of *St. John*, who had been expell'd the holy land. The knights being in possession, fortify'd themselves, and defended it bravely in the year 1444, against the sultan of *Egypt*. In the year 1480, under the empire of *Mabomet II*, they held out a siege of three months, by the valour and conduct of the great master *Ambusson*; but afterwards in 1522, after a vigorous defence made by *Adam* the great master, the island fell under the dominion of *Soliman II*.

The city.

This city is seated on the east side of the island; part on the plain, and part on the hill. It is three miles in compass, the streets are wide, strait, and well-pav'd; and in the midst of the greatest is a row of white marble stones from one to the other. In this street are to be seen the lodgings of the knights of *St. John*, and the palace of the great master. The buildings are after the *Italian* manner, of square stone, harder than the *Naples* stone; the *Bazars* or markets, are furnish'd with all the island, or adjacent continent affords, sold at a very easy rate. By the building it appears to have been in the hands of christians, their magnificence being nothing diminished by the brutality of the *Mabometans*, who have not abolish'd the antiquities; and the arms of the knights of *Jerusalem* are every where to be seen, even upon the artillery.

After hearing a *Greek* mass on *Sunday* the 25th, I walk'd about to see the city, which is a good fortress; for besides being all round furnish'd with good cannon, it has a treble wall, and two ditches, and on the castle side three. The gates on the land-side are five; but three of them shut, and two open, secur'd by several works and draw-bridges; and to the sea there are two more. The inhabitants are *Turks* and *Jews*; for all the *Greek* christians, being the greater number, live in the suburbs and country-houses about it, which yield a pleasant prospect amidst the gardens and vineyards. The *Turks* drive them all out of the city on *Friday*, to say their prayers at noon with

the gates shut, punishing those severely that do not make haste out, when the signal is given.

*Monday* the 26th, I went to see the Palace. great master's palace, seated on the highest part of the hill, which at present serves for a prison, and dwelling-place of two *Chams* of *Little Tartary*, depos'd out of jealousy, and kept perpetual prisoners by the *Great Turk*; to the end, that if he who rules, behaves himself amiss, one of the prisoners may be set up in his place, and he succeed the other in the prison. I saw nothing curious in it, but only a great structure which the *Turks* suffer to run to ruin, without taking care to repair it. The church of *St. John* adjoining to the said palace, is now the chief *Mosque*.

I said before, the city was encompass'd by three walls, and as many ditches; I must now add, that it has as many ports for security of its ships and galleys. That which serves the ships is defended by the bastion *St. Elmo* with ten pieces of cannon, which also serves for a light-house. The other adjoining to it, is defended on the left by a tower with eight small guns, and on the right by the enchanted, or *Moors* tower with twenty eight guns, but only the eight that lie level with the water carry a large ball. A man may almost creep into one of them, on which, close by the arms of the knights, I read this inscription, *Opus Francisci Mantuani, A. D. 1486*.

They told me, that when the city was taken, there were found three pieces of a prodigious bigness, which shot stone-bullets so large, that two men could scarce fathom them; for which reason they were afterwards transported to *Constantinople*. The aforesaid fort is square, The fort having four little towers at the angles, and an octagon in the middle, all made by the knights. From it to the opposite bastion, they draw a chain to shut up the port, which is not very safe, for in my time the admiral of *Algier* was cast away in it, and a little before my coming, a ship and a *Saique*.

From this port they go into the other <sup>The C.</sup> <sup>Colossus.</sup> within it, which is like an arsenal, and serves for small vessels. It has two mouths, one in the middle, and the other near the aforesaid port, from whence to the city it is shut up by art. In this second <sup>Atl. p. 3</sup> port stood the famous *Colossus* of brass, <sup>descrip.</sup> <sup>holy land</sup> set up by *Chares* of the city of *Lyndus* <sup>Plin. lib.</sup> (Disciple to the famous statuary *Lisippus*) 36. *M.* who in the term of twelve years finish'd <sup>de L. un</sup> it, with the expence of 300 talents. The <sup>versé, h.</sup> height of it was seventy cubits, and no <sup>2. p. 286</sup>

*Marmel. Africk, tom. 1. pag. 141*  
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The island

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man

man could fathom its thump, every finger being as big as the largest of the ancient statues; so that the space between the two legs serv'd for vessels to pass under, that went to anchor there. It held a vessel in its hand, in which they kept a great fire, to light ships in the dark of the night; but when it had stood fifty six years, it was thrown down by an earthquake; the *Rhodians* threaten'd by their oracle, not daring to set it up again; and thus that wonderful work lay on the ground for several ages, till the year 654, when it was knock'd in pieces. In 1136, about 1460 years after it had been erected, it was utterly destroy'd by one *Mabavia*, a chief of the *Saracens*, who made himself master of the island, and fold the metal to a *Jew*, who landing it in the lesser *Asia*, had it carry'd into *Egypt* on 900 camels.

The port of the galleys is the best for security and conveniency. There were at that time three galleys, the other two being abroad under the command of their general *Ammaza-mamma*.

*Tuesday* the 27th, I went to see the *French* consul, who was a *Grecian*, that he might secure me against any insult of the *Turks*. I found him not, but understood he could do me little kindness, as being in no esteem among the *Turks*; besides that they are not there so insolent to the *Franks*.

*Wednesday* the 28th I walk'd in the suburbs, in a good garden that produced excellent grapes and figs, and at night return'd aboard the vessel. *Thursday* the 29th, meeting with the *Rais*, or master, I perceiv'd he had no inclination to leave his house so soon, being detain'd by the embraces of his wife, who was a beautiful *Turkish* woman. The *Rhodian* women out of modesty cover their foreheads with a handkerchief, and their chin up to the nose with another. *Friday* the 30th, being the day of prayer, I took my way towards the palace along the knights street, to see the aforementioned *Cham*, who was to pass by to the *Mosque*. At last he appear'd with a train of twenty followers, clad after the *Tartar* manner; he was of a good stature, and had only a blemish in his right eye.

The island

The island of *Rhodes*, formerly call'd *Osusa*, *Asteria* and *Ætirea*, and by other names, is 140 Italian miles in length. The climate is temperate, and pleasant; the soil abounding in fruit and wine, but produces not corn enough, but is plentifully supply'd out of *Natolia*, which is but twenty miles distant from it on the north side. Formerly there were several cities in it, now reduc'd to villages; as

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*Filerno*, *Lyndo*, the country of the famous *GEMELLI* 1693.  
statuary abovementioned, *Basilica*, *Catala-*  
*via*, and others, inhabited by wretched  
*Greeks*, *Jews*, and *Turks*.

My continual instances to the *Rais*, or master, prevail'd with him at length to leave his fair, and set sail on *Saturday* the last day of *October*; but we had scarce sail'd two miles, before he return'd, the thoughts of her perhaps carrying him away. Besides, these base *Turks* and *Greeks* are afraid when they perceive the wind rise, and act with such disorder and noise, that they know not themselves what they are about; so that ten christians are more serviceable at sea than fifteen *Turks*. *Sunday* the 1st of *November*, I did my devotions in the *Greek* church, and so *Monday* the 2d; *Tuesday* the 3d a *Saïque* enter'd the port with a company of soldiers bound for *Constantinople*.

*Wednesday* the 4th, as I was walking, a *Turk* call'd to me to go into his house, but I fearing the penalty of being impal'd kept on my way. *Thursday* the 5th, a *Sicilian* told me the *Turks* suspected me for a spy, and therefore advis'd me to take care they did not make me a slave; it being the practice there to use *Franks* so upon slight pretences; as had happened the year before to four *Frenchmen*, who came from *Napoli di Romania* at the same time the fleet lay before *Canea*, and were made slaves in *Rhodes*, upon pretence that they were spies. This troubled me, and the more because I had forgot to get a pass from the *French* consul, seeing I had travell'd through the holy land without being molested by the *Mabometians*. *Friday* the 6th, being the day of prayer, and I not having taken notice of the usual signal, perceiv'd when it was too late, that the gates were shut; therefore there being no going out, I hid my self for fear in a tower, where, had the *Turks* found me, I had certainly been taken, and secur'd as a spy. Perceiving what dangers I ran, I spent all *Saturday* seeking some other vessel to carry me out of *Rhodes*, but it was my misfortune to find none.

*Sunday* the 8th, I heard mass in the *Greek* church, with leave of the superior. *Monday* the 9th, a *French* tartane arriv'd in the port, but prov'd to be bound for *Cyprus*, so that it was not for my turn. *Tuesday* the 10th, another came in, carrying four *French* merchants from *Seyde* to *Smirna*, who courteously offer'd me my passage, advising me to bring my equipage, and lie aboard the vessel myself, because I was in danger of being made a slave by the *Turks*, as they had been inform'd by capt. *Sanjon*, a renegade of *Mar-*

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Mar.

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*Marfeilles*, and vice-admiral of the *Algier*-vessel loft in the port. Accordingly I carry'd my equipage, and went to lie aboard that night, paying the master of the first vessel the full we had agreed on for the whole voyage.

Thus after so long a stay, I set out on *Wednesday* about noon. There were aboard the tartane, besides the four *Frenchmen*, seven *Turks*, and the *Aga* of *Seyde*, who had quitted the *Turkish* ship, because of the ignorance of the owner. What I observ'd in these barbarians, was, that they had laid aside the foolish fierceness and arrogance they practice aboard their own ships, where they seek all occasions to wrong a christian; and it was a great satisfaction to me to see them aboard our tartane, as quiet as lambs; not venturing to say their prayers in publick, for fear of being laugh'd at. Having sail'd twenty miles, we pass'd by the island *Scimo*, and at the end of thirty by *Piscopi*, *Calce* and *Nissaro*, islands inhabited by *Grecians*, and nests of pirates. *Thursday* the 12th, we could not weather cape *Creo*, the wind being in our teeth; which continu'd *Friday* the 13th, but growing calmer, we with difficulty put into the island *Stanchio*, one hundred miles distant from *Rhodes*, three hours before night, having all the way coasted along the continent of *Natolia*.

*Stanchio*  
island.

*Stanchio*, *Stanco*, *Stingo* and *Stancu*, or according to the antients *Merope* and *Cos*, is a longish island, on the east, looking towards *Natolia*, from which it is parted by a strait of six miles. It is famous for having brought into the world the famous painter *Apelles*, and the renowned physician *Hippocrates*, who is said to have become so learned by reading the many tablets brought to the temple of *Esculapius* in this island; because all that recover'd of any distemper, were oblig'd to leave an account in writing, in the temple, of the medicines that had cur'd them.

The city.

Going ashore to see a wonderful tree, as also the city, I took notice it was seated near the sea, on a rising ground, and defended by good walls, and a deep ditch fill'd by the sea; as also by a castle well stor'd with cannon. It has no port, but an open road is all the shelter the ships have. The houses are low, but of stone; but there is one stately structure, which they call *Hippocrates's* palace. On the west side of it is a large suburb, in which, as well as in the city there live *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Greeks*, but the latter much oppress'd by the *Mahometans*. About it there are good gardens and vineyards, which produce excellent wine. The wonderful tree

is a palm, by the *Turks* call'd *Cinor*, standing within the city between the castle-gate, and the *Bazar* or market-place. It is most certain there is not the like of it in *Europe*; for 4000 men can stand under its boughs, which are held up by thirty six props, or little pillars, under which there are two fountains, and several benches fix'd, to take the air.

We sail'd not the same day, both because we expected the vice-admiral *Sanjon*, who stay'd that night in the city about some business, and because the *Bassa* would send a servant of his aboard the tartane.

*Saturday* the 14th, we sail'd about noon with a fair wind, which failing us three hours after, we were forced to lie upon a bowling, but could not that night get beyond the islands of the *Bassa*, *Carino*, and *Lero*, inhabited like the others by *Greeks*.

*Sunday* the 15th early, we pass'd by *Lysio*, an island not inhabited, and then by *St. John de Parno*, formerly possess'd by the knights of *Malta*, *Naccaria*, *Lisorni*, and *Samos*, formerly consecrated to *Juno*, who had a temple there, and famous for having been the country of *Pythagoras*, the fortunate *Policrates*, and one of the *Sibils*; not to speak of many more islands on the right and left, dispers'd about that archipelago. The wind coming right against us, we were forc'd to turn back, and take shelter under the rock of *Artivo*, where there are several ports, with water enough for great ships; yet the place is not inhabited, and only the shepherds carry their flocks to graze there, in continual dread of the pirates. A little before our arrival, three sail departed thence, after taking a *Saigue*, leaving a quantity of wood on the shoar, which our tartane took aboard. *Monday* the 16th, the wind continuing contrary, the seamen went about the rocks gathering shell-fish; and having given the *Aga* of *Seyde* a sea-urchin, that brute put it to the fire to roast, as if it had been a fish: and to say the truth, he shew'd himself like a beast, in his words and actions, and wore a beard like a conjurer, or rather like a he-goat, bred wild on a mountain.

*Tuesday* the 17th, we sail'd three hours before day, but had little wind, so that by noon, we had much ado to pass the strait, between the islands *Soma* and *Formi*: after noon it freshned, and we ran under a top-sail to *Scio*, where we arriv'd at night, after running 130 miles, the computed distance, between *Stanchio*, and *Scio*. *Wednesday* the 18th, we all went ashore, and I was entertain'd by the capuchins.

*Estalia*,

*Scio* island

The city.

The port.

*Scio* island. *Etbalia*, according to some, was the first name of this island, afterwards call'd *Scicos*, or rather *Sciros*, from an antient nymph. The *Turks* call it *Salzizadai*, or *Sacbezadai*, which signifies the island of *Mastick*. It is one of the chiefest in the *Archipelago*, and of those call'd *Cyclades*, being eighty miles in compass. On the north of it, is the island *Metelin*, or *Mytilene*, on the east *Natolia*, from which it is separated by a channel three leagues wide, call'd the stright of *Capo Bianco*, or the white cape, and on the south the island *Naccaria*. The inhabitants divide it into two parts. *Aponomoya*, or the upper, which is towards the north, and *Catamera*, or the lower towards the south. The soil next the sea, is extraordinary rich, but that further up barren enough, being for the most part a bare rock, and serves only for goats to graze on. Between the inhabitants of the metropolis, and of eighty villages, there are reckon'd to be about one hundred thousand, whereof eighty thousand are *Greeks*, and the rest catholicks, *Jews* and *Turks*. Their principal revenues come of milk, and butter, wine and silk; whereof they make every year to the value of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns, which employs the poor.

The city. The city *Scio*, seated in 38 deg. of latitude, is longish, lying on the sea coast, and being narrow towards the mountains for want of room. It is encompass'd by good walls, with eight gates, but it is defended by a castle near the port; which tho' on the land side it has a broad deep ditch, with two bridges and gates, yet has such weak antient walls, and so bare of out-works and cannon, that they can make but a few hours resistance. In one angle of the city towards the south, is another fort with ten pieces of cannon, and another in the middle, lately rais'd on the ruins of a *Greek* church.

The port. The port is large, but not safe, the bottom being soft, so that the anchors have no hold; in the midst of it, is the light-house for the conveniency of ships that come in by night. In this port, lie the five galleys of the island, commanded by as many *Begs*, to whom the grand seignior allows twelve thousand crowns, for the charge of each of them.

Considering the smallness of the city, forty thousand inhabitants is a considerable number, most of them being christians, as well *Latins* as *Greeks*. For this reason, there are also two bishops, one a catholick, who has about fifty priests under him, and the other a schismatick. The *Turks* and *Jews* are oblig'd by the

natives to live in the castle. The houses are of stone, after the *Italian* fashion, with the roof like a pyramid, cover'd with tiles. The streets are narrow, but pav'd with pebbles; and the *Bazars* or markets abound in all things at easie rates, because the nearness of *Natolia* supplies all the island wants.

The christian women are clad after Women. the *Italian* fashion, except their head-dress; but their coats are short to their knees, gather'd behind like a priest's surplice, a ridiculous habit, like that of the country women about *Offuni*, a city in the kingdom of *Naples*. The widows cover their heads with red veils, other women with white, with a rowl round their fore-head, like the *French* fore-head cloth; behind, towards the left side, hangs a fringe of the coil, that covers the head, which, together with variety of flowers, they wear at all times of the year, is a very pleasant sight. The women themselves are extraordinary fair and beautiful, and very witty, and familiar with men; even the maids being very free with strangers, and all of them have their breasts immodestly bare.

The chief churches in *Scio*, are five, Churches. the *Duomo*, or cathedral, that of the *Jesuits*, the *Dominicans*, *Capucins*, and *Recolets*, besides other small ones, both within and without the city.

The mastick of this island is the best Mastick. in the world; for which reason, the grand seignior sends one every year, to be present at the gathering of it, with an expres prohibition against exporting it for any part but *Constantinople*, where the servants and women in the *Seraglio* consume it, chewing it all the day to make their teeth white, and their breath sweet, and therefore the *Turks* call it the island of *Mastick*. The cotten gather'd here, yields the natives some profit, the poor people getting their living by working at it.

Thursday the 19th. at the French consul's house, I saw a young Venetian re-negade, a handsome fellow. He, after saying three masses one morning in *Scio*, from an *Augustinian* friar, became a *Mahometan*; but afterwards repenting, desir'd the consul to contrive his escape into *Christendom*. This was a matter that requir'd much management, because he was kept in the *Bassa's* house, who perceiving something of his change, because he delay'd being circumcis'd, had caus'd him one morning to be cut by force, telling him, if he fled, he should at least carry the mark with him to *Italy*. The cause of this misfortune was,

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was, that he leading an ill life in his order, and the superior intending to punish him, he fled to *Scio*, and had recourse to the catholic bishops, to obtain his pardon of the order, which being refus'd, in despair he turn'd *Mabometan*. From that time forward, he always did the bishop ill offices with the *Bassa*, falsely accusing him of holding correspondence with the republick of *Venice*; which calumny could not be taken off, without a great deal of money. I hope God will give this man grace to follow the example of *B. James*, a lay-brother of *Calabria*. He being cast into prison for some heinous offence, by the superior of *Eriza*, a small monastery in the mountains of *Syria*, subject to that of *Jerusalem*, fled to *Barut*, and thence to *Seyde*; and not being admitted, because of the plague, stay'd without, with three other religious men of his order. In the mean while, the president of *Seyde* talk'd to, and comforted him from the wall, with the hopes that he should obtain his pardon of the father guardian; but the plague still continuing, and there being no admittance, they agreed to retire for some time to *Darbessin*. *B. James* perceiving the business was protracted, and despairing of pardon, return'd to *Seyde*, in the beginning of *May* 1693, and going to the seraglio, desir'd to be made a *Mabometan*. He was receiv'd, and circumcis'd, but before two months were over, becoming sensible of his crime, he had recourse to a *French Capuchin*, who was superior in that city, humbly begging absolution, and declaring with many tears, that he for ever abjur'd, and detested *Mabometanism*. The other answer'd, he must fly into christendom; for he could not absolve him, because he was in imminent danger of relapsing into the same state of damnation, if he continu'd among *Mabometans*. *B. James* reply'd, he publicly own'd his crime, and was ready to die a martyr for his faith and religion. He still persisted in this holy purpose, and returning on *Wednesday*, the aforesaid father superior gave him absolution, and the blessed sacrament. The next day, that good father advis'd him to make his escape aboard some *French* vessel, because he was not sure he could overcome human weakness, and obtain of Almighty God the grace of martyrdom. *B. James* answer'd no, I will die for the faith, and I find my self resolv'd, that I do not fear being burnt to death, which at first terrify'd me. Adding further, give me a crucifix, and to morrow you

shall see what I will do; in the mean while pray for me. Perceiving he was settled in his resolution, he gave him a second time absolution, and the blessed sacrament. On *Friday* being the *Turks* festival, *B. James* went to the *Bazar*, or market-place where abundance of people were, carrying a cross in his bosom, and setting one foot on his turban, and the other on his green garment, holding the cross in his hand, he began to preach, and declare, that being penitent for his offence, he was resolv'd to die for the catholic faith, and that the *Mabometan* religion was a cheat, and their prophet an impostor, who led souls to hell. A great multitude flock'd about him, hearing these words, and some understanding *Italian*, ran to acquaint the *Bassa*, who order'd the friar to be brought before him, in the most abusive manner, as was perform'd, those barbarians breaking the cross. Being brought, he ask'd him, whether he was mad to behave himself after that manner? *B. James* told him, he was in his right senses, and had been mad when he embrac'd so infamous a religion. A court was held after this, and the *French* labour'd with the *Cadi* to save his life, or at least that he should be put to an easy death; and the *Cadi* offering to pardon him, provided he would own what he did, was in a fit of madness, the good man would not do it, but expected death with an unparallel'd resolution. Being therefore led in the beginning of *July* in his shirt and breeches to the gate of the seraglio, the executioner struck him with the back of his scimitar, to terrifie and make him unsay what he had said; but not prevailing, with a second stroke, he at last struck off his head, hacking the dead body, which being bought by the *French* for fifty *Piastrs*, to be bury'd, was put into lime to save the bones, but the place being open'd after three months, it was found as fresh as it was bury'd, not so much as a hair being dropp'd off his beard. This was told me, by monsieur *Ripera*, and other *French* merchants, who were eye-witnesses to it; and because all the christians of the east have celebrated his festival, I thought fit to make mention of it, for the information of those who have not heard of it.

*Friday* the 20th, the wind blew so hard, that the vessels in the harbour were forc'd to drop another anchor, which lasted all *Saturday* the 21st. *Sunday* the 22d, I walk'd about the city, with the consul's son, and four other *Frenchmen*, who conducted me to an enclosed court,

about

Greek  
nuns.Maffick  
trees.Time par-  
tridges.



Greek  
nuns.

about which, there were many little houses, inhabited by Greek nuns. To say the truth, it appear'd more like a Jew than a monastery, because of the liberty those counterfeit religious women take, being allow'd to go about the city at their pleasure, and to admit men whensoever they please.

Mastick  
trees.

Monday the 23d, the same company went to see the trees that produce the mastick, or the *Sakes*, as the *Turks* call it. They are small, and their branches bow down to the ground, turning up again. To make the mastick, they give a gash in some parts of the trunk; whence, from the beginning of May, till the end of June, that liquor drops down on the ground; and therefore they endeavour to keep the place very clean to gather it. They say there is good turpentine made in the same island, but I did not see the tree. Then we went three miles from the city, to see a rock near the sea, in which there was a seat cut in the middle, and others about it, which they told me was *Homer's* school; but I never read that *Homer* taught.

Tame par-  
tridges.

The partridges are so tame in *Scio*, that they feed about the fields in summer, and at night return to their master's house, upon the call of a whistle, as was shew'd me in a village we came thorough, in our return home.

I had resolv'd to go from *Scio* to *Constantinople*, aboard another vessel; but *monsieur Ripera*, who deliver'd me from the danger I was in at *Rhodes*, would not consent, saying, it was better for me to go to *Smirna* to take my pass, and continue my voyage thence; because if I went aboard *Turks* or *Greeks* again without a pass, I might easily be made a slave in any island of the *Arcbiipelago*, where there were no *French*; which being also told me by the consul, I alter'd my resolution, and took the good advice they gave me, and the sooner, because the winter being well advanced, and the voyage 500 miles, I might have lain some months by the way.

I embark'd with the same company aboard the same tartane, on *Tuesday* the 24th, and the wind being fair, soon left the land of *Cubimel* on our right hand; but near the island *Spalmatore* the wind fail'd us, and therefore we advanc'd but little that night, between the continent and the island, which is inhabited by *Turks* and *Greeks*. *Wednesday* the 25th the calm continu'd, and a little gale coming up in the evening, we pass'd by *Cape Caradorus*, leaving *Metellin* on the left. The wind freshning at night, we entered the gulph of *Smirna*, steering towards the city, thorough the passage the continent leaves on both sides, for the sea. The wind fal-

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ling again on *Thursday* the 26th, we made little way, but about sun-set, it blew hard against us, so that with much tacking, we got at midnight within the fort, and anchor'd by it. They say this castle was built thirty years since, because a Jew, who farm'd the customs, fled into christendom with two vessels, at the same time that the grand seignior sent orders by a *Bassa*, to have him carry'd to *Constantinople*; others say, it was on account of the *English* and *Dutch*, that were in the harbour refusing to serve against the *Venetians*. This fort is low built, with two bastions at the angles, and without any modern fortification; but it is furnish'd with twenty one pieces of cannon, lying level with the water, and well garrison'd. The commander of it suffers any to go into the port, but none to go out without his leave.

The same contrary wind continuing on *Friday* the 27th, we tack'd up into the harbour of *Smirna*, and came to an anchor in the evening, going immediately with the four *Frenchmen*, and captain of the vessel to the *French* consul's, who receiv'd us courteously, giving us a good collation, and making us drink merrily. Taking leave of the consul and friends, I went to provide me a lodging, and took one in a *Frenchman's* house for half a piece of eight a day, and a quarter for my man; but any man that would be saving, may find in the city some *Xani*, or vault apartments, capable to contain some thousands, especially the *Xancelebi*, cover'd with lead; and that of the *Armenians*, where the caravan of *Persia* sets up; where for a *Dutch* piastre, or little more, a man may have a room without a bed for a month, and live suitably to his purse.

*Smirna*, *Lamira*, *Lamires*, or *Sarchi-Smirna* city, is seated in 38 degrees of latitude, partly on the plain along the *Egean* sea, commonly call'd *Arcbiipelago*, and partly on the hill. It is thought to have been founded by the *Amazons*, in the year of the world 3203, or by *Thesens*, as others will have it. It was once an archiepiscopal see, and at present is the metropolis of the country, and mart of the east, because standing in a place, by which the commodities of *Europe* and *Asia* must needs pass. The city is not so famous for the birth and death of *Homer*, if it be lawful to decide so ancient a controversy, as it is renowned for the holy bishop *Polycarpus*, who writ upon the mysterious book of the *Apocalypse*, or revelation in *Smirna*, *Ephefus*, *Pargamo*, *Thyatira*, *Philadelphia*, and *Laodicea*. The compass of the modern city is about four miles,

O

its

GEMELLI  
1693.

The castle  
at the port  
of Smirna.

**General** its shape irregular, somewhat drawing  
1693. towards a triangle, whose side next the  
mountain, is longer than either of the  
two that lie upon the sea, and this for  
want of ground. There is no beauty  
in the buildings, for they are little hov-  
els, after the *Turkish* fashion; some of  
them very low, and of mud-walls, re-  
built since the last earthquake, which  
levell'd the greatest part of *Smirna*;  
but the *Xans*, as I said before are mag-  
nificent, and cost much building. The  
streets are large, and all the city is one  
continu'd Bazar or fair, where nothing  
that can be wish'd for is wanting, either  
for cloathing, sustenance, or pleasure,  
because all the best commodities of *Eu-  
rope* and *Asia*, are brought hither to be  
sold at good rates. Provisions are not  
so cheap as in the other *Turkish* domi-  
nions, because of the great resort of  
strangers, who amount to above 50000  
souls, between *European* christians, *Greeks*,  
*Armenians*, *Jews*, *Turks*, and others.

**The port.** The port is capable of containing several  
fleets, in which there are always hundreds  
of ships of several nations. The four  
galleys of the place are in the inward  
port, defended by a mean fort, with  
few pieces of cannon, and a weak gar-  
rison.

There being an ancient castle in the  
upper part of the city, said to be built  
by the empress *Helen*, I went to see it  
**The castle** on *Saturday* the 28th. Being upon the  
hill that commands the city, I observ'd  
on the left hand, an ancient structure,  
which they said, had been the palace of  
the *Greek* council, when *Smirna* was the  
metropolis of *Ionia*, and the lesser *Asia*.  
Going into the castle, at the great gate,  
towards the city, I found on the left  
hand, a statue of half the body of the  
afore said empress, and under it some *Tur-  
kish* characters, with a marble tomb,  
and by it an ancient church, converted  
into a *Mosque*, but all ruin'd, and fev-  
eral marble pillars lying about the  
ground. Close by, there is a descent  
into a place under ground, in which  
there are twenty four vast great columns  
that support certain vaults; the bottom  
of it being well pav'd, shews it was a  
cistern for the use of the castle. The  
compass of the said castle is almost a  
mile, in the nature of an amphitheatre,  
with six plain towers next the city; the  
others on the opposite side being ruin'd.  
Within this space, there lie many stones  
and pillars about the ground, which shew  
there were several dwellings within it.  
They say, *St. Polycarpus* was expos'd to  
be devour'd by lions, in the square place  
of this castle.

Coming down a-foot from the hill, I  
saw a very antient fabrick, which seems  
to have been a fort of the old city;  
whereof on the north side, some small  
part of the walls remain, which time has  
not yet demolish'd. The new city is all  
open.

The consuls of *France*, *England*, and *Consul*,  
*Holland*, live very great, in stately hou-  
ses upon the shoar; for that employ-  
ment, in a place of such great trade, and  
where there are so many rich merchants,  
is very profitable.

There are three monasteries for ad-  
ministring the sacraments to catholicks;  
one of the *Jesuits*, another of *Capucins*;  
who being *French*, are maintain'd by their  
king; and the third of poor *Venetian Re-  
colets*, who live miserably. There are fev-  
eral other monasteries of *Greeks*, and  
synagogues of *Jews*.

*Monday* the 30th, I went a little way  
out of the city, to divert my self with  
shooting, there being abundance of all  
sorts of game; as wild boars, deer, and  
other wild beasts, besides partridges,  
godwits, thrushes, ducks, and innume-  
rable other birds. This I could do with-  
out any apprehension of the *Turks*, be-  
cause the *Franks* have all imaginable li-  
berty at *Smirna*, cloathing themselves af-  
ter the *French* or *Italian* manner, as they  
please; and going about, either within,  
or without the city, by water, or by land,  
without any restraint, or molestation. Fish  
is as plentiful as game, and the sea pro-  
duces as much variety of shell-fish, as the  
land does of fruit, which is extraordina-  
ry good and delicious, particularly the  
pomegranates, which are far beyond those  
of *Naples*, and whole sacks full of them  
are carried to *Constantinople* to sell. This  
place also produces *Scammony*, *Opium* and  
galls.

All these delights and pleasures are al-  
lay'd by the uncomfortable dwelling ther-  
in in that city, where the malignity of the  
air causes pestilential fevers, but especial-  
ly in the months of *May*, *June*, and *July*,  
and the great heat of the summer, makes  
people weary of their lives. Add to this,  
the frequent plagues and earthquakes,  
which if they fail one year, are sure to  
be felt the next, burying the inhabitants,  
and levelling the houses.

*Tuesday* the 1st of *December*, I went to  
see the four galleys of the city, which are  
under a *Bassa*, call'd commandant; a *Cadi*  
governing the city. I made use of a *Jew*  
for my interpreter, hiring him for a small  
matter a day; for the *Jews* are in such a  
miserable condition in the dominions of  
the *Mahometans*, that they think them-  
selves happy to be hired at any rate.

They

Custom-  
houses.



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Custom-  
houses.

They easily speak *Spanish*, their mother tongue being no other than a corruption of that language ; and therefore any man that has this tongue, may travel through the East, without any difficulty, there being *Jews* throughout all *Turky* and *Persia*, that serve as interpreters at an easy rate. This *Jew* led me on *Wednesday* the 2d, to see the two custom-houses of the city ; one a great one, call'd of the trade, where is paid the duty of the great quantity of raw silk the *Armenians* bring out of *Persia*, and the *Franks* transport into *Europe*, as also spun cotton, camelot, hides, wool, rhubarb, and other commodities. The other custom-house, which they call of *Stambul*, standing in the left angle of the bottom of the port, is for the trade of *Constantinople*, *Salonichi*, and other places of *Turky*. They are both easier than ours in *Europe* ; for there my trunks were open'd, and look'd into, no farther than the top, and that very civilly ; but in *Syria*, I found them severe, examining every thing in a very ill manner.

Going to hear mass, on *Thursday* the 3d, at the church of *St. Anthony*, of the *Recolets* ; I saw they carry'd a corps in procession, with a cross on high before it, and the religious men in surplices, as is us'd in *Italy* ; which the *Turks* do not allow elsewhere. Being to go to *Constantinople*, and wanting a pass, I went on *Friday* the 4th, to the *English* consul ; and beginning to tell him, that I was of the kingdom of *Naples*, and a subject of his catholick majesty's, who was then in alliance with *England*, he would not allow me to proceed, understanding what it was I desir'd ; but interrupting me in a haughty manner, said, I can grant no protection ; and have you a care of the *French* consul, lest he knowing you are a *Neapolitan*, put the *Turks* upon doing you some kindness. Perceiving by his way of talking, that he would not easily be prevail'd upon to alter his mind ; I took my leave, and going to the *Dutch* consul, had the same answer. Not knowing what to do, I went to the *French* consul, and telling him very plainly who,

and what countryman I was, and that I <sup>GEMELLI</sup> desir'd a pass for *Constantinople*, he ver- 1693.  
civilly granted it.

*Saturday* the 5th, the great rain kept me from seeing any thing. *Sunday* the 6th, going to the *Xan*, to look for my *Jewish* interpreter, a servant of the *Caragi Bassa*, or chief of the receivers of the taxes, ask'd me, whether I was a *Portuguese*, meaning whether I was a *Jew* ; and I telling him I was not, he would not believe me, but carry'd me before his master, who having ask'd me the same question, and I answering that I was a *Frenchman*, and tax-free, he would have a pledge of me, which the consul soon caus'd him to restore.

Three ships of *Ragusa* were under sail upon *Monday* the 7th, for *Leghorn*, but the *French* consul stop'd them, upon pretence they brought *English* and *Dutch* cloaths from thence to *Smirna* ; but others said he would have had 1000 pistres of each to discharge them, w<sup>h</sup> of they sent their complaints to the *French* ambassador, but what the event was I know not.

*Tuesday* the 8th, I went to the *Jesuits* church to take the advice of a friend concerning my voyage. The church was finish'd, but the house or monastery was then building ; the fathers in the mean while living in boarded rooms. They are allow'd for their maintenance to receive fifty pistres of every vessel that comes in under *French* colours. *Wednesday* the 9th, I din'd with monsieur *Ripera*, with whom I left my luggage till my return. *Thursday* the 10th, in the morning, the *Aga* of *Seyde* came to see me, and having treated him with chocolate, the brute, who had never tasted such liquor, whether that or the fumes of tobacco disturb'd his head, complain'd grievously of me, saying I had given him a sort of liquor to make him mad ; and had his distemper continu'd, I had suffer'd as I deserv'd, for giving chocolate to an ass. He said he was grandson to the visier *Kupurli*, and flatter'd himself with the hopes of rising to that dignity ; as if there went nothing to the obtaining of it, but being grandson to the other.

## CHAP. II.

*The Author's Voyage to Adrianople, and the Description of that City, as also of the Isles of Tenedos, and Mitylene, and the City of Gallipoly.*

**F***riday* the 11th, the weather being fair, I took leave of my friends, and bargaining for my passage aboard a *Turkish*

vessel call'd a *Cbiamber*, imbark'd on *Saturday* at night, paying for a cabin a-part, that I might be separate from those

GEMELLI those scoundrels. About midnight we  
1693. fail'd with a fair wind.

*Sunday* the 13th, two hours before sun-  
set, we found our selves opposite to, and  
two miles from the fortrefs of *Foggia*,  
seated on that point of land, which is  
on the left, entering the bay of *Smirna*,  
which is forty miles in length, and this  
secures the entrance into the port of that  
city, standing at the bottom of the bay.  
This *Foggia* is small, but wall'd, and de-  
fended by a castle. We arriv'd at *Me-  
tellin* about night, and landed there, ha-  
ving fail'd 80 miles.

*Metellin*  
island.

*Metellin*, or *Mitylene*, antiently known  
by the names of *Lesbos*, *Homerte* and  
*Macaria*, is call'd by the *Turks* *Medilli*,  
and is 360 miles in compafs. No island  
in the *Archipelago* is more famous; for  
it was the country of *Pittacus*, one of  
the seven wise men of *Greece*, of the  
learned *Sappho*, of *Arion* the musician,  
and of other renowned men. The me-  
tropolitan city is seated on the north  
east side, on a rock, which butting into  
the sea, makes two several ports. That  
on the east side serves for the galleys,  
and there were two in it; the other for  
all sorts of ships. They are both de-  
fended by a castle on the hill, and an-  
other fort at the foot of it, looking to-  
wards the west.

The houses of the city are low, and  
inhabited by *Turks* and *Greeks*; yet there  
is an excellent *Bazar* or market. The  
fertile soil produces good wine, and all  
things else necessary to live well. This  
island was taken by *Mahomet II.* in the  
year 1464.

*Monday* the 14th, we weigh'd anchor  
five hours before day, and set out with  
little wind, which prov'd contrary after  
noon. At sun-set we pass'd the streight  
of *Baba*, which is five or six miles  
over, made by the westernmost point of  
the island of *Metellin*, and cape *Baba* on  
the continent of *Natolia*. It was call'd  
*Baba*, as they told me, in memory of an  
old man bury'd there, who, whilst he  
liv'd, gave the *Turks* notice, whether  
there were any christian privateers either  
within the streights or without. About  
two hours after night, we came to an  
anchor in an open road beyond the cas-  
tle of the town of *Moleva*, having run  
sixty miles.

*Troy ruins.*

*Tuesday* the 15th, four hours before  
day we fail'd again, the *Turk* not daring  
to keep out at night for fear of pyrates,  
and not for want of wind. The good  
weather continuing, two hours before  
sun-set we pass'd between the island of  
*Tenedos*, or *Bosciada*, as the *Turks* call  
it, and the continent of *Natolia*, ha-

ving run fifty miles. The ruins of old  
*Troy* were to be seen close by, inasmuch  
that the wind ceasing, I caus'd my self  
to be set alhoar, to divert my self,  
viewing the remains of that famous  
place. I found for above a mile along  
the coast, white marble stones and co-  
lums both standing and fallen; which  
appear to have belong'd to the port,  
and walking above a mile up the coun-  
try, among the trees, saw old structures  
all of free-stone, some standing, some  
fallen. I also saw a large square tower  
of great stones, which had some small  
windows about the first cornish, and the  
roof was round, by which I judg'd it  
in antient times to have been a temple.  
I went no further, because the *Rais* or  
master, would allow me no more time;  
who told me, that for a days journey  
up the country, there were all along  
such ruin'd structures, and good marble  
lying about. The *Turks* call it old *Con-  
stantinople*.

These *Mahometans* never neglect to  
say their prayers five times a day; the  
first at break of day, the second at  
noon, the third about evening, the fourth  
at night-fall, and the fifth two hours  
after night, only altering the third in  
summer, which begins sooner. Every  
one prays by himself, kneeling on a  
cloth, and facing towards *Meca*; but  
when they are in towns, they all go to  
the *Mosque*, one of their priests calling  
them with frightful cries from the top of  
a steeple.

The wind freshning, we put into  
the island of *Tenedos*, that same day.  
This island formerly call'd *Leucopbris*,  
and *Lyrnessus*, and now by the *Turks*  
*Bosciada*, is one of the most northerly  
in the *Archipelago* towards *Asia*. It was  
very populous and rich in the reigns  
of the kings *Priam* and *Laomedon*. It  
is famous among writers for the *Greeks*  
lying conceal'd there in the *Trojan* war;  
and for the differences between the *Ve-  
netians* and *Genoeses* about the possession  
of it. The middle of the island is plain,  
the edges mountainous, and produce  
good muskadine wines. Its compafs  
is fifty miles, wherein there are several  
villages, and the chief city of the same  
name, stands at the foot of a moun-  
tain in the east angle of the island,  
looking towards the *Dardanelles*, from  
which it is but 18 miles distant. It is  
none of the meanest cities in the *Archie-  
pelago*, and was famous among the an-  
tients, for a temple near it dedicated  
to the God *Neptune*, to which the na-  
tions far and near made their vows, and  
sent offerings. It is open, but large,  
its

*Tiffiland.*

Ports en-  
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*Tenedos*  
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*Getus and*  
*Abdas.*

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*Toffiland.*

Ports en-  
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*Bebas and*  
*Abydus.*

its low houses inhabited by *Greeks* and *Turks*, reaching to the foot of the hill, and along the sea-shore. The castle that commands it, built on the point of a rock, has many dwellings of *Turks*, and garrison soldiers within the walls. The same castle secures the port, which is very good and capacious enough for a fleet; the two galleys of *Rhodes* were then there under the command of *Am-maza-mamma*.

Not far from *Tenedos*, is an island twice as big as it, call'd *Toffi*, and in the *Turkish* language *Himbros*, in which *Greeks* live, who pay tribute both to the *Turks* and *Venetians*.

Wednesday the 16th, at night it rain'd hard, which was bad for the passengers that lay upon the deck; but at break of day the weather clear'd up, and the wind came up fair to enter the *Dardanelles*; which made the drowsy *Rais*, or master, weigh anchor, after he had lain a night in port, as if he had been to row in a boat. The wind fail'd in sight of the village of *Ghiaurcbivij*, in *Asia*, three miles from the entrance of the *Dardanelles*; so that they were forced to row the *Cbiamber* with twenty oars, beyond the castle of *Natolia*, by the *Turks* call'd *Anadolissar*. Opposite to it is the other the *Turks* call *Urmeli-Issar*, that is, the castle of *Romelia*, because seated in that province. These forts were built not long since to secure the entrance of the streight, which being twelve miles distant from one another, cannot obstruct the passage of ships that will pass between them in the middle. That on the *Asian* side is seated on a plain, with two bastions parallel to the entrance, and two to the streight, all furnish'd with heavy cannon; as is the curtain, on which there are at least sixty pieces, besides small ones planted on the upper part. There is in it a garrison of five hundred soldiers, as I was told, who live partly in the castle, and partly in several little houses without it; the village of the *Greeks* is on the top of the hill. That of *Romelia* stands on the cliffs of a hill, reaching over a great part of it with good buildings. In the midst of it are the houses of the commandant, and other *Turks*, with a *Mosque* and magazine. That side, towards the streight, has as many bastions as the other in *Natolia*, and built after the same form; but it has two others on the land-side, and is not inferior to the other for goodness, or number of cannon. The village of the same name is on the top of the hill.

Thursday the 17th, we set sail three hours before day, with a good north-

VOL. IV.

wind, which before noon brought our *Cbiamber* between the two other forts by the antients call'd *Seftus* and *Abydus*, which being in the narrowest part of the channel, but two miles distant, do so secure the passage, that it would be dangerous to attempt passing without the *Turks* consent. *Abydus*, seated in *Natolia*, is stronger and better than the other, because it had six bastions on the three sides that secure the streight, with about thirty heavy pieces of cannon on them, besides the small ones on the upper port. In the middle is a good bulwark, and about it a deep ditch with a draw-bridge. The neighbouring town is not wall'd, and is unwholesome in summer, by reason of the bad water; yet there is a *French* consul, appointed by the ambassador that resides at the port. The other castle in *Romelia* is not so regular as this, by reason of the unevenness of the ground it is built on; but it has a bastion at the angle that points towards the other castles; in the midst of a place to retire to, defended by a large and well built bulwark; and three little towers on the land-side, with a long curtain on the streight. As for cannon, it has as much as the other; and besides one piece of such a prodigious bigness, that a man may sit in it. The houses of the *Turks* are between the wall of the fort, and another at a distance on that side, that looks towards the new castles. The top of the hill is adorn'd by art with good houses, and by nature furnish'd with good water, a fertile soil, and excellent air.

The *Rais* having landed some bales of rope, we held on our course, leaving behind us after three miles sailing, *Maidas*, a good town on the shore of *Romelia*, abounding in wine; which the *French* merchants use to buy cheap, being about three pints for a half penny. Nine miles further is the ancient city of *Sebie-Stambul*, the first the *Turks* took when they drove away the christians, and made themselves masters of *Constantinople*; nothing remains of it at present but a ruinous castle. To conclude, we arriv'd at the city *Gallipoli* before sun-set, it being thirty miles from the two castles. I admir'd the wonders of nature in sailing through this streight, for in some places it is but three miles over, in others ten, and in the widest thirty, stretching three hundred miles in length to the black sea, and much differing in all parts where its waters have a rapid course.

P

Being

GEMELLI  
1693.

**GALLIOLI** Being landed, I went to the *French* vice-consul's, to procure some safe way of travelling to the court of *Adrianople*. He would not permit me to lodge any where but in his own house; which I willingly accepted, rather than lie on the ground in a coffee-house; there being no *Xany* in *Gallipoli*. He gave me an excellent supper, and good bed, which I had need of, having had five bad nights at sea; but he being a *Jew*, and *Rabbi*, and consequently learned, and a punctual observer of the *Hebrew* superstitions; I could not conform to his pharisaical way of living, as to the manner of eating. He would never allow me to cut the bread with my own knife but with his; and what made me laugh most was, that he made no other use of those knives he cut the meat with; and they were all to be spotless. As for my journey, he said, if I had arriv'd one day sooner, I might have gone with a *Janizary*, who carry'd some letters from the king of *France* to the ambassador, deliver'd to him by a *French* captain, who was come from *Marseilles*, in twenty four days; however he would use all his endeavours, to get me a secure passage; since I had refus'd to go aboard the said vessel to *Constantinople*, being very desirous first to see the *Ottoman* court.

*Gallipoli*  
city.

*Gallipoli*, in the *Turkish* language call'd *Jebbole*, seated in 42 degrees of latitude, is a city three miles in compass, seated in *Romelia*, towards the west. It is not wall'd; and the houses tho' low, are of free-stone, and have good pleasant gardens. Formerly there was a fort on the hill, which commanded the port, but it went to ruin through the laziness of the *Turks*. On the sides of the mole were also the arsenals, one on the right to secure three galleys, and the other on the left for twelve, where the vice-consul told me the *Turks* laid up their galleys that escap'd the havoc a *Venetian* ship made among them at the mouth of the streight, which rotted away there. The arches are now fallen down, and only the walls are standing. There is a good exchange cover'd with lead, with several little cupola's, which is let to traders by the governors of a *Mosque*. The inhabitants of this city are about 6000, *Greeks*, *Jews* and *Turks*, whose greatest employment is to make excellent arrows. It is a place of great trade, by reason of its convenient situation, being in the way to *Constantinople*, and *Adrianople*; inasmuch, that the *Bassa*, who governs it, makes about one thousand *Pia-*

*fires* a year of it; besides the profits of the *Cadi*, *Aga*, and other officers. This city formerly was the out-let for pleasure to an antient city seated opposite to it in *Asia*, whereof nothing remains at present, but the ruins on the shore and hill; where afterwards a little city call'd *Lassie* was erected. *Gallipoli* has plenty of corn, wine and fruit, especially excellent winter melons, of which I bought nine very good ones for three *Carlines* of *Naples* money; about eighteen pence *English*. The country wants for no game, as deer, hares, partridges, ducks, and other fowl. The *Bazar*, or market of the city is very large, and better furnish'd than that of *Alexandria*, there being variety of commodities, of artists, and handicrafts, each in their proper place.

*Rapbael*, son to *Simon* the vice-consul, us'd all his endeavours on *Friday* 18th, to find some safe conveyency for me to travel to *Adrianople*, but could neither meet with the *Caravan*, that uses to carry silk, nor any other company that I might go with, free from the danger of the *Janizaries*, who returning from the war to their winter quarters in *Natolia* scatter on the road, to rob and murder all they meet. In the mean while the *Xaxan*, or *Rabbi*, perswaded me to take the way of *Constantinople*, or *Rodeston*; and he would give me his letter, which would render the way easier and safer; but this did not make me alter my resolution. He was so much concern'd about the safety of my journey, because I had signify'd to him, that I was sent by the merchants of *Marseilles* with letters of great moment to the ambassador. It must not be thought strange I should sometimes make my advantage of a lye; for being in a country of barbarians, who are enemies to christianity, and in time of war, it was necessary to counterfeit, change my habit, disown my country, and pretend other business to prevent losing my baggage and liberty. The *Turks* are very jealous, and easily wrong a *Frank*, when he is too open, and has not words to shift the danger that threatens him.

Whilst I was contriving for my journey, good fortune ordain'd that a coach came, which was returning empty to *Adrianople*; therefore sending for the coach-man, by an *Armenian* that was to go the same way, I agreed to give him a zecchine for my self, and a *Piastre* for my servant. Then carrying him before the consul, to ask his opinion whether I might go safely, he said,

I might,

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I might, because the coach-man was a Bulgarian christian, of the country of *Felibe*, four days journey from *Adrianople*, and known for having made several journeys to *Gallipoli*. After which, the bargain being ratify'd, the Bulgarian gave me ten *Para's* earnest, contrary to the custom of *Italy*, where the coach-man gives not, but receives.

In the mean while, the consul took care to make much of me; he being well to pass, and having many slaves, and *Italian* furniture; so that after a good dinner at noon, he gave me a plentiful supper at night, of fish for me, and flesh for himself, without omitting his *Jewish* superstitions in eating, as well in praying, as not allowing me to cut the bread. Finding the melons better than those of *Parabita*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, I laid in a stock of them on *Saturday* the 19th, after which the *Rabbi* took his leave of me to go to the synagogue or school; desiring me to excuse him, that he did not bear me company, and to give his respects to the ambassador, believing I was a great friend of his. In the mean while, the *Armenian* hastned me, because the Bulgarian was ready, and might go without us, so that I was in great trouble to get my baggage carry'd, it being *Saturday*, when no *Jew* would carry it, the *Turks* being above that employment. My servant and the *Armenian* supply'd this want, carrying it to the *Xan*, where the Bulgarian was with the coach ready. Getting into it, we travell'd thro' a plain and well cultivated country, with now and then a pleasant small rising ground, still keeping the freight on our right hand. We left *Buloyr*, a great town behind us, having rode fourteen miles, and lay that night at *Cane*, the same number of miles further. The *Xans*, or *Caravanseras* in *Turky*, are nothing but long stables, in the midst whereof the horses stand, and on the sides somewhat higher, their masters, who are to provide themselves with meat, and dress it. There is this conveniency in it, that a man is not impos'd upon by his host, as is done in *Christendom*; for the lodging is given *Gratis*, being legacies left by *Turks*, for the good of their souls. A *Janizary* that came afoot assisted me in all I wanted, making my bed with mats, and keeping a fire all night to warm the cold room. True it is, I could not sleep for his prating and smoaking with three *Spabies* his friends.

*Sunday* the 20th, we took coach before day, and travell'd a plain road thro'

a cultivated country ten miles to the village of *Julgia-Mussurma*; after which we entr'd many mountains cover'd with small trees fit for nothing. Having drove eight miles of this way, we came again into the plain, and went seven miles further to rest at *Malgara*.

This is a city seated at the foot of a *Malgara* mountain, containing about 10000 souls <sup>city.</sup> *Turks*, *Armenians* and *Greeks*, under the government of a *Bassa*, to whom 300 villages about it are subject. Here are seven *Mosques* cover'd with lead; and a large place enclos'd with six cupola's, which serves for an exchange, or *Bazar* of the richest commodities. Had it not been for the mountain, we had that day travell'd forty miles, for the Bulgarian kept his horses to a round trot. But I not being us'd to sit after the *Turkish* fashion, with my legs across like a sailor, suffer'd much in that coach without seats, and so contriv'd that any *European* would have found it very uneasy. At night we lay as before, for nothing, in a *Xan*, or *Caravansera* with our horses.

*Monday* the 21st, we set out an hour before day, travelling over a plain country but little cultivated, and at the end of twenty miles, came to the village of *Armanli*, and going twenty miles further, stay'd at night in the village of *Casim-chiupri*; near which is a famous bridge <sup>A long</sup> with one hundred and sixty four stone-arches <sup>bridge.</sup> two miles in length, over the river and morafs of *Cogbine*. This river is as wide as the *Volturdo* of *Capua*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and its channel being too small, it often over-flows.

*Tuesday* the 22d, I walk'd over the bridge, and thought its structure as remarkable as its length. Then we advanced four miles along a deep chalky way, where the horses had much difficulty to draw. It being night, and seeing the Bulgarian, who would go no further, talk in private with a *Janizary*, made me suspect some treachery; but the *Janizary* seeing me with my gun in my hand went his way, and we at break of day continu'd our journey with a *Caravan* of camels. We met several companies of *Janizaries*, in thirty miles we had to travel, the way all along good, and the country little cultivated for want of people, and at last came towards evening to *Adrianople*.

*Orefesit*, *Orefte*, or *Viscudama* in for-<sup>Adrian-</sup>mer times, now in our language *Adri-*anople, from the emperor *Adrian*, and in the *Turkish* *Adrine*, is seated in 43. deg. of latitude. It stands in so pleasant a country, that *Amurat* the *Turkish* emperor, leaving *Bursa*, remov'd his

**GEMELLI** his imperial court thither, and some  
1693. of his successors continu'd it; so that it  
was not only supported, but the number  
of its inhabitants increas'd: its compass  
is between seven and eight miles, including  
the old city and several gardens. There  
is nothing beautiful in it, the houses being  
low, built of wood and clay, and some of  
brick; and the streets so dirty, that a man  
must wear boots in winter; so that it looks  
more like a great village than a city. There  
is no doubt but the Ottoman emperors have  
made it much more populous, as appears by  
the increase of its buildings; for the old city  
where they dwelt before the taking of  
*Constantinople*, was much less. I told in  
the compass of its wall, from the structure  
call'd *Ali Bassa*, to the gate of *Magnasiassi*,  
that is, the gate of the river, only twenty  
four towers, some standing, some fallen,  
and very near to one another, which shews  
the smallness of the place. The rest of the  
wall being fallen, the *Turks* take no care to  
rebuild it, and so leave all *Adrianople* open.

Several waters encompass the city; but  
the chief of them are the three rivers *Tungia*,  
over which there are three stone-bridges, *Arda*  
and *Merici*, and there are some hills that  
command it on the east side. It is inhabited  
by *Greeks*, *Jews*, *Armenians*, *Turks*, *Valacians*,  
and other nations; but the number is not  
always the same, for in winter there are  
many soldiers that return from the war;  
however, little more or less, they are about  
100000. It is dear living there, because  
most things are brought far. The air, as  
has been said, is wholesome, and the country  
delightful, especially in summer, because  
of the green fields and gardens water'd by  
so many streams, and in winter for plenty  
of game. For the most part, the streets are  
set out with good shops, cover'd with  
boards, after such a manner that there is  
light enough comes in at the sides. The  
greatest part of the city is on a flat, the  
rest in valleys and on hills, which makes  
it so dirty.

I was hard put to it that night to get  
a room, and had not a *Frenchman* given  
me one that belong'd to another, that  
was then in *Constantinople*, I must have  
lain in the street; because there are not  
lodgings enough for every body in the  
city, and what few there were, the soldiers  
had taken up, that staid with the emperor  
after the campaign.

*Wednesday* the 23d, I went to pay my  
respects to the *French* ambassador, who  
liv'd beyond the bridge and village of  
*Jenimaret*, two miles from my lodging,

and near the grand seignior's seraglio,  
call'd by the *Turks* *Serrayoussi*. He receiv'd  
me very courteously, and offer'd me his  
protection, which I had need of in that  
barbarous, and false country. After dinner  
I went to see a wonderful exchange, half  
a mile in length, call'd *Ali Bassa*, taking  
the name of the founder. It is a vast arch  
with six gates, and 365 rich shops on both  
sides, furnish'd with all sorts of rich goods,  
including those that are under the arch of  
the great gate. These are kept by *Turks*,  
*Jews*, *Armenians*, and *Greeks*, who pay  
five piales a month for each shop to the  
founders heirs, or such as have purchas'd  
them, and half a piale to the *Mosque* of  
*Vecerfeli*, granted by the grand seignior,  
to whom it belong'd.

Near this exchange is the street call'd  
*Seraci*, full of good shops of all sorts of  
commodities, which afford a delightful  
sight for a mile in length. It is cover'd  
with boards laid one over another, with  
small holes on the sides to let in the light.

Taking a *Jew* along with me on *Tburni*, *Selim's*  
day the 24th, I went to see sultan *Selim's*  
*Mosque*, so call'd because built by him,  
which standing on the side of a hill that  
is in the midst of the city, exposes its  
magnificent structure to be admir'd on  
all sides. There are four gates to the  
first spacious place about the *Mosque*,  
and three others to the inner, cover'd  
with thirteen leaded cupola's, and supported  
by sixteen good marble pillars like a  
cloister, among which there are four  
green ones before the gate of the *Mosque*.  
In the midst of this cloister is a good  
marble fountain, for those that go in to  
pray, to wash them, after the *Turkish*  
fashion. There are five gates to the  
*Mosque*, two whereof are shut, being the  
way into the grand seignior's feats; the  
others open for all people. Eight large  
columns support the cupola in the middle,  
and twelve arches, on which the other  
eight cupola's rest, all full of *Arabick*  
characters. About it are galleries supported  
by marble pillars, and surrounded with  
banners below. All the pavement is  
cover'd with good carpets, and from the  
arches hang five great iron rings, or  
branches with a vast multitude of lamps  
after their fashion. In the midst of the  
*Mosque* was a great square scaffold rais'd  
eight spans above the ground, and  
enclos'd with wooden bannisters, as I  
suppose, for the *Mullahs*, or *Mahometan*  
priests, near which was a fountain. The  
other enclosure or tribune, which belongs  
to the grand seignior, on the right of the  
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principal nich, which we should call the high altar, is enclos'd with latices, and eight spans above the ground. On the left was a handsome stone pulpit, and opposite to it several little chairs for the *Mullabs*. The cupola's we have spoken of are cover'd with lead, and look glorious when the sun shines on them. The apartments of those that serve are answerable to the grandeur of this *Mosque*; as are four stately towers at the angles, of different workmanship and of stone, very high, which afford a noble prospect at a distance. I went up one of them, which is on the side of the great gate, to behold how artificially it is built, having never seen the like in my days; for going in at one only gate it has, I found three staircases, one of which leads to the first, the other to the second, and the other to the third story of the tower; in such manner that three several persons may go up rounding the tower at once, without ever meeting one another; and if they will pass thorough other doors to the other staircases, they may. The surveyor that contriv'd it was one of the best in *Europe*, and the contrivance is worth seeing.

I went thence to see the *Mosque Ecbigiani*, that is, the old *Mosque*. It has two high towers of free stone, and about it eight cupola's cover'd with lead, besides the great one in the middle. It has no court, or fountain like the rest; but six large pillars before the great gate to support the roof, and five arches. Within there are three wings supported by four square columns, and about it galleries of wood above, and marble below. The pavement is like the other, cover'd with carpets, and the pulpit and tribune for the grand feignior is after the same manner; for all *Mosques* are alike within, having a nich made in the wall, and many lamps hanging.

Going thence, I went into the *Bisfen*, which is close by, a place cover'd, and sustain'd by large pillars, forming two rows in the middle, where there are about 200 rich shops of cloth of gold, and silver, scimiters, pistols, saddles, bridles, stirrups, and other furniture of gold and silver set with jewels, for a compleat horseman. These shops also pay two piastres a month to the owners, and half a one to the aforesaid *Mosque Ecbigiani*, by grant from the grand feignior. It was almost noon, and I heard a disagreeable sort of musick founding in this rich place, and a multitude of *Turks* answer it in a barbarous manner, and asking the *Jew* what it meant, he told me they were praying for the grand feignior. Adjo-

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ing to this exchange, are the shops of the *Gewelt* silvermiths and goldsmiths in a long cover'd street.

After dinner I went with the *Jew* to the *Mosque of Uccersali*, without being hindered by four *Mullabs* that were praying in it. This has only one court or cloister about it, out of which three gates lead into the *Mosque*, where is a gallery sustain'd by twelve good pillars of green marble; besides six white ones bigger than the others, which are before the aforesaid gates. The roof is cover'd with fifteen handsome cupola's leaded over. At the four outward angles of the *Mosque*, are four high towers of free-stone, and in the midst of the cloister a curious fountain for the *Turks* to wash in. On the inside it has five cupola's, four at the angles, and a great one in the middle held up by two great columns, all painted with *Arabick* characters. In the middle many lamps hang, according to their custom, and on the left of the nich is a marble pulpit; and on the right a high tribune enclos'd with latices for the grand feignior, and another on the left close to the pillar, but without latices. The floor was cover'd with good carpets.

Thence I went to view the grand *Vifier's* palace; where I found nothing suitable to his great post, but only a convenient dwelling after the *Turkish* fashion. We went first into a great court, in which were the stables and officers belonging to them. We pass'd out of that into another, in the midst whereof was a fountain, and several persons on horseback, who attended that great minister. At the front of the court was a long *Soffa*, or place a little rais'd, where many persons stood expecting audience. We could not go into the lodgings, and therefore turn'd back.

By the way we met a bride conducting to her bridegroom. Fifty *Turks* rode on horseback two and two, and after them came the bridegroom on the left, which is the upper hand among the *Turks*; then follow'd the bride in a close coach, with two others following for state. A little further I met the *French* ambassador going home upon a dun horse, follow'd by eight footmen, clad in red, two gentlemen in blew, and four *Janizaries* all on foot.

At last the *Jew* led me to one of their schools, before which there were many women holding their children by the hand. Going in I saw abundance of garments hanging about it, and six persons playing upon instruments. They told me they gave every year about that time 500 suits of cloaths to poor scholars of their reli-

*Gewelt*  
1693.  
*Uccersali's*  
*moique.*

*Vifier's*  
palace.

*Ecbi-*  
*giani*  
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GEMELLI  
1693.

religion, which costs the publick 2000 crowns; and I actually saw several scholars new clad from head to foot in my presence.

Friday the 25th, being *Christmas-day*, I went to hear mass, and receive the blessed sacrament in the church of the *Ragufians*, in the old city, whither a *Capucin*, chaplain to the *French* ambassador came to say the mass, there being no more catholic priests. Friday being the *Turkish* festival, on which the grand seignior goes to the *Mosque*, as has been observ'd before, after performing my devotions I went to see him; but found he was already got into the *Mosque* of sultan *Selim*, and therefore waited two hours to see him come out. In the mean while I observ'd his coach and retinue.

The grand  
seignior's  
attendants.

It was all of wood gilt on all sides, with wooden lettices open every way but behind. Instead of leather it was cover'd with fine red cloth, and lin'd with yellow silk, with sprigs of gold, turn'd up, so that all the wood appear'd, and on each side was sixteen silver nob's gilt for ornament. It being high from the ground, there was a little silver ladder of three steps to go up to it. Six white horses drew it, on the first whereof, and the third on the left, sat the coachman and postillion. In a word, it was a coach fit for any private gentleman in *Italy*, even the horses being but very indifferent; but within there were some quilts or coverlets folded for two to sit on cross-legg'd, and more it would not hold. As for the attendance, there were 200 *Janizaries* with their high caps worn upon solemn occasions, made of white felt, three spans long, and one and a half broad, which falling down upon the back, end in two points; but before, to keep them upright on the forehead, there is a silver plate handsomely wrought and gilt, fastened on a piece of board, as I observ'd speaking of *Grand Caire*; but some officers do not wear it, and others cover it with green cloth. There were also about eighteen *Cbiaus* on horse-back, with every one a little black feather in his turban; and fifty other courtiers well clad, besides thirty *Baltagis* mounted, who had sharp caps of a cinnamon colour. There were several *Bostangis* a-foot, who wore long red caps round at the end, and as

wide as at the head: and it is to be observ'd, that these attendants are only distinguish'd by what they wear on their heads, for every one wears his cloaths of what colour he pleases. There were besides twelve *Obadscis* standing about the coach, (these belong to the grand seignior's bedchamber, and wore little white caps on their heads, like the ducal cap of *Venice*, edg'd about with gold, but the point turn'd back, and open'd.) On one side of this cap was a great white plume like a fan, and below it another of black feathers to please the eye with the variety. The *Aga* of the *Janizaries* wore the same sort of cap, edg'd about with cloth of silver, but without feathers. There were fourteen other attendants clad after the *Roman* manner in silk wrought with gold, with another vest under that fringed with gold, and breeches of crimson sattin. These went a-foot, and had on caps of silver gilt exactly like a piss-pot, with a black plume standing upright before. The *Turks* call them *Jicogban*, that is, the grand seignior's pages.

Prayers being ended, I saw the grand seignior *Hamet II.* come out, and get into his coach, from the steps of the *Mosque*. He was of a low stature, full-body'd, brown of complexion, round fac'd, and wore a black beard that began to grow grey, and by his countenance seem'd to be about fifty years of age. He wore herons feathers in his turban, embellish'd with diamonds, and was clad in white. The *Sclatar*, who carries his sword, and drives away the flies in summer, went into the same coach, and sat next the horses. The people saluted him with shouts, as had also been done in the *Mosque*, with a disagreeable concert of musick whilst he play'd. When he was to depart, the *Janizaries* made a lane in an humble posture, with their hands on their stomach along the court; and the *Cbiaus*, and other officers follow'd him in such order as has been said. *Hamet II.* lov'd to play on a *Turkish* instrument, like a little guitarr, and to sing to it, to divert his melancholy, proceeding from forty years imprisonment. All that has been said of his person and garment, will appear better by the following cut,

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Janizaries  
mosque.



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Saturday the 26th, crossing over both arms of the river *Tungia*, which waters the north side of the city, on two stone-bridges, I saw on the right a great Mosque call'd *Grogni-Jenimaret*. Before it is a spacious court encompass'd with beautiful structures cover'd with lead, for those that serve the Mosque, and poor people maintain'd there. Three gates on the front and sides lead into this court, and there are as many more to the cloister within, compos'd of twelve white marble columns on the three sides, and of six green ones on that side where the gate of the Mosque is; all of them sustaining twenty little cupola's about the cloister, cover'd with lead. In the middle is a fine fountain, and two high towers on the sides, near which there are other structures with lead cupola's; so that there are in this building, besides the great one, about one hundred little cupola's. This, like all other Mosques, has

vast revenues for pious uses, which are bestow'd accordingly, as in instructing of children, maintaining the poor, and mad people, &c. Besides, they every week distribute to other poor, a thousand okes of boil'd rice (which makes 1800 pounds of our weight) and a sufficient quantity of flesh. Leaving the Jew to keep my shoes, I went into the Mosque, where I found the pavement cover'd with good carpets, and above 1000 lamps hanging in the middle; on the right of the nich was a large scaffold, a little one on the left, and a very high pulpit to preach.

That same morning, being the feast of St. Stephen, I heard mass at the French ambassador's, and din'd with him, as did a French gentleman, call'd the count of *Friol*, and marquess of *Orade*; who every campaign follows the grand visier, to direct warlike affairs, and improve military discipline.

Saturday

Sunday

GEMELLI  
1693. Sunday the 27th, after mass, I went to see the palace of *Caia Mustapha*, once grand visier, and strangled after the siege of *Vienna*, and inhabited by the grand seignior's sister, who was his wife: there is nothing in it to compare to the structures of *Italy*, but only a great square meadow, wall'd in for their diversion. After dinner, I went to see a great vaulted place, a quarter of a mile in length, and cover'd with lead; from one side whereof, there is a passage into another, fifty paces long, where all the shoemaker's shops, who pay the hire to the *Mosque* of sultan *Selim*, near which they stand. The day being fair, and the first time the sun had appear'd since my arrival, I went again into this *Mosque*, to see whether the tower on the left had also the three wonderful stair-cases, as I I said, I saw in that of the right, and the better to see the bigness of the city from its high top. The keeper of the gate, for a few *Paras's*, carry'd me up to the third story, where all three stair-cases end, which are winding, and have 252 steps each. But there is this difference, that the first and second, which lead to the first and second stories, run up quite to the third; but the stair-case on the right, leads only to the third story, or wonderful structure, and answerable to the grandeur of the founder: the other two towers have but one stair-case each.

The *Muradie*.

Going on *Monday* the 28th to see the service dance at the *Muradie*, I found a dead horse by the way, and abundance of *Turks* striving who should cut the best bit out of him. The *Muradie* is a monastery of *Turkish* monks, seated on a hill within the city. Coming up to it, I found a small *Mosque*, before the gate whereof, there were five leaded cupola's, supported by five pillars. Taking off my shoes, as I had done at the other *Mosques*; and going in without any hindrance from the *Turks*, as they do in *Egypt*, I found two places rail'd in on the sides, for Persons of note. On the right of the nich was a closet, enclos'd with lattices, eight spans above the ground, which they told me was for the grand seignior. On the left, was the pulpit to preach in, and two others on the sides of it, four spans high, and made like a square bier, without any covering, where the *Mullah* uses to read, setting cross-leg'd. Eight spans above the ground, the wall was all crufted over with fine tile, the pavement cover'd with carpets, and abundance of lamps hanging in the middle.

Thence I went to see the dwellings of these religious men, which are about the *Mosque*; and then into other apartments, where I found abundance of poor, who receiv'd as alms, plates of boil'd rice, with a little meat and bread, which is distributed every *Monday* and *Thursday*, these being call'd days of turning round. After the mid-day prayers, the superior, with the dervices, or religious men, went from the *Mosque*, to a room near by, in the midst whereof was a square scaffold, three spans above the ground, and enclos'd with bannisters, four spans distant from the wall, in which space several *Turks* sat about. Ten steps led up to another scaffold along the wall, with a closet board'd up, in which, six of eight dervices that went in, play'd on pipes, and beat drums; one sung, and another, when the musick ceas'd, preach'd. At the upper end of the room, there were two chairs bare, six spans above the floor; the superior sat down in one of them, and in the other, an old man clad in red, at whose feet sat another old man, clad in green, like the superior, and the other dervices about the afore said scaffold on the inside.

Their habit is not fix'd, for every one of them wears what cloth, and colour he pleases; but their caps must be of white wool, shap'd like a sugar-loaf; but the superior, and two old men wore a border, like the lower part of a turban about it, and a towel about their necks.

One of those that were upon the upper scaffold, began the ceremony of turning round, to a doleful tune, like that we use to sing, the *Lamentations* of the prophet *Jeremy*, in the holy-week; after which, the superior made a short speech, or sermon, expounding a book, out of which, a dervice that sat by his side, read two and two verses with much gravity; the religious men in the mean while hearkening with great submission, their heads hanging down. This expounding lasted half an hour; after which, the superior came down from his chair, and sat down on a carpet cross-leg'd, after the *Turkish* fashion. The dervices began again to sing from the scaffold, and to read in a little book in the same doleful tone; when he had done, the pipes were play'd on, and drums beaten; to which the superior, and his companion clad in green, danced after a ridiculous manner. Then the eight dervices stood up, and passing by the place, where the superior

The dervices.

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He had fate down again, made a low bow to him, which the superior return'd, then he up, and then fate down again. After this, the eight religious men took off their upper garment, and remain'd with the under one, which was close, like a petty-coat, and a short jacket over it. In this habit, they pass'd one after another before the superior, and making their obeisance to him, began to turn round, with their arms spread, and their bare feet, one fix'd upon the other; so that I wonder they did not fall. This painful dance was regulated, according as the musick play'd quick, or slow, and lasted half a quarter of an hour. This ending at a certain sign given, the superior stood up, and made a bow to the mad dervices, who answer'd the same in humble manner; after which, they began the second turn, which lasted the same time, with like bowing at the end. Then the third began, and ended in the same manner. After which, the superior walk'd forward gently with his old companion, into the middle, and turn'd cleverly round upon one foot, as his dervices had done; the fringe that hung down from his half turban, giving him the more grace. Among them was an old man above sixty years of age, who I admire, did not drop down with giddiness. During this fourth turning, the instruments play'd, and one of the eight that were above, sung; and it ended with the usual bowing. Then an old man read, I know not what, in a book, and the superior repeated it, all the company answering with a frightful acclamation, and the dervices withdrew after kissing the superior's hand.

I return'd home in the evening, having stay'd so long to see this *Turkish* folly, like the turning of stags in rutting time; and the boards with the continual use of it, shine like marble. I found some bundles of cloaths before my chamber-door; and enquiring of my landlady what they were, she told me, they belong'd to a *Turk*, just come from *Constantinople*. In the mean while came monsieur *Vanderve*, who had provided that lodging for me, and told me he had words with that *Turk*, who came very saucily to put me out of my chamber, to take it for himself; saying, he was a just man, and of a good religion, and I of a bad one, and an infidel, and therefore he ought to be prefer'd; and the more, because he had lain there other times. *Vanderve* answer'd, That the room had been taken for a *Frank*, who would never bear with his

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insolence, and therefore he might provide elsewhere; but the *Turk* persisting in his impertinence, left his baggage at the door, and was gone in a rage to the *Cadi*, to make good what he had said. Hearing this, I shut the door, and expected his coming; and accordingly he return'd within an hour, and knock'd at the door three times, but I would not open it, and sent him away with a flea in his ear. He seeing I was no more complying than the *Cadi*, who would not concern himself with the *Franks*, took up that night under a pent-house, open on all sides, and violently cold, the weather being frosty, and the snow lying three spans deep; where his companion, and he being pierc'd with cold, spent the night, burning fire to warm one side, whilst the other froze to the boards. I hearing them often blow the fire, could not forbear laughing, to think that the man of the good religion had so wretched a night of it, and he of the bad, lay in a good room and bed. At break of day the *Turk* went away half starv'd.

*Tuesday* the 29th, I went a shooting to the village of *Caragascbi*, inhabited by *Greeks*: passing over the river *Tungia*, that runs close to the east side of the city, on a bridge of arches, by the *Turks* call'd *Jeniciupri*, that is, the new bridge; and 100 paces beyond it, the river *Merici*, on a wooden bridge, and the marsh on another. These two rivers meet half a league from the city. I had little sport; the *Jew* that went with me being better at his tongue than at sporting.

*Wednesday* the 30th, I was kept in by the snow and cold, but on *Thursday* the 31st went out, and had the good luck to meet the *Cham* of *Tartary*, riding on a dun horse from the seraglio, to his palace, in a village six miles from *Adrianople*. He was of a proportionable stature, brown of complexion, and of a fierce countenance; but about 80 years of age. He was clad in green, and had on his head a *Carpas*, or cap of the same colour, after the *Tartar* fashion; on which two upright feathers were fix'd, which cross'd one another at the top. Twenty servants on horse-back follow'd him, well clad after their manner; besides as many more sent by the grand vizier to do him honour.

*Friday* the 1st of *January* 1694, being a festival day among the *Turks*, I went before the seraglio, to see the grand seignior go abroad. Four *Bustangis* a horse-back went before, carrying red cloth to cover the closet, or tribune.

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GEMELLI

1693.

GEMELLI 1694. Some time after, it being about noon, twenty *Chians* appear'd on horse-back, after whom came fourteen *Isiogians*, or pages of the grand seignior's, and ten great men of the court, all on horse-back, and lastly the coach, attended by twelve *Obadajcis*, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber; twelve white and black eunuchs on horse-back, and several *Baltagis* a-foot; near the *Mosque* there were about four hundred *Janizaries* in arms. The grand seignior was in the same coach, I mention'd before, and came out of it, at the gate of the *Mosque*, call'd *Muxadia*, near the seraglio. I took notice he had a silk vest on, of a pale red, like a wither'd rose; his cap was adorned with small black feathers, on the ends whereof, there were small red and white spots, which look'd very handsome; upon the edge of the cap there were large diamonds, set together in a jewel, like a pyramid, on the sides whereof, there hung several little gold chains, fastned behind. Being saluted by the people, he return'd it civilly, bowing his head low. After him came the *Sclatar* out of the coach (contrary to the practice of *Christendom*, where the master comes out last) carrying the scimiter. Prayers being ended, which lasted an hour, I saw him come out of the *Mosque*, with the same attendance; but he had not the cap on, which he had given to a servant, but a green turban, with the lower part white, and another yellow silk vest. When he was in his coach, the people saluted him on both sides; and when he was pass'd, all the *Janizaries*, and lords of his retinue, went away about their business, without accompanying him. I have distinctly set down his manner of going abroad upon two several *Fridays*, that the reader may himself observe some small difference there is in his attendance these two times; reserving it for a particular chapter, to give an account of the several names of the *Turkish* officers, that make up the numerous and imperial court of this monarch.

Mistake in Tavernier. There is no truth in what *Tavernier* writes, in his relation *du Serraille* To. 3. pag. 384. viz. that the grand seignior wears three plumes of feathers in his turban, to shew he has three empires under his dominion, which are those of *Constantinople*, *Trebizond*, and *Babylon*; for both the times I saw him, he had but one. And what he says of the grand vizier, is as false; to wit, that when he goes to war, the grand seignior gives him one of those feathers, in virtue whereof the *Janizaries* salute, and own

him for their superior; and therefore it is known when the vizier is in the field, by his master's having but two plumes in his turban. Not satisfy'd with what I had seen with my own eyes, I enquir'd of several *French*, who told me, they never saw him wear any more than one plume; and that having seen the vizier set out for the army several times, they had never known any such thing given him; but that the grand seignior sitting on a high scaffold, that minister passes under it, and dismounting from his horse, humbly prostrates himself on the ground, and has a vest or garment thrown on his back, given him by the grand seignior; which is also done to all the *Bassa's* that go to the wars.

Saturday the 2d of *January*, I stay'd some time in a street, to see the grand vizier go to the seraglio. Before him went thirty *Chians*, and about sixty *Turks* of note, who being come from their governments, made court to him for preferment. About sixty servants follow'd a-foot, in the midst of whom came that prime minister, clad in red, on a fine black horse. He was of a middle stature, and by his looks seem'd to be about fifty four or fifty five years of age. I was told he was much addicted to hunting.

Sunday the 3d, after hearing mass, I went to see the palace of the great muphti, who is in the nature of a pope among the *Turks*, near the *Mosque* of *Alim Selim*, and found it but a mean structure. There were two coaches in the court; but about noon, I saw him go abroad, with about twelve persons attending him. He was clad in green, and had a great turban of the same colour. On solemn days he is clad in white, and seem'd to be between eighty and eighty three years of age.

Monsieur *Granie* having some acquaintance in the seraglio, by his means I was carry'd after dinner to see part of it, which is allow'd to *Franks*, with much difficulty. He went first into the two stables near this royal palace. In the first of them, there were fifty horses for the pages; in the other, as many for the grand seignior, better than the others, and carefully look'd after. A *Buflangi* shew'd me in a room adjoining, the saddles, bridles, targets, foot-cloths, and other rich furniture of gold and silver, set with rubies, emeralds, and *Turky* stones to adorn the horses the grand seignior and his favourites ride. Before the palace, is a square a mile about; in the midst whereof is a fountain, and the colours staff, on which they set up *Mabomet's*

How the vizier is created.

Grand vizier how attended.

Eunuchs.

The *Kislagasi*.

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met's standard, when there is any mutiny, that the loyal party may take up arms to punish the offenders.

The *feraglio* or *Serray*, which in the *Perſian* tongue ſignifies a royal houſe, is a regular ſtructure on a plane near the river *Tungia*. It is two miles in compaſs, and has ſeven gates for the conveniency of comers and goers; beſides thoſe of the gardens, which take up ſeveral miles about. We went with the *Buſtangi* in at the biggeſt gate, which is moſt frequented, to a large place 100 paces ſquare, cover'd round for the conveniency of paſſing from one gate to the other, there being three. Entering on the right, into the firſt and ſecond kitchens, I ſaw ſeveral *Halvaggi's*, or *Haccis*, that is cooks, with their ſharp white caps, who dreſs'd meat for the grand ſeignior and his court; but in a diſtinct place from that where hens, and gelt goats are dreſs'd. In the third, I found the confectioners, who make ſherbet, and ſweetmeats; theſe clad like the others. Oppoſite to the great gate, are the apartments of the *Iſcioglans*, or grand ſeignior's pages. There is no

thing remarkable to compare with our palaces of *Italy*, but they are like long halls, where they perform all their exerciſes. Over this is a balcony for the women, who lodge near it. The third gate leads into the emperor's apartments, which are not allow'd to be ſeen.

I can give no account of *Hamet* the ſecond, then reigning, becauſe, tho' I took much pains to get ſome information, no man could tell me how he was inclin'd, having been many years a priſoner, and therefore unacquainted with all things. He was little addicted to hunting, and to women as much as human frailty drew him. But he delighted in doing juſtice throughout his dominions, in rewarding good, and puniſhing evil. By his ſultana, he had two ſons at a birth, of which only one was living, call'd *Ibrahim*. But there are ſtill alive two nephews of his, the ſons of *Mabomet* the IVth, his brother; one of them call'd *Muſtapba*, 13 years of age, and the other *Hamet* of 18, but kept priſoners according to the antient policy of that family.

### CHAP. III.

*A particular Account of all the ſeveral Officers belonging to the Ottoman Court.*

THIS emperor's court being with him at *Adrianople*, and I having had occaſion to uſe ſome *Turkiſh* terms; it will be convenient to explain them in a ſeparate chapter, being fully inform'd concerning them, by particular enquiry, made among the *Turks* themſelves, and *Europeans*, who have reſided there many years.

Eunuchs.

To begin with the Eunuchs, who are the moſt in eſteem at court, they are of two forts, black and white. The blacks have the keeping of the *Ottoman* delight, that is, the women's apartments; and to this purpoſe they pick out the moſt deform'd, whoſe very ſight is frightful. They are cut cloſe by the belly, becauſe of the great jealousy of the eaſtern people, and live apart in good rooms, with excellent order and diſcipline, tho' they are a prodigious number. The chief of them in the *Turkiſh* language, is call'd *Kiſlaragaſi*, or *Kutzliragaſi*; that is, keeper of the virgins, or ſuperintendent of the women's rooms; the keys whereof he keeps. His authority is ſo great, that he ſpeaks to the ſultan when he pleaſes; and by this means, and ſharing in the preſents the *Baſſa's* give the ſultana's for their protection, he gathers vaſt treaſures.

The *Kiſlaragaſi*.

The white eunuchs are cut after the common manner, and have the keeping of the grand ſeignior's lodgings. Before we proceed further, it is proper to obſerve, that there are many thouſands of both kinds in the eaſt; every *Mabometan* that is any thing well to paſs, having ſeveral of them to keep his women. This is a reaſon, they make a great trade of them; for poor parents ſell their young ſons to merchants, who cauſe them to be cut, and ſell them at dear rates; eſpecially thoſe that have all cut off, it being a difficult matter for them to ſurvive it, are ſometimes ſold for 600 crowns, whereas the others may be had for little above 100. Thus, that which makes them moſt valuable to the buyer, is their greateſt miſery, for they cannot piſs but thorough a pipe of ſilver, or ſome other metal. Moſt of the white ones come from the kingdoms of *Aſſan*, *Butan*, *Pegu*, *Ara-can*, and *Golconda*, and the blacks from *Africk*, among whom the moſt deform'd are deareſt and moſt valued; and in them they look upon it as a great beauty to have a flat, or wry noſe, a frightful aſpect, a great mouth, thick lips, and teeth out of their natural order

GEMELLI 1694.

GEMELLI 1694. der. Both sorts of them are proud and stern, but the white ones less than the others, treating those under them with more humanity; nor are they so jealous and mistrustful as the blacks.

The Capi-Aga. The chief of these whites, is call'd Capi-Aga, or Capu-Agasi. He, besides being the first in authority among all the white eunuchs, is always near the grand seignior; he introduces embassadors, and all persons of note; nor can any go into, or out of the grand seignior's lodgings without his leave; so that being useful to all men, he must of necessity grow vastly rich. The grand vizier himself cannot go into the emperor, without being conducted by him; and if any business would admit of no delay, and is brought in writing, the answer must pass through his hands. He by a peculiar privilege granted to no other, wears a turban. He rides on horse-back within the seraglio. He waits on the emperor to the door of the sultana's apartment, where he stops, his authority reaching no further. He is allow'd ten zechines a day for his table.

Four great Eunuchs. Next to him there are four others, which are the *Nozadabafci*, who has the government of forty pages of the bed-chamber; the *Sera-Agasi* who has the charge of seeing all the grand seignior's apartments kept clean, and in repair; he has also particular charge of the pages that keep the linnen, and attend the emperor when he travels. He has under him a deputy, call'd *Seraikejadasi*, to whom it belongs every half year, to change the carpets of the rooms in the seraglio. The third is the *Haznadar*, or *Chaznadar-Bafci*, who is entrusted with the emperor's private treasure, or privy-purse, and the pages of his bed-chamber; the publick treasure for paying of the army, being manag'd by the prime vizier, and three *Teslerdars*, or treasurers general. Of late, it is true, the *Haznadar* has nothing left but the bare title, the *Chaznaket-adasi* having ingross'd all the management. The fourth eunuch is the *Kilargi-Bafci*, or chief of the pages of the *Kila*; who keeps the drink for the emperor himself. He has also all the keys of the *Akagis*, that is, the kitchens and confectionaries; his assistant is the *Kilar-Kesadasi*.

Dogangi-Bafci, and others. The other officers of the seraglio are the great falconer, call'd *Dogangi-Bafci*; the *Kokedar*, who puts on the emperor's vest; the *Kikabdar*, who holds the stirrup when the emperors get a horse-back; the *Selettar*, who carries his sword; the *Hammargi-Bafci*, who has charge of the baths; the *Cianaci-Bafci*, chief of those

that wash the linnen; the *Geritbeg*, chief of all those that practise shooting with a bow every Friday, in the place before the palace. These principal posts, are possessed by those who have gone through the employment of the *Iscioglans*. They wear what colour cloaths they please, and turbans out of the seraglio.

Others, who are in meaner employments, are distinguish'd by what they wear on their heads, being of three sorts; for every one, as has been said, wears what cloaths he will. Those are call'd *Bullangis*, who wear a long red cap, falling back, round at the end, and as broad as at the head. Many hundreds of these look to the gardens of the seraglio; saddle and lead out the horses, and go a-foot with persons of note, who attend the grand seignior upon publick occasions: others row in the barges, when the emperor goes to divert himself upon the water. The *Bostangi-Bafci* is chief of these, and has the charge, not only of the gardens in *Constantinople*, but of others in the country about. And tho' he be taken from so mean a degree as the *Aza-Mogians*, which are christian slaves taken young in war, or paid by way of tribute, yet his employment makes him considerable, and respected by all the *Bassa's*; who endeavour with presents to gain his good will, whom they know to be in their sultan's favour; as being always about him, and sitting near him to steer the barge, when he goes by water.

The *Baltagis* wear a long cap of a *Baltagi*, cinnamon colour, ending in a conical point, or like a sugar-loaf; and serve partly to cut wood, partly to ride out when the grand seignior goes out of the palace; and part of them, which I suppose to be eunuchs, stand at the gates of the first and second courts of the seraglio. These are distinguish'd by the name of *Capigis*, and their chief is call'd *Capigi-Capigis-Bafci*; whom the emperor makes use of to execute his commands.

Those that wear the white cap not *Halvagis*, very long, nor ending sharp, but resembling the ducal *Venetian* cap of maintenance, are call'd *Halvagi*; and among them those that are particularly employ'd in the kitchen, have the peculiar Name of *Aragis*, or *Xaccis*, over whom, as also over all the rest of the *Halvagis*, the *Kisargi-Bafci* has full authority; yet every kitchen has its superior call'd *Aragi-Bafci*; besides the *Machek-Enuri*, who provides all things necessary for the kitchen and tables, even of

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of ambassadors, according to the orders he receives from the grand vizier.

*Hajaler-Agasi.*

The *Hajaler-Agasi* is head of the infirmary, and takes notice of all that goes into, or out of the seraglio; but above all takes care that no wine be brought in. All this great number of people (which sometimes, according as the sultan is inclin'd, may amount to 10000, but are not at present above 3000) are born of christian parents, and taken in war, or forcibly by the *Bassa's* in the conquer'd provinces to send them as presents to the grand seignior. He chooses out the handsomest to distribute them among the seraglio's, and have them brought up to the *Mabometan* law and exercises, dividing them into two ranks; one of the *Azamogians* being the ablest for service, such as *Baltagis*, *Halvagis*, and *Bostangis*; the other of the better sort design'd for the greatest employments of the empire, call'd *Isiogians*, in whom besides form, a good promising wit is requir'd. They are bred very carefully and strictly, passing through four rooms they call *Odas*, where they are taught noble exercises, fit for persons that are to serve so great a monarch, and to have the title of his pages and gentlemen. The white eunuchs are their masters, who treat them with severity, and beat them cruelly for the least fault; so that they must have much patience to get to the fourth chamber, where the best of them are with certain hopes to rise to the greatest employments in the empire. Tho' they are to be of christian parents, yet the *Capi-Agi*, or great master of the seraglio, does not fail to put in some sons of *Turks* that are promising lads.

There are also in the seraglio about five, or six hundred maidens, either taken in war, or for tribute of the provinces, or sent as presents by the *Bassa's* for the *Sultan's* pleasure, who now and then withdraws from the heavy care of empire to divert himself in their apartment.

Before we leave the seraglio, it will not be amiss to say something of the *Bassa's*; because they are not only chosen from among the *Isiogians*, but make up the best part of the emperor's court.

*Bassa* is an honourable title common to all great men at the port, who are distinguish'd by their employments; but the four chiefest of them are the *Vizier-Asem*, or grand vizier; the *Caimacan*, governor of *Constantinople*; the *Bassa* of the sea; and the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*. These are of such great authority, that they sometimes depose, and raise sultans to the throne, as

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happened to the emperors *Mustapha* and *Ozman*; the latter of these being put to death in prison by an executioner; yet these same great men, are liable to the emperor's displeasure for small offences, who takes not only their heads, but their goods from their children, tho' born of their own sisters. The *Vizier-Bassa's* carry three standards, with each a horse's tail, of what colour they please, except green, of which colour only the staff must be. They say the original of this custom was, that having lost their standard in a battle with the christians, and the soldiers being discourag'd at it, the *Turkish* general cutting off a horse's tail, fastned it to a pole, and lifting it up said, *Behold the colours, let them that love me follow me*; whereupon the *Turks* taking courage, fell upon the christians, and got the day. Inferior commanders may not put these tails to their armour. The *Bassa's*, who are not viziers, have but two, as also the *Begs*; but the governors of little provinces are allow'd but one. The grand seignior, when he is in the field has seven, to denote his dominion over seven parts of the world; which makes the *Turks* give him the title of lord of all kings.

The *Grand Vizier* is lieutenant-general of all the empire, and armies, as also chief of the council; and commands absolutely under the grand seignior, whose seal he keeps. In the *divan* he has six sitting viziers, or counsellors to advise with, but their voices are not decisive, but only consultive; nor can they meddle with state-affairs without being ask'd. This minister's reputation is so great, that the sultan himself, in matter of the greatest moment, depends on his judgment, and in council whatsoever he proposes is a decree; however, it behoves him to be very much upon his guard, for if he ventures to offer any thing contrary to his master's inclination, he is soon strangled. His court is made up of about 2000 domesticks. When he is visited by any body, tho' of never so great account, he does not rise to compliment them, except to the *Muphti*, who has the same honour paid him by the grand seignior.

The *Caimacan*, or governor of *Constantinople*, is the viziers lieutenant, and he alone performs the functions of his office in his absence, even to giving audience to ambassadors; without being expos'd to the princes anger in case of any failure, because all faults are laid at the prime vizier's door.

The *Bassa* of the sea is captain general, and admiral of the fleet; and the

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**GEMELLI** the *Begs* governours of the maritime provinces, and captains of the grand feignior's galleys, which are to be always in a readiness to put to Sea.

**Aga of Janazaries.** The *Aga*, or colonel general of the *Janizaries*, call'd by the *Turks*, *Vingeri-Agasi*, is in such reputation, that no man but he can come near his prince with his hands at liberty, the grand vizier himself being bound to hold them across on his stomach with a great deal of submission. Besides, he commands a considerable army of about 100000 *Janizaries*; not that there are really so many, but because several persons to be tax-free, endeavour to get themselves listed among them.

**Beglerbegs.** The next in dignity are the *Beglerbegs*, who are like sovereigns in their general governments, having the *Sangiac-begs*, or governours of *Sangiacks*, and particular provinces, under them, which last are accounted the bravest of the *Turkish* soldiery.

**Spahis, and Zabims.** The *Spahis* compose a considerable body of horse, and live on their *Timars*, or lands given them by the grand feignior, proportionably to their services, like to many lords, nor can this grant be taken from them without destroying the best soldiers they have in time of need. The *Zabims* are also horse, and have lands like the others.

**Cbians.** The *Cbians* are messengers to fulfil the emperor's commands, when he will have some *Bassa's* head, or imprison him. They attend the grand feignior a horse-back, when he goes abroad, as was observ'd before. The *Cbians-Baschi* is chief of them.

**Emirabur-Baschi.** The *Emirabur-Baschi*, tho' he lives abroad, serves as first gentleman-usher in the seraglio, and when the grand feignior appears in publick, he goes before him.

**Ckmeoggi-Baschi.** The *Ckmeoggi-Baschi*, tho' he lives abroad, has the key of all the bread that is spent in the seraglio.

**Caragi-Baschi.** The chief of those that receive the taxes is call'd *Caragi-Baschi*, who together with the customer and chief of the merchants, is to furnish money for the publick expence, as occasion requires; the grand feignior being no way oblig'd

to make use of his private treasure. This is a tax of five ducats a head paid by every christian, except *Franks*, and every *Jew* residing in the *Levant*; but the *Armenians* pay less than the *Jews*.

The great *Muphti* is the head of the *Muphti*. *Mabometan* religion, and interpreter of the *Alcoran*; but the *Turks* confounding civil government with religion, the *Muphti* and *Cadi* are indifferently look'd upon as men of the law, as if there were no difference between lawyers, and divines, for which reason the *Muphti* very often gives his opinion in civil, and criminal causes. Hence it is that there is no ecclesiastical superiority among them, and that there lies no appeal from the other *Muphti's* to the great one; as also that he is not superior of the *Imans*, or priests; every one owning only his own superior. In other particulars the great *Muphti* of *Constantinople* is respected by all men, as following the grand feignior's court, which distinguishes him from the others, of whom there are many throughout the empire. The soldiers being to be try'd by none but their own peculiar judges, who are the *Cadeleschers* of *Natolia*, and *The Cadet-Romania*, render these men's dignity very considerable, and gives them a seat in the divan near the vizier, next, to the *Muphti*. In great cities there are judges and *Mullabs*, or *Mula's* subordinate to the *Cadeleschers* in civil affairs, but have no superior in the criminal; the *Cadis*, who administer justice in great towns, and the *Naispis* of small ones are subject to these.

The priests that serve in the *Mosques* *Imans*, *H.* in the nature of curates, are call'd *Imans*, *gias*, *Sebe*, or *Emoms*; the readers of the law to youth *Hog*; the preachers *Sebekis*; and those that call the people to prayers from the steeples *Muezins*.

The *Derives*, or religious men, tho' they make a very hypocritical outward shew, do not live in community, nor in their monasteries, but in their own houses with their wives and children, upon an allowance the sultan gives them of thirty, forty, or fifty aspers a day; they are also oblig'd to repair to the monastery at certain hours.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### The Author's Journey to Constantinople.

**B**Eing resolv'd to depart for *Constantinople*, I took my leave of the baron de *Chateaufneuf*, the *French* ambassador, a person excellently qualify'd, as

appears by his administration there, having prevail'd with the sultan not to make peace, as he was solicited; obtain'd the restoration of the holy places



ees in *Jerusalem* to the catholics, after the *Greeks* had been long possess'd of them; and brought the grand seignior to oblige the *Bassa of Grand Cairo* to take but three *per Cent.* for all goods of the traders of *Marseilles*, whereas others pay twenty, and to restore what had been receiv'd over.

Having hir'd two horses for me and my man, at five ducats a piece, I set out for *Constantinople* on *Monday* the 4th, with a small caravan of forty people, and having rode twenty miles thorough plains cover'd with snow, lay at the village of *Hapfa*, in a caravansera among our beasts.

*Tuesday* the 5th, I suffer'd more than I had done in six months travels before; for setting out before day, we rode over snow and ice, thorough a country partly hilly and partly plain, till I was frozen a horse-back, and had no feeling in my hands or feet. After twenty miles riding, we pass'd thorough the great village of *Bala*, and over a good stone-bridge; and at the end of fifteen miles more, set up in a great town call'd *Bergasi*, where there is another stone-bridge of many arches over the river. At night the *Janizaries* had a long discourse concerning the war in *Hungary*, saying, the *Germans* shed much blood of the *Mussulmans*, and that their soldiery was discourag'd seeing so much slaughter. Here I observ'd, that as the *French* call the place where passengers lie *Gisse*, so the *Turks* give it the name of *Cunac*.

The great snow that fell on *Wednesday* the 6th, and what lay on the ground before, would not permit us to travel above fifteen miles, and we lay that night at the village of *Calestrom*. Setting out betimes on *Thursday* the 7th, we could travel but twenty miles, to the village of *Obiorla*, by reason of the same impediment of snow, the horses not being able to draw their feet out of it.

*Friday* the 8th, we got into a country better inhabited, but the soil nothing better; and having pass'd by some villages in ten miles riding, we came to the shore of the streight, along which we continu'd our journey all the day, to the village of *Sivirli*, where we pass'd at the end of twenty miles more. This village is large, and has a little port, and a famous bridge of thirty two arches over the river and morafs. On the hill there is another place enclos'd with a very antient wall, which appears to have been built by the *Greeks*, by an old inscription found there in their language. We

made no long stay here, seeing the way clear of snow, and the road good, but riding six miles further, came to the village of *Burgadus*, on the bank of the same streight.

*Saturday* the 9th, at fifteen miles end we pass'd thorough *Cbeck-mangia*, a small village still upon the streight. Here is a good fishery, for the streight makes a little bay eight miles in compass, like the little sea of *Taranto*, and there are four stone-bridges over it. The people there shut up the mouth of it, which is about a mile over, with pallisadoes, and then go in at the gap left in the middle with a wooden house, to take the fish, which is the reason there are three other little villages upon the bay. Eight miles further we pass'd over another bridge built upon an arm of the sea, as convenient as the other for fishing; for running a great way into the land, it has a great quantity of fish, and is the cause there are several villages about the country.

*Sunday* the 10th, having travell'd ten miles further, part hill, part plain, I came at last to the famous city of *Constantinople*. Thence after contenting the *Catergi*, or owner of the horses, I went to *Galata* to seek a lodging; but the inn kept there by a *Frenchman* being full, I was forced to make the best shift I could that night upon the boards in a *Greek's* house. In this short journey I found not the civility *Tavernier*, *Lib. I. P. 1. c. 10. pag. 118.* speaks of in his description of the caravanseras of *Persia* and *Turky*; where he is pleas'd to write, that from *Belgrade* to *Constantinople*, a traveller and his horse has his charges born by the overseer of the caravanseras, who does it out of a legacy left by a founder departed, and that in the morning there is nothing to do but thank him and be gone, without putting hand to purse; for I was so far from finding this entertainment, that it cost me two carlines (about a shilling) every night to get boards to keep me from the dirt on the ground; and as for eating, I far'd as I pleas'd, as all the rest did for their money.

*Monday* the 11th, I took a room in the *Frenchman's* inn, paying half a ducat for my self, and a quarter for my man. We eat well enough at a round table; and I being half starv'd, as having found nothing good upon the road, nor any convenience to dress it, did eat heartily, whereat a captain of a *French* vessel admiring, he turn'd to his companions, and said, This man eats like a devil, thinking I did not understand *French*.

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CHAP. V.

The Description of Constantinople, and its Greatness; as also of the Grand Seignior's Seraglio.

Constantinople described.

Constantinople, at present the metropolis of the Ottoman monarchy, was known to the ancients by the name of *Byzantium*; but the emperor *Constantin* the great having beautify'd it, and repair'd the harm done in it by *Alexander Severus*, forsaking *Rome*, made it the seat of the empire; and as a perpetual memorial would have it call'd *New Rome*; and the province of *Thrace*, in which it is seated, *Romelia*, or *Romana*. After his death, this *New Rome* took the name of *Constantinople*, and for brevity that of *Polis*, that is, city, like the *Old Rome*, which *per Excellentiam*, was called *Urbs*. So that the *Greeks* of *Romelia*, when they would express, they were going to *Constantine's* new city, us'd to say, *ei ten polis*, *Eis ten Polis*, that is, to the city; whence, it is suppos'd, came the other corrupt name of *Stam-pol*, or *Stambol*, now given it by the *Turks*.

It is advantageously seated on the streight of the black sea, once call'd *Bosphorus Thracius*, in 42 degrees of latitude. Its shape is triangular, and the sea which washes two sides of it, makes there the finest port in *Europe*, beyond all dispute. The angles of this triangle are call'd *Tedacula*, or seven towers; *Serra-ovasi*, or seraglio; and the gate of *Agevassaco-cassi*, towards the point of the bay, or little streight of *Cbitana*. 'Tis true, the sides are not equal, that between the seven towers and the seraglio, being much longer than the others; and that between the seraglio and the point of the streight of *Cbitana* crooked; opposite to it, beyond the streight, stood *Chalcedon*, an ancient city of *Bithinia*. *Constantinople* is reported to have been built by *Pausanias*, king of *Sparta*, in the year of the world 3469, and 96 after the destruction of *Troy*, at the same time that *Taranto*, in the province of *Otranto*, and *Gerace*, in the province of the further *Calabria*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, were built. Like *Old Rome* it is enclos'd by seven hills, which does not at all lessen its beauty, or the delights its air and soil afford. Within its compass, being twelve miles, or rather fifteen, including the seraglio and its gardens, are contain'd about a million of souls; it being the most populous city in *Europe*, next to *Paris*. The houses are low, being built of wood, or wood

and mud, and therefore very subject to fires.

The royal *Mosques* are noble structures, as are the other publick buildings, and the palaces of great men magnificent. There are rich and graceful *Bazars* or markets, suitable to the greatness of the city; and several fountains of good water, brought from far in long aqueducts, to serve all parts. The streets are narrow and crooked, and tho' pav'd, not to compare with ours in *Italy*. It abounds in good fruit all the year; as also in fish, flesh, excellent bread, and all an *Epicure* can desire, at very reasonable rates. This city was the theatre of religious controversies betwixt catholicks and hereticks, according to the inclination of the emperors and emperesses; and therefore four general councils were celebrated there; the first under pope *Damasus* in year 381; the second under *Vigilius* in 553; the third under *Agatho* in 680; and the fourth under *Adrian II*, in 869.

The grand seignior has two seraglios. The first in this metropolis; one in the midst of the city call'd the old seraglio, where *Mahomet II*. liv'd, after taking the city by assault on the third day of *Pentecost*, in the year 1453, and there every new grand seignior shuts up his predecessor's women. The other call'd the great seraglio, is that where the sultans reside, when they are in *Constantinople*, being in the east part of the city, water'd on two sides by two freights; that is, the great side by the great streight, running out of the white to the black sea, and the other by the little one, made by the waters of the great one running up the country six miles towards the fresh water of *Cbitana*. It is enclos'd by a single wall with old towers, those towards the sea square, and those towards the city round, where the *Azameglans* keep guard to hinder all persons approaching. The sultan has built a summer-house to take his view all round upon one of the towers that looks towards *Asia*, whither he often resorts to divert himself. There is nothing regular in the inward structures; but only confuse apartments, and gardens on its uneven ground planted with cypresses, and other trees; but the leading of the top, and the gilt *Minarets*, or turrets, yield a noble prospect, as also

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also the *Mosque* within it, especially when the sun shines on them. Towards the sea there are some galleries, on the outside cas'd with marble, and within painted and gilt, where the grand seignior takes the air, when he comes to divert himself with fishing. On that point which looks towards *Scutaret*, there are several pieces of cannon in a row on the ground to secure the place; and on the side of the little strait there lie several barges prettily gilt, for the service, and diversion of the sultan. Besides the many gates all about the three principal ones, are those on the side of *St. Sophia*, which lead to three spacious courts. In the first on the one side are the apartments of the *Asanoglans*, and on the other side the infirmary of the slaves of the seraglio. The second court has cypress-trees planted in the middle, and the sides are taken up with the kitchens of the seraglio, the stables, the divan, which is a large room where the vizier, and other counsellors meet to consult about affairs of state, the *Hafna*, or treasury-chamber, where taxes and revenues are laid up, and on the other side the *Odet*, or lodgings for the *Isciohlans*. In the third is a great hall where the grand seignior gives audience to the ambassadors of princes that come to the port; which is the same as the sultan's court. Further in are the *Odaliche*, or apartments of the maiden slaves, kept for the emperor's pleasure; whether none may pass but the eunuchs that serve them.

Having, the best I could, describ'd the seraglio, whereof no further account can possibly be had, unless from the mouth of some of the eunuchs that reside in it, I cannot pass by the noble prospect *Constantinople* affords. For tho' we have given but a rough draught of its buildings within, because the narrowness of the streets hinders the pleasure the eye should take in beholding them; yet on the outside the houses standing upon several rising grounds, the roofs being lofty, and the fronts beautify'd with several colours, as well towards the sea or strait, as towards the land, it yields a most wonderful and surprising sight. It may be boldly asserted, That the wit of man could not choose out a better situation in the world; the same place at the same time affording the delights of *Europe*, and the pleasures of *Asia*; for when the eye is glutted with the sight of the beautiful plains of *Romelia*, it is but looking about beyond the strait into *Asia*,

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and after lamenting the ruins of *Calcedon*, it is re-created on the fruitful soil of *Scutaret*, cover'd with a regular wood of cypress-trees, improv'd by abundance of fruit-trees to please the palate at all seasons, and peopled from many villages along the strait. Which prospect extends twenty miles to the black sea, where *Pompey's* pillar was erected, which is now no more, but there are trees of a prodigious bigness on the sea-shore. Then looking again upon *Europe*, which by reason of the winding of the strait, seems to join to *Asia*, it is curious to behold many considerable towns both on the hills and villages. The first that appears, is *Biscitafi*; then the villages and cities of *Sondach*, *Topana*, *Galata*, *Pera*, *Asticappi*, *Caracbioy*, *Cassun-Bassa*, *Tarjana*, *Dranamara*, and *Ancy*; besides many magnificent palaces and gardens of *Bajsa's* and great men of the country, on the hills, and on the banks of the little strait. Hence it is, that coming from the sea, the eye is as it were distracted with such variety of prospect, and knows not where to fix; for the nearer the vessel approaches on the water, the more the scenes change, and new ones appear.

Galata being look'd upon as a suburb *Galata* of *Constantinople*, as being but half a mile distant, which is the breadth of the narrow strait, it is not to be parted from its metropolis. This city, long possess'd by the republick of *Genoa*, has excellent buildings within the compass of two miles its walls extend. Its situation is part plain and part hill, on the top whereof is a strong and high tower, by means whereof the republick kept the city eight years, whose arms are still to be seen on the walls. Most of the *Franks* live in this city, and the rest in *Pera*, for whom the divine service is attended by the *Jesuits*, *Dominicans*, *Capuchins*, and *Recolets*, with whom the catholic patriarch lives, and their church is a parish, as is that of the *Dominicans*.

Pera is seated along the little hill ad-*Pera* joining to *Galata*, being but narrow and uneven. Here the ambassadors of christian princes reside, as the Emperors, those of *France*, *England*, *Venice*, and *Holland*; and here are other monasteries, one of *French Capuchins*, within the palace of *France*; the other of *Recolets* of the holy land, who administer the sacraments indifferently, like the others, without any separate quarters or jurisdiction, but according as those please that make use of them. Tho' it be an

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open place, there are good houses in it, which by reason of their high standing have the finest prospect in the world, overlooking *Constantinople*, and the places before-mention'd.

Tuesday the 12th, I went up thither to see the devices turn round, and found two French *Jesuits*, who had the same curiosity; it was perform'd after the same manner as I mention'd at *Adrianople*, and therefore no more needs to be said of it.

Bilicini's
village.

Wednesday the 13th, I went a-cross the streight in a boat, to see another monastery of devices in the village of *Bilicini*, where I saw such another dance, in a stately room painted, near the sea-shore. A Turk seeing me laugh at that folly, said to me, *This is like your religious men disciplining themselves*. In my return, I discover'd at the end of the village near the shore, a noble palace all leaded at top, and with handsome galleries to the sea. Near this place was another seraglio of the grand seignior's built by sultan *Mahomet*, who went thither sometimes to divert himself, but none of the court living there at present, it runs to ruin. Going into it, I found a confus'd number of apart-

ments along the canal, some of them of wood, and all without any rule or method; a few paces from it is a great garden without a wall, and about that a cypress-grove enclosed with a summer-house in the middle.

Having seen this village, I went to *Fondaci*, the other call'd *Fondaci*, where there is nothing great; but the houses lying along the streight have the prospect of it, and conveniency of fishing, whereof there is great plenty all along there; which is the reason fish is so cheap at *Constantinople*, that tunny fish, taken all the year about, is sold for a farthing a pound, an eel of eight pound weight for about eighteen pence, and an hundred of large oysters for five pence; the Turks being no admirers of fish. Going on still by land, because the streight was high, I came to the village and quarter of *Topana*, where the cannon is cast. Before the arsenal, was a prodigious culverin, thirty spans long, and several pieces of cannon; and among them one that shot out three balls, at as many mouths at once firing. Walking still along the bank, about sun-set, I came to the suburb or city of *Galata*, having gone about three miles by land.

CHAP. VI.

The Description of St. Sophia, and other Imperial Mosques; as also of other remarkable Things in Constantinople.

Thursday the 14th, having hir'd a boat, and a Jew to be my interpreter, I went over to *Constantinople* to see *St. Sophia*. This noble structure is only part of a greater, begun by *Justin*, and finish'd by *Justinian*, emperors of the east, who consecrated it by the name of *St. Sophia*. The Turks have destroyed great part of it, and preserv'd only the *Duomo*, which is the middle part of the old church.

St. Sophia

The diameter of this *Duomo* is about 113 foot. About the *Mosque* there are two rows of galleries, each supported by many pillars. The great cupola is built upon wonderful arches, sustained by large columns, cas'd with marble: in the intervals between which, on both sides, there are four stately marble columns, and two others further back. At the upper and lower end of the *Mosque*, are four other pillars, with lofty arches, which divide it into three parts. These arches, and part of the body of the *Mosque*, are of *Mosaic* work; which tho' time, and the Turks have destroy'd much, still shews several figures, made

in the time of the *Greeks*. The pavement is all marble, as is the pulpit on the left of a half tribune, made by the high altar, to explain my self the better by terms us'd in *Enrope*. Besides the aforesaid columns, there are six very large ones in the intervals to support the first gallery, which goes round, as does the second. On the right of the niche is a good closter, to which the grand seignior has a private stair-case. The Turks have a particular respect for this *Mosque*, on account of a stone they keep there, on which they say, the blessed virgin wash'd the infant Jesus's linen. They also shew a tomb, which they say is the emperor *Constantine's*. A-bundance of lamps hang all about.

Having given the *Iman* or priest ten para's, he permitted me to go to the first gallery, up a large arch'd stair-case of marble, where I found seven several large spaces about it, like seven chappels; but on every side there are three arches, which leave a great space between the wall and the gallery. The columns on the inside are five to every arch,

Tombs.

arch, of green veiny marble, and four bigger of white marble, on both sides next the wall. At the lower end of the *Mosque*, over the great gate, which makes the seventh arch or chappel, there are four others of green veiny marble; so that in all they make thirty four of black and green marble, and twenty four of white, standing on the arches rais'd upon the lower pillars. The arches of the gallery are also of *Mosaic* work; but the faces of the saints and angels have been all batter'd and spoil'd by the *Turks*; filling up those places with colours, and writing thereon the name of god in *Arabick* characters. The pavement, walls, and pillars are all cas'd with good marble. The priest shew'd me a burial place of a prodigious depth in the same place on the left, where he told me, the *Turks* were in-terr'd.

There are two long arches that lead to this famous temple; the first has two gates at the end, and four in the middle; the second which is *Mosaic*, has five in the front, and two on the sides. When in this second, there appear nine doors, the middlemost whereof is of brass; the two on the sides of it are open, and the other six kept shut, so that they take up almost all one side of the *Mosque*. Over that brazen gate, the *Turk* that was with me, shew'd me a dove, the symbol of the holy ghost, and an image of a saint in *Mosaic* work, half defac'd by the barbarity of the *Mahometans*; besides these nine doors, there are four on the sides, and two behind the niche, or high altar opposite to the great seraglio.

At the angles of this structure, there are four towers, with balconies about them, into which the *Muezzins* go five times a day to call the *Turks* at the set hours to their *Nama*, or prayers. Before the front is a porch, where the *Mahometan* women sometimes go to say their prayers. To conclude, the structure is so prodigious, and the wall of it so thick, that it seems to have been built for a fort, rather than a church.

Besides the dwellings of the *Imans*, about the said *Mosque*, there are on the left side, separate from the body of it, tombs of several sultans along the enclos'd church-yard. The first is *Mahomet*, the second of *Selim*, the third of *Amurat*, the fourth of his children, which were about 120; and the fifth, next the *Mosque* of the sultans *Mustapha*, and *Ibrahim*. These tombs are made like cupola's, leaded without, and paint-

ed within, after the country fashion; ^{GEMELLI 1694.} as the walls without are cas'd with ordinary marble, and within with a finer fort, and fine tiles. The ground is cover'd with good carpets, and in each tomb two great flambeaux weighing about 300 weight in wax each, with a great turbant on them. Within them are bury'd their wives, children, and brothers; but the sultans and sultaneſſes tombs, are bigger than those of their children, which have no turbants on them. There are *Imans*, or priests appointed to look after all these sepulchers. One thing peculiar, I observ'd in *St. Sophia*, which is, that no women being allow'd to go into the other *Mosques*, in this they may enter, if they are not satisfy'd to pray in the porch.

Friday the 15th, I went to see sultan ^{Sultan} *Hamel's Mosque*, in the *Ajmedian*, or ^{Hamel's} *Hippodrome*. For beauty, it exceeds *St. Sophia*, but is not so large, and it shews, no cost was spar'd about it. The great cupola of this *Mosque*, (for they are all built after the same fashion, and sustained by four large round pillars) cas'd with fine marble, of several colours, beautiful to behold; and there are four smaller at the four angles. By the great pillars, there are other thick marble columns, besides the little, supporting a curious gallery, that goes round it. The ground is laid with good marble, and cover'd with rich carpets; and there are lamps hanging in all parts, with other works of crystal, of several colours, to adorn the place. At the end, is a large tribune of fine marble, and on the left of it a pulpit of the same stone. It has three brass gates well enough wrought at the three sides. The first place, or church-yard, is enclos'd with ordinary marble, and there are several doors to it, with iron steps. On both the outsides of the *Mosque* there are two galleries adorn'd with several hundreds of small pillars, worthy the observations of curious persons, and along them several fountains for the *Turks* to wash them, they being of opinion, they thus cleanse both body and soul from all filth.

There are also three gates that lead out of the first into the second court, or church-yard; on the sides whereof, are twenty marble pillars, that hold up the arches of twenty leaded cupola's. All the ground is laid with marble, with a great fountain in the middle. There are six other handsome cupola's gilt at the top; three on each side of the *Mosque*. In all these *Mosques* of *Constantinople*, and *Adrianople*, besides the apartments of those

GEMELLI 1694. those that serve them, there are others for poor people, who are there instructed in virtue, and maintain'd out of the revenues of the *Mosque*.

Saturday the 16th, in a place near *St. Sophia*, I saw several lions, tigers, wolves, and foxes, which are shewn, paying a few para's.

The *Atmedan*.

Next I went to see the *Atmedan*, or place where the soldiers exercise, so called, because it was formerly the *Hippodrome*, or place of riding horses, in the time of the *Greek* emperors. In the midst of it, on the ground, are fix'd three serpents, twining about with their mouths open, at the end of the coil, a good piece of workmanship, remaining from the christian times, of which writers tell many fables. Lower than that, is a tall obelisk, almost consum'd with age; and on the other side a pyramid erected on four round pillars of brass, a span high, on a pedestal made of one square piece of marble, and writ all round in *Latin*, and *Greek* letters; but it is very difficult reading of three latin verses, a great part of it being bury'd in the ground; the verses are these:

*Difficilis quondam Dominis parere serenis
Jussus, Et extinctis palmam portare Ty-
rannis,
Omnia Theodosio cedunt, sobolique perenni.*

By which may be gather'd, that it was erected in honour of the emperor *Theodosius*, whose figure is seen on the top, and this for the union of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, which happen'd in his time. It is not so large, or high as *Cleopatra's* pyramids at *Alexandria*; for the foot is not six spans square, and the height fifty; but it has the same hieroglyphicks and characters on it, as that in the balsam garden at *Caire*.

Hamel's Sepulcher.

Near this place is the sepulcher of *Hamel*, and his children, built after the same manner as those already describ'd, that is, cas'd with marble, inside and outside, and the ground cover'd with carpets.

The slaves market.

I went out of curiosity to the *Jassir-Basar*, to see the market of slaves. This is a place enclos'd, with many trees in the middle, and many walks or galleries about it, under which the slaves and the sellers are. The manner of selling them is odd; for after praying for the grand seignior, the seller holds the slave that is to be sold, by the end of a cloth, and on the other side, the crier goes proclaiming the price. He that has a mind to buy, uncovers the slave's face, and feels him or her, in several parts of

the body, as we do in buying horses or asses.

Hence I went to the *Bisfisten*, a place *The Bisfisten* cover'd, where there are many rich shops, in which they sell all the richest things to cloath and arm a gentleman, as also horse furniture; all the arms being gilt, and the furniture embroider'd and cover'd with jewels. The arch is sustain'd by eight pillars, leaving three long walks across the middle, to which there are four doors from the sides. Not far from hence is the *Searici*, where there are walks full of tables, with good shops, afford- ing all things a man can desire.

In my return I pass'd thorough the *Validaxan*, which is a large square enclos'd, about which, there are many shops in the first floor, and in the second above it. This structure was erected at a vast expence, by the mother of *Mahomet* the IVth, and the revenue of it assign'd for the maintenance of the *Mosque* built by her.

Before I took boat to return to *Galata*, I saw the *Janisarcis*, on the shoar of the *Janisarcis* freight. This is a structure consisting of two long arches, in one of which, there are several druggsters shops, and in the other linnen-draperies. This is commonly the first place in the city, where the plague breaks out, because it is very moist, and the drugs make the air unwhollome, as has been found by experience in the late plagues.

Sunday the 17th, after hearing mass, I went again to *Constantinople*, to see the celebrated *Mosque* of the favourite *Sultana*, mother to the emperor now reigning, and to *Mahomet* the IVth. In the first court or church-yard, is her tomb, and those of her sons, brought thither from *Adrianople*. Its cupola is supported by four pillars, in the intervals between which, there are rows of marble columns, orderly dispos'd, and all the walls crusted with marble, and til'd. There is a way to go all round the *Mosque*, under the arches; on the angles whereof, there are other handsome half cupola's. In a word, the eye can behold nothing more beautiful, either for symmetry or costliness; as well on account of the marble, with which the ground is laid, and then cover'd with carpets, as for the rich lamps hanging in the middle: at the end of it, is a good marble tribune, or closet for the sultan, who goes thither up a noble stair-case, and thorough a cover'd gallery in the first court, and behind the *Mosque*. On the left of the niche, is a marble pulpit, as also a beautiful gallery about it, adorn'd with curious pillars.

In the first court, which is enclos'd, there are several dwellings for the *Imams*, or priests that serve the *Mosque*, with mountains and trees in the midst of it. There are three doors out of this first, into the second court or cloister; in which there are about twenty columns of good marble, and about twenty eight leaded cupola's on all the four sides. The *Mosque* on three sides, has three gates wrought with brass, and two beautiful high towers gilt at the top, at the end of it.

The E. quidular. Monday the 18th, I went in the morning to see the old quarter, or *Corps de Guard* of the *Janizaries*, call'd *Eski-dar*, which signifies old house. This is a structure enclos'd with high walls, within which are the apartments and lodgings for the *Janizaries* and their officers, capable of containing some thousands. In the midst of it is a great court, with several fountains for their use. They have another quarter call'd *Genegni-Odar*, or new-house, where others reside.

Soliman's Mosque. Then I went in to see the *Mosque* built by *Soliman*, the finest without dispute of all I had seen yet, with four fine towers upon the angles. The way is first into a great court, wall'd in; and out of this there are three doors to pass into the second, in which there are twenty four columns of mix'd marble, that sustain the galleries, and twenty eight leaded cupola's. The ground is all laid with marble, with a fountain in the middle, compos'd of eight pillars, of the same sort of marble. The *Mosque* has one door facing the second, and four on the sides. The great cupola, as in all the others, rests upon four pillars, having two other smaller adjoining to it, rising from both ends of the niche, and there are five on each side of it, with four large marble columns above fifty spans high.

On the right hand is a curious marble tribune for the grand seignior, supported by six pillars. On the left was the pulpit, and another open tribune, for the ceremonies of the *Mosque*. The pavement is all cover'd with fine carpets, and the place lighted with lamps. A stately marble gallery adorns both sides of the *Mosque*; behind which, at the side of the niche, is a round chappel, embellish'd with good marble, and the pavement cover'd with carpets, where is the tomb of *Soliman*, and others of his family. In the inner part of the chappel, is a row of pillars of fine stones, and without it a row of bannisters. The tombs, as I observ'd elsewhere, are cover'd with silk, turbants lie on them, and there are great flambeaux at the sides. Hard by

is another cupola, of a meaner structure, with some tombs after the same manner.

Going home, I took sultan *Bajazet's Mosque* in my way. The first court of it is large, and has three gates; the second in which, are eight tall cypress-trees; has about it twenty pillars of mixed marble, and eight others in the middle, which hold up a roof over a fountain; twenty four leaded cupola's cover the galleries about the court. The *Mosque* has three doors on one side, and two on the other. The great cupola stands upon four large pillars, with two middling ones by it. At the ends are four other cupola's all white within, and adorn'd with *Arabick* characters. On the left of the niche, near the pulpit, is a tribune for the grand seignior, held up by six columns, and another lower for the ceremonies of the *Mosque*; which on that side spreads out into two arms. In short, not to tire the reader, there are, as in all other *Mosques*, carpets on the ground, lamps hanging about, and towers at the angles to call the people. *Bajazet's* sepulcher is a-part in a round chappel, crust'd with marble within and without, with all the ornaments mention'd in the other imperial sepulchers.

It was very dangerous going to *Constantinople* for me, because there was a *Caimacam* or governour, who was a great enemy to christians. He had caus'd fifty bastonados to be given a *Frenchman*, for wearing yellow shoes, he having forbid *Franks* to cloath themselves after the *Turkish* fashion; and the same to a poor *Greek*, because he carry'd a bottle of wine. He carry'd himself so rigidly, aspiring to be grand vizier, that he valu'd no man, not even the ambassadors of crown'd heads, to whom he gave to understand, that he would punish the least offence committed by their family. Particularly the *Dutch* ambassador, who takes great delight in shooting of pheasants, which are to be found at *Belgrade*, six miles from the city, had word brought him, that if he went thither any more, he would cause him to be hang'd before the gate; he was therefore cry'd up as the dreadfulest man in the world. For this reason, I desir'd the *French* consul to appoint a *Janizary* to go along with me, which he refus'd to do, saying, it would expose him; for if the *Caimacam* offer'd me any affront, it would reflect upon all the nation, and therefore I should take care how I went to *Constantinople*, for I should certainly be thrown into goal. But, since I was travelling the world out of curiosity, I would not

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for any danger omit seeing one of the prime cities of Europe, and therefore I continu'd to go every day. The French ambassador us'd all his endeavours to have the *Caimacam* depos'd, but found it difficult, because he was supported by the sultans, and the chief of the black eunuchs; tho' he was an enemy to the grand vizier, to whose orders he gave little deference. They call'd him *Calicos*, a name given him by *Mabomet* the IVth, when he serv'd as a *Boltagi*, because he was a good horse-man.

Tuesday the 19th, I hir'd a boat, and went over into *Asia*, crossing a streight of two miles, which runs from the black sea to the *Dardanelles*, and landed at *Scutari*. This is a great open village, seated part in the plain, and part on the hill, but pleasant enough, especially in summer, because of the greens and good fruit-trees it has. There are good *Bazars* or markets in the plain part.

Leander's towers

Then I went to see *Leander's* tower, call'd in the *Turkish* tongue *Chisculafi*, seated in the midst of the streight, on a plain rock, 100 spans square, which tho' so small, and in the midst of the sea, has fresh water. I found nothing remarkable in it, but only a few *Pedre-roses*, and eight pieces of cannon, level with the water. It is fabulously call'd so by the *Turks*, for being the prison of *Hero*, mistress to *Leander*, who swam over to her, from the lake where now the *seraglio* stands, every night; but if we believe our poets, and particularly *Ovid*, this happened at the castles of *Sejzus* and *Abydus*. Returning home, the stream carry'd us near the point of the *seraglio*, whence we return'd along the shoar of the streight.

Arcadius and Honorius's pillar.

Wednesday the 20th, I went to the place of *Auret-Bazar*, to see the famous pillars erected, in honour of the emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. The pedestal is made of eight pieces of marble, besides the base, which is bigger and square. The pillar is made of several pieces, on which there are small figures cut in half relief, which to me seem'd to represent a triumph, being like the work of *Trajan's* pillar at *Rome*. It is almost gone to ruin, and they have put three iron hoops about it, to prevent its falling. It is hollow within, and there was a winding stair-case to go up to the top of it; there being a door at the foot of it, and another small one upon the capital, round which, there was room to walk. Twelve spans higher is another capital, where the column ends. Having a mind to go in, I found the stair-case stopp'd up with abundance of

stones, nor could I take its height, because of the jealous temper of the *Turks*, and severity of the *Caimacam*; but as near as I can guess, it may be 147 foot high, as *Peter Gaglio* observes. Thence I went to see the aqueduct, call'd *Cbemer*. It is about half a mile long, on many arches of brick, sometimes one upon another, to raise them to the height of the water. They told me, that three hours walk from the city, at the place they call *Antebemer*, there are a greater number of arches, better made, and larger.

Thursday the 21st, I went to see *Mabomet's* *Mosque*, which differs little or nothing in structure from the rest; and therefore I will not be more particular concerning it. Behind the *Mosque*, in a plain round chapple, is the tomb of sultan *Mabomet* the founder.

All the way I went that morning, was among houles and streets, consum'd by the last fire, which has oblig'd the *Turks* to live in wooden barracks, from the place call'd *Aretet-Bazar*, as far as *Cbemer*, or *Mabomet's* *Mosque*. For several miles along the streight, there was nothing to be seen but dismal memorials of the fire, and the same in the place, call'd *Zugbure-Yuchci*, where they were re-building.

After dinner, I went to the *Vizier's* *Xan*, a great square building, full of shops above and below, where they print stuffs. Next to it, is a pillar of red marble, of several pieces, sixty spans high, on which *Constantine* set his own statue, which in process of time fell down. The pedestal is enclos'd with a wall, and the *Greek* letters on its capital, testify it was erected in the year 440. Time has decay'd it, and to prevent its falling, they have strengthened it with twelve iron hoops. It has this peculiar beyond the other columns, that there are about it eight *Corians* or wreaths of stone running up to the top of it.

I proceeded to the *Atmedan*, or *Hippo-Ibrahim's* *drome*, to the *seraglio*, or palace built by *Ibrahim-Bassa*, son-in-law, and favourite to the emperor *Soliman* II, where they told me, there were 600 rooms, which I could not see, the entrance being forbid. It is seated on one side of the aforesaid square, which is made use of upon publick sports, as for skirmishes and games at the circumcision of the *Ottoman* princes, and the grand seignior comes to this palace to see them.

Friday the 22d, having heard mass sometimes, I pass'd over to *Constantinople*, to observe the compass of its walls. Beginning

An aque-duct.

Mabomet's mosque.

The seven towers.

Vizier's Xan.

Compass of the city.

ginning next the streight, and going out at the gate of *Egri-Capli*, or the black gate, I went towards that of *Age-vassare-Capli*, close to which the streight runs; then turning back along the land-side, I went about the wall, on a way pav'd with flint, which goes round. Passing by five gates on this side, I saw near that of *Adrianople* call'd *Edriene-Capli*, the place where the *Turks* made the breach, at which they entred, and took the city. Coming to the great streight, which at the point of the seraglio stretches out a small arm, I went in at the seventh gate, call'd *Yedicala*, or of the seven towers, there being no more on the land-side.

The seven towers

The place properly call'd the seven towers is at a small distance, and is a prison for prisoners of state, whom the sultan will not put to death; and to keep hostages. I had the curiosity to go into the first court, and as far as I could observe, it is like a square castle with seven towers in it leaded, where there are good apartments for prisoners. The air is wholesome, and good to dispel melancholy. In the mutiny that happened in 1648, the soldiery incens'd against *Ibrahim* their sultan, drew him from the seraglio to the seven towers, and there strangled him. The sultan *Osmán* dy'd in the same place, and the same sort of death, upon another mutiny in 1622.

The revenues of *Mosques* that are any thing considerable are also kept in these seven towers; some of them being worth above 100000 crowns a year. This treasure is kept to make war upon christians, in defence of their law; nor dare the *Turks* put it to any other uses. On the outside, I saw a door shut between two towers, near which there where angels and saints cut in the marble in half relieve, which shew it was built by the christians.

The walls of *Constantinople* next the streight are in some places fallen down; the part that remains standing has towers on it at equal distances. On the land-side, there are small weak towers after the antient manner, with a shallow ditch, before which there is a wall breast-high for musketers.

Continuing my walk round within the gate of *Yedicala*, there being no going on the out-side but by water, I came to the seraglio; and proceeding from thence along the streight, I made the tower or round at a moderate rate, in four hours; so that I look upon *Constantinople* to be twelve miles in compass, as was said before, besides three

miles the seraglio makes, which in all is fifteen. By the way I saw the *Mosque*, and sepulchre of sultan *Selim*.

Near the gate of *Agri-Capli*, are the remains of the emperor *Constantine's* palace, whereof a part towards the city is still standing. It appears to have been a large structure, but standing at the end of the city, it is rather to be suppos'd to have been a house of pleasure than any other; because it overlooks all the streight, and fresh waters; and that his residence was near *St. Sophia*, where there are remains of pillars and marble about the garden of the seraglio. In this palace of *Constantine's*, I was told, a youth seven years before that time found a diamond among the rubbish, which he sold for about three pence or a groat *Englisb*, next it was parted with for about two shillings; and the stone being good, sultan *Mahomet* then reigning, came to hear of it, who bought, and had it cut, when it was found so large and fine, that it was valu'd at above 100000 crowns.

After dinner I return'd to *Constantinople* to see the *Esqui-Serray*, that is, the old habitation. This is a royal seraglio, where all the women are kept up that have serv'd former sultans, as was said before, whence they never come out unless marry'd to some *Bassá's*. This place is enclos'd with a wall twenty four spans high for two miles in compass, within which are the lodgings, and gardens for those ladies diversion. There is no going into it, the gate being guarded by *Janizaries* and *Capigis*.

Near the *Esqui-odolar*, or street of the *Cesade-Bassi*, I went in to see the *Mosque* of *Cesade-giamissi*, built by the son of a sultan. About it is a noble court, with several buildings for *Imans*, with three gates leading to the second court, or cloister, where there are about fifteen marble columns that sustain twenty two cupola's all leaded. In the middle is a curious fountain, the top whereof is held up by little marble pillars. There are three doors to the *Mosque*, whose cupola stands on four large columns; for the rest there are the tribunes, carpets and lamps as in the others. Having seen a sepulchre, which they told me was *Ibrahim Bassá's*, I went out, and seeing others in my way, curiosity led me again into the first court; where in a chapel I observ'd two tombs of sultans with feathers in their turbans under silk canopies, after the *Turkish* fashion. As I was going out to view the rest, I met a *Janizary*, who call'd me; but I fearing to be robb'd, being in a solitary place,

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place, and having forty zecchines about me, made hast away, and perceiving him pursue, began to run out of the place. The *Janizary* seeing one of his companions call'd out to him to stop me, which he did, there being no way for me to escape. These *Turks* having search'd, and found nothing about me, led me to the *Esqui-odolar*, which was close by, and bringing me before a man, whom I suppos'd to be an officer, accus'd me as a spy. He examin'd me in good *Italian*, and I told him I was come out of curiosity to see the tombs. He reply'd there was no seeing of them, because of the extraordinary jealousy of the *Turks*, but that he excus'd me this time as being a stranger, who knew not the custom of the country, and warn'd me to make haste to *Galata*, and return no more to *Constantinople*; as also to be thankful to the *Turk* that set me at liberty. I thought I had seen my angel guardian, who deliver'd me out of prison; and doubtless he was some *Italian* renegade, for he spoke the language better than my self. I accordingly made haste back to *Galata*, which I had fear'd I should not see in some days; so dangerous is curiosity among barbarous people.

Greek church.

In my return, I pass'd through the quarter call'd *Fener*, and went into the church and house of the *Greek* patriarch. The church is narrow and low, with five arches on each side, which divide it into three isles, and has a few silver lamps hanging in it. On the left is the patriarch's seat, ascending four steps, on the right hand going in is a piece of our saviour's pillar, three spans high, about the same thickness, and red and white.

The assem-
nal.

Saturday the 23d, I hir'd a boat the day being fair, to divert my self on the freight. It is much pleasanter being on it, than on the *Posilipo* at *Naples*, for it is to be enjoy'd at all times of the year, and the prospect is better by reason of the view of *Constantinople*, whereof we have spoke before. I went along as far as the villages of *Asacassi*, *Caracbiy*, *Cassun-Basfia*, and *Tarfena*, where the galleys are. Going ashore, I had the curiosity to see them building galliots, brigantines, and other vessels under fourteen arches. There were five galleys finish'd, and the keels of three others; besides six large galliots, which they told me would soon be launch'd to serve on the *Danube* in the *Hungarian* war. Close by was the captain *Bajja's* house, water'd on three sides by the freight, and handsomely built. At a small distance, on the top of a hill, near the shore was the village of *Dra-*

nana. There were also in the same water twenty men of war built in the black sea, the biggest of which carry'd seventy guns; and that being *Friday*, which is the *Turkish* holiday, they had all their colours abroad. There are along the shore above forty cover'd arches, and as many open for the service of the ships and galleys. The water is so deep that they step ashore from any vessel upon a plank.

Proceeding further in the boat, I saw *Serray-Basfia*, on the freight, adorn'd with many rows of cypress-trees, and abundance of lobbies in the galleries; and embellish'd with such variety of colours, that it, in a manner obliges the eye to behold it. At a great distance, all the way inhabited, appears the village of *Asuy*, where the freight turns away to the right, growing narrower towards the river. For this reason the three miles they reckon from *Galata* to this village, by water, are not only delightful on account of the beauty of this shore; but also for the other opposite to it where *Constantinople* stands, and for the many notable houses on the water, even without the gate of *Jvassere-Capfi*, and its suburb *Jupb*. The water four miles from *Galata* is fresh, by reason of the river that runs from *Belgrade* into the freight. Seeing that river run smooth, I caus'd the boat to go on, leaving on my right a wooden-house, well gilt and painted upon the water, built to take the air in summer; and passing under a stone-bridge three miles further came to *Cbitana*. This is a place that has but few houses, but of curiosity, because of a machine there is on the river, which turning a wheel, blows five pair of bellows belonging to so many forges, to melt the iron, which is thence convey'd to the moulds to cast bombs for the war. There being no going further, because of a fall the river makes down the rugged hills, I turn'd back.

Mr. *Whitton*, a rich *English* merchant came at night to our inn to sup and drink with us; for tho' there were six *French-men* at the table, yet the wars between nations are not to break private friendship, especially in a strange and barbarous country. The *Englishman* eat, and drank heartily, as did a *Genoese* his companion, and the six *French-men*; for by the same token they were all drunk, and painted one another's faces without being angry. Not being able to hold out at drinking with them, I went away to bed, making fast

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fast my door, which these *Bacchanals* came to break open; but finding it fast, were forced to go their way without doing any thing.

Sunday the 24th, I was told that the day before the *Caimacam* had been at *Galata*, and sent twelve *Greeks* and one *Jew* to the galleys. Going afterwards to the village of *Caracbioy*, I met the son of *D. Joseph Marciese* of *Messina*, who bought and sold wine to get his living, as his father had done before, he got away to *France*, by special favour of the grand seignior's.

Monday the 25th, it was known that the *Caimacam* of *Constantinople* had been put out of his employment, after holding it three months and a half; and that the *staf* of the castles was to succeed him, he being sent to the government of *Derberker*, the metropolis of *Mesopotamia*; and this because in so small a time he had gain'd the hatred of both *Turks*, and christians in that government, so little suitable to his birth, he being the son of a *Greek* priest.

No remains of *Calcedon*.

After dinner, I went over in a boat to *Asia*, to see the remains of the ancient *Calcedon*, where landing, I found nothing to prove there had been such a city, but the fair ground it stood on. It is two miles west of *Scutaret*, opposite to the seraglio. Near to it the grand

seignior has a good pleasure-house, with a curious garden adorn'd with cypress-trees, which are very common in those countries.

I using sometimes to visit *James Colver*, ambassador from the states of *Holland* at the port, because he was a virtuoso, and lover of travellers, he out of Mr. *Spon's* book put me in mind, that I had omitted to see the emperor *Marcian's* pillar, which others besides me had forgot; which gave me an itching to return to *Constantinople*, to satisfy this new curiosity; notwithstanding I had promis'd the renegado I would go no more. In spite of the danger I took boat *Tuesday* the 26th, and saw the pillar in the court of a private *Turk's* house, near the same quarter of the *Janizaries*. As near as I can guess it is fifteen spans high, made of one piece of speckled marble, with its capital of the *Corinthian* order, on which was a square stone, with four eagles at the four corners. I could not see the *Latin* verses the ambassador told me were at the foot of the column, they being perhaps sunk into the ground with the pedestal. Besides I was in such haste to get out of danger, for fear of meeting the *Italian* renegado, who this time would have done me some diskindness, that I would not stay to have it uncover'd.

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1694.

CHAP. VII.

The Author's Voyage to Smirna.

DESIGNING to go by land into *Persia* with the caravan, I resolv'd to return to *Smirna* by sea; which *John* and *David Mener*, *French* merchants of *Marseilles*, and the latter consul of the nation understanding, they both of them very civilly offer'd me my passage aboard the ship call'd the *Jupiter*, commanded by captain *Duran*, of the said city of *Marseilles*. The same offer was made me by captain *Sereni* of the same city, aboard his vessel call'd the *Swallow*; for the *French* are very ready to forward any body that travels only to see and write; and talking of me, they would say to one another, *This is a worthy Man, who Labours for the publick, and therefore we are all Bound to Assist him.*

I thank'd them all, and accepted of the kindness aboard the first that should happen to sail; but perceiving on *Wednesday* the 27th, that they were uncertain when they should sail; for fear of losing the opportunity of the caravan, which I fear'd would set out very soon,

I resolv'd to go aboard a *Turkish Chibamber*, that was bound for *Smirna*. Having laid in my provision, we set sail with a fair wind on *Thursday* the 28th; but scarce had we run thirty miles before the *Rais*, or master, according to their custom, came to an anchor in an open road, on the side of *Natoia*.

Friday the 29th, we weigh'd three hours before day, and that evening drew near the island *Marmora*, but the wind being contrary at night, we could get but little by tacking.

Saturday the 30th, about noon, we were still opposite to those islands. There *Marmora* are five of them; the biggest is call'd *Marmora*, on which there are four small villages, or hamlets; the second *Bacialiman*, which are five villages; the third *Ecbnich*, has but one; the fourth *Baglia*, has two; and the fifth *Imaral*, has two more. The soil is so good, that they supply almost all *Constantinople* with wine at a moderate price; for an *Oka*, weighing forty eight ounces, which

GEMELLI is about three pints, is sold for three *Grano's* of *Naples* money, being about three farthings *English*.

The wind blowing hard at night, and the channel being widest about *Marmora*, we were forc'd back thirty miles, to put into the port of the island and village of *Ecnich*, on *Sunday* the 31st. The same wind continuing, kept us all *Monday* the 1st of *February* in the same place; and failing on *Tuesday* the 2d, three hours before day, after six hours sail, we came to *Gallipoli*, 160 miles from *Constantinople*. We fail'd not on *Wednesday* the 3d, because the sea ran high. That same night *Ussin Vizier-Bassa* came to *Gallipoli*, with a retinue of two hundred persons on horseback, going from the castles to *Constantinople*, to take possession of the place of *Caimacam*; *Calicos* being depos'd, as was said before, for his ill management. This vizier had been *Caimacam* the year before, and was much esteem'd by the *Franks* for his good qualities. *Xaxan*, the *French* vice-consul entertain'd me in his house very civilly; but at supper omitted none of his pharisaical superstitions before spoken of.

Thursday the 4th, I saw the *Londra* or vessel I came aboard of from *Bickier* in *Egypt*, and left at *Rhodes*; which in four months time had not perform'd its voyage, by reason of the drunkenness of the *Rais* or master, who thought of nothing less than his business; and had I not resolv'd to leave the brute, I had still lain languishing about those wafts, and the course of my travels had been considerably interrupted.

We could not fail before *Friday* the 5th, because of the bad weather. Yet we came in good time to the castle of *Natolia*, where we stay'd, because the wind made the sea run high. I was forc'd to lie aboard that night, and therefore *Saturday* the 6th, in the morning, being no longer able to endure the sea-sickness, I would go ashore, tho' the snow lay in the country two spans deep. Going to the *French* vice-consul, who resided there, I found him a rude unmannerly man, who ask'd me several impertinent questions, and at last carry'd me to the *Aga* of the castle, giving him a very ill account of me, and telling him, I feign'd myself a *Frenchman*, but in short could be no other but some friar; grounding his conjecture upon seeing me cover'd with a cloak like a friar's, because of the cold; so that I was much afraid I should have been thrown into goal. However, the *Aga* being a discreet man, said it was enough if he saw

my pass. And the base vice-consul answering he had seen no pass, and that I to excuse myself, said it was aboard the vessel, to prevent the *Aga's* growing jealous, upon so many objections, I took my leave, saying, I was going for it, to shew them; but would not return thither any more, seeing how mistrustful the *Frenchman* was.

Sunday the 7th, after dinner we had the usual visit of the customer, and *Janizary*, who taking an account of all there was aboard the ship, ask'd me whether I was bound, and whether I had a pass. I answer'd, I was bound for *Smirna*, and the consul had seen my pass.

Monday the 8th, the weather was not fit to sail, but the sea growing calm on *Tuesday* the 9th, we set out in the morning, and lay that night at *Tenedos*. Tho' the wind continu'd fair on *Wednesday* the 10th, the *Rais* would not fail, and it coming about afterwards against us, we were forc'd to continue there whilst it lasted.

Thursday the 10th, we all went ashore, and I took up my lodging in the house of a *Greek*, where there were also two *Frenchmen*, and two *Venetians*; one whose name was *Paul*, and the other his wife, in man's apparel call'd *Clare*. *Friday* the 12th, we all went to divert us two miles from our place of abode for the country air, and found all parts well cultivated with vineyards; so that *Muscadine* wine is there sold for two para's the *Oka*, and the more ordinary sort cheaper, but they are both light wines, fit to drink at meals.

Saturday the 13th, we din'd at a *Greek* priests, who gave us a good dinner for our money. *Sunday* the 14th we heard mass in the *Greek* church, whither all the christians of the country resorted. At last, *Monday* the 15th, we sail'd, being in company four *Chambers*, one *Saïque*, and a *Londra*, but ours being the best sailer, outstrip'd the others, and came first to the strait of *Baba*, which the others could not enter, the wind changing upon them.

We held our course all night, so that *Tuesday* 16th, at break of day we were in sight of *Focia*; which we entred, with much tacking, the wind being a-head of us. Going ashore, I hir'd two horses for a piastre, to carry me in the morning by land to *Smirna*, which was forty miles distant; considering I might perhaps spend much time by sea, because the weather was bad. A storm blew at night, but the sea grew so calm in the morning, that they sent word betimes, they were ready to depart.

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Focia
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Wednesday the 17th we set out early. Going out of the harbour, I observ'd a small castle, with nine pieces of cannon level with the water. A *Bassa* would have built another on a small island, a mile distant, but death prevented him. The Town of *Focia* is small, wall'd, and has two gates, and an excellent harbour, fit for great ships close under the wall. The wind continuing fair, we arriv'd at *Smirna* in the afternoon, having spent twenty one days in this tedious voyage; for a christian may destroy himself, unless he be arm'd with *Job's* patience, among the *Turks*, who always use the affronting words, *Naji Naji*, and *Giaur*; and a man has not always the command of his passion. This their presumption proceeds from their being in their own country, and superior in power, else they would not dare to speak. Therefore it is convenient, that a christian, as much as may be, avoid going aboard a *Turkish* vessel; for tho' there be more *Greeks* than *Turks* aboard, yet the first are worse than the latter, and bear the same hatred to catholicicks. Besides that in matter of trade, they are greater cheats, and knaves than the *Turks* themselves. The *Armenians*, tho' schismatics, have not so great an aversion; but rather endeavour, whensoever occasion offers, to do catholicicks all the service they can; as I have often found by experience. For this reason, on *Thursday* the 18th, I took a room in the *Xan* of the *Armenians*, where the caravan of *Persia* puts up. Rooms are there cheap, but without any furniture.

Falleneſs
of the
Greeks.

Friday the 19th, my friends did me the honour to visit me. *Saturday* the 20th, I din'd with monsieur *Ripera*. *Sunday* the 21st, being *Shrove-Sunday*, the *Dutch* consul treated the *Dutch* and *English* merchants, and they danc'd till next day. The *English* consul did the same on *Monday* the 22d, and several *French* went thither mask'd and unmask'd; the war between the two crowns no way obstructing the fair correspondence between them in a strange country; and therefore they said, at sea they would have fought and done their duty, but that they ought to be friends in a strange country. In short, during those days of *Shrove-Tide*, they met together forty at a time, *French*, *English*, and *Dutch*, drinking merrily in the neighbouring villages, and among them the sons of the *French* and *English* consuls. The same, as I mention'd before, was practis'd at *Constantinople*, between the *Dutch* ambassador, and mr. *Mener* the

French deputy. Perhaps other nations would not be able to conceal their aversion, and behave themselves so nobly. In other respects, these *English* and *Dutch* ministers are so little regarded by the *Turks*, that they protect none but their own country-men (as they several times refus'd me) knowing that the *Turks* do not value them. On the contrary, the *French* refuse their protection to no body, not even to *Venetians*, who continue in the *Levant*, when the republick, and grand seignior are at war.

GEMELLI
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Tuesday the 23d, being the last day of *Shrove-Tide*, about three hours in the night there happened an earthquake, a very frequent misfortune at *Smirna*; and it was repeated on *Wednesday* the 24th in the afternoon, with the same violence. *Thursday* the 25th, I went a shooting among the vineyards, where there are abundance of thrushes, and woodcocks. *Friday* the 26th at night, the earthquake return'd twice, but not so violent. *Saturday* the 27th, I paid visits to friends, and *Sunday* the 28th went out of town with other *Europeans* to take our pleasure.

Monday the first of *March*, I was brought into the strongest trouble that could possibly happen to a traveller. I was summon'd before the *French* consul, by one *Brancaleone* of *Ancona*, marry'd to a *French* woman, who would persuade me I was not my own self, but one *John Massacueo* of *Messina*. This *Brancaleone* had receiv'd some goods in the name of that *Messinese*, for which he had given an authentick receipt; and he alledging, that the custom-house of *Smirna* had seiz'd and sold them, would have me cancel the instrument, so like it seems was I to his creditor. To undeceive him, I told him my name and country; and he not crediting me, I writ some lines, that he might compare my hand with the *Messinese's*, and put that notion out of his head.

Tuesday the 2d of *March* arriv'd a numerous caravan from *Persia*, of one hundred and twenty stately camels, laden with fine and coarse silk; but the merchants durst not set out with so small a company for fear of robbers, which oblig'd me to take other measures; my design of travelling through *Natolia* being disappointed. The mistake of the *Anconeſe* made good sport in *Smirna*. *Wednesday* the 3d, a friend came in the morning to acquaint me, that he still persisted I should cancel the instrument, and that there was no persuading him I was not the *Messinese*; and therefore he would again summon me before the consul, being satisly'd I should be imprison'd,

if

English
and *Dutch*
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and *French*
concur'd.

Wed-

GEMELLI 1694. if I did not comply with what he desir'd; his wife having great influence over the consul, who could not deny him so reasonable a request; and the more, because some said, I was very like *Maffacueva*, and only differ'd from him in my voice. This gave me some trouble, and I knew not what to do because I had no protection but the consul's. Therefore on *Thursday* the 4th, I spoke to monsieur *Ripera*, to see what method might be taken to undeceive the *Anconeſe*; there being no reason that I, to rid my self of that encumbrance, should personate another man, and cancel an instrument I was not concern'd in. He told me, he was his friend, and therefore he would not be concern'd in it, and the more, because he saw the consul had undertaken the business. To conclude, *Brancalone* not satisfi'd with seeing my hand, summon'd me, on *Friday* the 5th, a second time before the consul, persisting that I should discharge him, he being satisfi'd I was *John Maffacueva*. The consul added, this man does not demand any money of you, but only that you discharge him, and therefore you must not deny so reasonable a demand. I could have run my head against a wall, hearing them talk thus; considering he was so much mistaken in a man he had dealt with, which is somewhat more than a mere acquaintance, and that no writing of mine could discharge him. The consul blush'd seeing me fret, and telling him I was not the pretended *Messinese*; but if he in conscience could press me to do so false an

act, I would do it, there being no other way to escape that trouble; since I had declar'd to him I was a doctor of the civil law, and desir'd him to call some learned jesuit to examine me. *Brancalone* reply'd, I might have study'd since that business happened. At length not knowing how to decide the matter, he went out, leaving me and the *Anconeſe* to wrangle, and bidding us agree among our selves. The dispute held till night, the debtor contending that I was the *Messinese*, tho' he heard me talk a different language. At length I told him, I have none of those writings you ask of me; for I have receiv'd none since I came out of *Europe*; come to my lodging and search my baggage and writings, which perhaps will convince you. Taking monsieur *Ripera* along, and coming to my chamber, I open'd my trunks before them. *Brancalone* began to search my baggage and writings whilst I fretted, and turning often to him said, *You give me such a subject to insert in my Manuscripts, as has not happened to me in all my Travels, nor perhaps has any other Traveller met with the like.* *Brancalone* answer'd, *Indeed it is a mighty matter to make so many Words about.* Night coming on in this tedious troublesome search and they having seen several authentick writings seal'd, which I could not have counterfeited; he was at last satisfi'd, and went his way, leaving me in my chamber to reflect on the strange accidents a poor traveller is subject to.

CHAP. VIII.

The Author's Journey to Burſa, the Metropolis of Bithynia, and the Description of that City.

Being apprehensive, lest *Brancalone's* mad fit should return upon him, I went on *Saturday* night late to find out the *Catargi*, or muletier of *Burſa*, in order to go by land to that city with the first opportunity. I hir'd two horses for my self and servant for fifteen piasres, paying half as much a-part for my equipage. *Sunday* the 7th, I endeavour'd in haste to take leave of my friends, but not of the consul, for fear of the *Anconeſe*; and my baggage, which I had left with monsieur *Ripera*, being ready on *Monday* the 8th, we could not set out, because the chief of the caravan was detain'd by some business.

Tuesday the 9th, we began our journey betimes, with the caravan, consisting

of one hundred and ten horses and mules. Every fifteen days, such a company goes from *Smirna* to *Burſa*, like the *Procaccis*, or messengers of *Naples*. We travell'd thirty miles, ten plain, and twenty mountain, to *Manasia*. Here we joyn'd part of the caravan, that set out the day before, and lay that night at *Bungarbaci*, to wait for the other travellers.

Manasia is a city as large as *Smirna*, *Manasia* is seated at the foot of a high mountain. city. The houses are low, and of mud walls, except some belonging to persons of note. There are in it abundance of *Mosques*, and on the top of the mountain an old ruin'd castle, which yet was commanded by a higher rock. It is govern'd by a *Cadi*, who is allow'd 500 alpers

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aspers a day by the grand seignior, which the *Turks* look upon as great pay.

I left off going by sea, because of the insolvency of the *Turks*; and thinking I should fare better by land, found just the contrary, meeting with no lodging that night but the bare ground, on which I laid my little bed, and cover'd my self from head to foot, without taking off my boots, because of the great cold. Had I known the language, I might have got lodging in the city, but it was dangerous parting from the caravan. The *Turks*, who are hardy, thought it no difficult matter to lie on the ground in the open air; as they all did, sleeping as sound, as if they had been in good Beds; tho' they were at the foot of a mountain cover'd with snow.

I walk'd quite frozen on *Wednesday* the 10th, and having nothing to defend me from the cold air, endeavour'd to warm my inside with chocolate, and the outside with a good fire. We set forward betimes through a plain country, bating three miles of mountain-way, and making no halt all day, but only to take a small repast, lay that night at the *Cunac*, as the *Turks* call it, of *Balamuc*, a small village seated in the plain. Our lodging was in the caravanera, or stable with our beasts. Three miles from *Manafia*, we rode along a causeway made over marshes; which must needs have been very expensive, there being no stones in the country about. Yet, tho' it was built at the cost of the sultan, and neighbouring city, they do not exact any toll on it, as would be done in other parts. At the end of this causeway, we cross'd over a large river on a wooden bridge.

Thursday the 11th, we mov'd before break of day, but there being abundance of loaded beasts, could travel but thirty two miles, or ten hours, to speak after the *Turkish* fashion, which is the distance to the *Cunac* of *Jalembi*. It is very troublesome travelling at such a time with *Turks*; for they do not only refuse to allow their horses any time to rest, but even to travellers; so that by the way, I was forc'd to make use of the pannel for a table, those muletiers using no saddles. To this, was added the inconvenience of the caravanera, where we were forced to keep company with our beasts. For my part, I made my bed in the manger, after taking much pains to dry it, my *Armenian* servant having fallen from his horse with it into the river. But my *Catergi* had a good ingenious boy, who attended me as carefully, as if he had been my servant, for

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a few para's I gave him now and then. GEMELLI 1694. The other *Mahometans* were also civil to me, and among the rest a *Moor* of *Tunis*, treated me with coffee and melons.

Friday the 12th, we travel'd over uncouth mountains, suffering much from the snow that lay on the ground, and that which then fell from the clouds. After riding twenty four miles in eight hours, we came about noon to *Curungiacb*, a small village among the mountains, where I had conveniency to rest me. In the *Turkish* dominions there are not above one or two towns to be met with in a days journey; and therefore travellers must take up with the conveniency of the *Xans*, or caravaneras. And here I remember that those barbarians use the words *Nasi Nasie*, which signifies to ride one's father and mother, and *Giaur* to make their horses go the faster, which same words they use to affront christians whensoever they meet them. Provisions are not very dear on the road, seven eggs being sold for a para, and a hen for ten; good winter melons for two para's a-piece, and as much bread as will serve a man a day for the same price.

Saturday the 13th, we mounted betimes, and riding thirty three miles in eleven hours, over mountains cover'd with snow and ice, we came to *Mindoyra*, passing along a cause-way of flint, three miles from the *Xan*. This place, and eight small ones are seated in a plain, enclos'd with mountains, much like that of *Apulia* in the kingdom of *Naples*, and resembles it in goodness of soil.

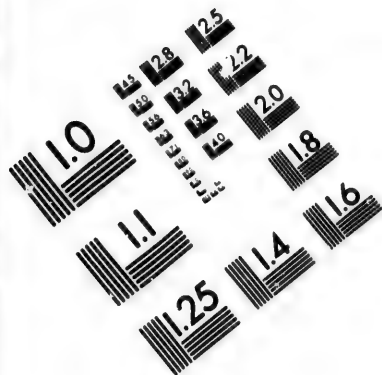
At sun-rising, on *Sunday* the 14th, we continu'd our journey over wretched mountains, and having travelled thirty three miles in eleven hours, came late to *Sufegreli*, a place of few thatch'd houses, near a great river, with two stately *Xans*. This day was unlucky to me, for staying behind to shoot, and then putting on my horse apace, he fell four times with me in the water, and I was well wash'd.

Monday the 15th, we held on our way through a plain but dirty country; in-somuch, that going about to make all the day's journey without baiting, as is usual, many of the horses tir'd, so that we could ride but fifteen miles in five hours to the village of *Hiermurgia*, where there being no *Xan*, we were forced to lodge in *Turks* houses. As we cross'd the river, the horse that carry'd my baggage fell, and wet it all.

Tuesday the 16th, having rode fifteen miles in six hours, along a dirty way,

Y we







GEMELLI 1694. we came to *Lubat*, where we ought to have lain the night before, had it not been for the bad way; which oblig'd us to fend the horses unloaded by land, and the baggage by water against the stream, paying a zecchine for the boat.

Lubat city *Lubat*, by its walls and towers appears to be an antient city. There has been a great stone-bridge over the river, but the *Turks* let it run to ruin, and go over in a ferry. Of five *Jews* that were going with the caravan for *Bursa*, or *Brussa*, as the *Turks* pronounce it, the tax-gatherer made one a prisoner, because he had not the billet to shew he had paid the head-money, or tribute, which is four zecchines for a rich man, two for others not so well to pass, and one for the poor.

Wednesday the 17th, we set out in a boat upon the aforesaid river, which is about a quarter of a mile over, and runs out of a lake or pool, through which we afterwards pass'd in sight of the small villages of *Caragaci*, and *Bulugnat*, formerly wall'd, as appears by the ruins. After six hours, in which time we run twenty four miles, we landed near the village of *Nacilar*, where the muletiers expected us. Loading the horses, we advanced six miles further in two hours, and rested at the *Cunac* of *Hassan-Agachioy*, where we found no *Xan*, but a small stable, all on a floor, too little to contain all the men and beasts, and yet we were not above twenty persons, most of the company having left us at *Sufegreli*, to go to *Sardac*, and thence to *Gallipoli*, and so to *Adrianople*. The great *Xan* was at *Taatale*, two hours journey further.

Bursa city *Thursday* the 18th, we set out again before day, and riding eighteen miles in six hours, came to *Bursa* or *Prusa*. This city seated in 41 degrees, 40 minutes latitude, is at the foot of the mountain *Olympus*, which the *Turks* call *Gefcisdag*, or *Rescisdag* and *Ana-Tolaydag*. Some say it was built by *Hannibal*, after the victory obtain'd by the *Romans* over *Antiochus*; others by king *Prusias*, in the year of the world 3279, and that it was the court of the antient kings of *Bitbynia*, before it was subdu'd by *Orcanes* the II. *Ottoman* emperor, in the year 1300. It was first a bishop's see, and afterwards a metropolis, which honours it did not lose when it fell under the barbarian yoke, for it was the *Ottoman* court, before they took *Constantinople*; and rightly consider'd is nothing inferior to it; for besides that several sultans have resided in it, and many princes of the *Ottoman* family are there

bury'd, it has as great a trade, and more plenty of silk, because of the vast quantity brought out of *Soria*, and all the east, which is there wrought, and some with gold and silver to trade into *Europe*. On the back of it, as was said, is mount *Olympus*, whence the river *Rbindacus* flows, which passes *Bitbynia* from the lesser *Asia*, and is the greatest of all those that fall into the *Propontis*. The mountain is vastly high, barren at the top, and always cover'd with snow; in the middle part it abounds with pomegranates; and at the foot, where most of this famous city is built, there are most delicious gardens; but is much disgrac'd by the prodigious number of monstrous serpents it breeds. The *Turks* call this mountain *Caloyeronoron*, because of the monasteries there are on it. *Bursa* was the country of the famous physician *Asclepiades*; and of *Dion Prusias*, call'd for his eloquence *Chrysothomus*, who left ten books he had writ of the virtues of *Alexander the great*, and eighty orations in *Greek*.

This city, which for its baths may be call'd the *Pozzuolo* of *Bitbynia*, as to its plan is irregular, and a meer confusion of buildings; for being seated eastward at the foot of two mountains, making a figure like an arm bent, part of it stands high, part in the vale, and part on cliffs. On a high rock appears the grand seignior's palace, where the *Ottomans* resided a long time, enclos'd with a good double wall, with towers at proper distances; but all goes to ruin, through the carelessness of the *Turks*. Another part of the city stands on the side, and at the foot of another high mountain, or rather an arm of that before mention'd, which over-tops the castle, and has a curious prospect of the country, planted with vines for several miles about, and adorn'd with pleasant gardens, and populous villages; so that in summer the gentry and citizens go over to divert themselves at *Bagarbafci*, which is a great plain water'd by a plentiful spring of good water, running down from the mountain to supply several quarters of the city.

Continuing to take a view of the parts of this noble city, and to begin at the castle, or seraglio, I saw first the quarter of the *Jews*, at the end whereof on the same side of the mountain, I found a good *Bisicsten*, an enclos'd cover'd place, or exchange, where they sell rich commodities, and better *Serfici*, or *Bazari*, with rich shops; and going on, saw several streets of all sorts of handicrafts, and all very populous. The houses and streets

Noble
Baths.

Noble
baths.

streets of this city are very good, considering they are in *Turky*, and better than those of *Smirna*, than which it is bigger, but I believe not better peopled.

Having laid up my baggage in the *Xan* of *Efciengi*, I took a *Jew* to shew me the city, but as we were going to the cattle, he was sent to go by the tax-gatherer for the tribute; so that I was forc'd to get another, who led me to the so much fam'd baths, half an hours walk from the city. Going into the first, call'd in the *Turkish* language *Capigia*, which signifies a hot place, I found in the first room, which had two cupola's, a good fountain of cool water; here they strip, there being *Soffa's* round about to sit, and lay the cloaths on. There are two doors out of it to the bath. On the left is a room to lie in, for such as will stay all night, and other convenient places with hot fountains, and a cold one. Still further on there is another room, the roof whereof is like the others, cover'd with a cupola, with vent-holes for the heat to evaporate, with a fountain in the middle, and three little ones luke-warm on the sides. Further still on the right is a very little room with three other springs of water, and two on the left. Thence they go into the bath, which is round, cover'd with a cupola full of vent-holes, and seven spans deep, two pair of stairs to go down into it, and about it seven springs of hot water. When I went there were many *Turks* who swam, wash'd, and shav'd themselves. When I had wash'd, and had my back rubb'd with a woollen-cloth, not being able to endure the heat, I went out, and was shav'd by a *Turk* in the second room. This water comes so hot from the mountain, that it soon boils an egg, and were it not temper'd with other cold water, no man would bring his skin out of it. The women's bath is a-part, but near the men's; on *Mondays* the women come into the men's bath, and the men may go to the women. A stones throw from it is another bath call'd *Chicbiurili*, or the sweating-place, and its water is very different from that of the others, being good against old aches. I went into the first room, and found it like the others, with a fountain of cold water, and places to sit. I went thence into a room, about which there were six fountains of water intolerably hot, and as many in another dark room; whence I went very hot into the sweating-place, where there is a spring of scalding water, a sick man lay there sweating on

the ground. The structure of this is not so beautiful as that of the great one, which is all pav'd with marble of several colours. GEMELLI
1694.

Thence I mounted a very steep ascent to see the seraglio, which *Tavernier* reckons among the best, next to those of *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*. I found it an ordinary palace very ill built, and all gone to ruin; for they told me the sultans had not come to it for thirty five years past; only *Mahomet IV.* having been there at the beginning of his reign. Formerly, as has been said, *Bursa* was the settled abode of the sultans, and therefore there are five tombs of them bury'd in the *Mosque* of *Amurat Beg*, and three others of sultanesses and their children, after the same model as those of *Adrianople* and *Constantinople*, but not so rich in marble.

Friday the 19th, the *Jew* led me three miles from the city towards *Montagna*, to the bath of *Efci-Capigia*, or the old bath, where is the third mineral water different from the other two, and good for aches, and other distempers. Going in, there is a large room with two cupola's, and a fountain in the middle, as at the other baths; and passing thorough it into another room, in the midst of it is a fountain of cold water, and two on the sides, of hot. Within that is the place where they bath, pav'd with marble, and six spans deep, with five large conduits of hot water about it. This yields but little profit, because many go in for nothing; but the great one of *Capigia*, the grand seignior farms out for eight hundred piastres a year; and a lord on whom the sultan has bestow'd it, makes a considerable revenue of the other. The mineral waters run out of the bath of *Efci-Capigia*, into another little bath in the village of *Cicberic*, for the service of the inhabitants.

After dinner, I went to *Bugarbaschi*, to see the *Dervises* turn round, the *Jew* that had been apprehended by the tax-gatherer, going with me. This mad devotion was perform'd in a good room, after the same manner as was describ'd at *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*; only with this difference, that here they take but three turns, omitting the fourth in which the superior should dance.

In my way back to the *Xan*, I went in *Uli-giam* to see the *Mosque* of *Uli-giam*, that is, the great one. There is this singular in it, that in the middle of it there is a great fountain encompass'd with bannisters; they say it is very antient, and built by the first sultan that came to *Bursa*.

To

GEMELLI
1694.

To return to the city, it is govern'd by a *Malli*, or *Cadi*, who is chang'd every year; but a *Bassa* has the command of the country, and must not reside in *Bursa*. Its air is not very wholesome, as being seated at the foot of high mountains cover'd with snow, and near to morasses and waters, so that every

morning it is cover'd with fogs rising from them. Provisions are not dear, for there is plenty of good flesh, bread, fish, and excellent fruit, whereof I eat much, and that rare at such a time of the year, and good fresh grapes, melons, apples, chefnuts, hazelnuts, and the like.

CHAP. IX.

The Author's Return to Constantinople.

Montagna
town.

Saturday the 20th, I set out for *Montagna*, and arriv'd there three hours before night, having travell'd eighteen miles of dirty way. This town is seated part on the hill, and part in the plain, on the shore of a bay made there by the streight, thirty miles in compass. The houses for the most part are low; I lodg'd in a large and stately *Xan*, which has good rooms, and a fountain in the middle of it, and over it a gallery cover'd with boards, whither the *Turks* resort to pray five times a day.

Sunday the 21st, two *Caicks*, which are small barks with three oars, being ready to set out, I embark'd for *Constantinople*, and tho' it was customary to search goods, yet mine were not open'd, I producing the *Thefchere*, or billet of the custom-house of *Alexandria*. One of those *Turkish Santone's*, whom they call *Derives*, went aboard with me; he was not one of those that live retir'd in community, but rather a vagabond knave, that made shew of an austere life to cheat the world. He was cover'd from the navel upwards with two sheep-skins, and downwards with other skins put together like a petticoat. On his head he wore a white cap, with long strings ravell'd at the ends about his neck; about his waste hung several pieces of marble, and about his right arm a close bracelet of the same. In his hand he carry'd a wand, with a piece of ivory at the end like a saw, to scratch his back where he could not reach with his hand; as also a thick club, and a horn hanging by his side, to blow upon occasion; a habit so ridiculous and extravagant, that it deserv'd to be painted. Having run thirty miles, we came to the village of *Bosborza*, at the point of the bay made by the streight, where the wind being contrary, we were forced to stay.

Monday the 22d, leaving the hard bed we had on the sandy shore, we went aboard four hours before day, with but little wind, so that with the help

of the three oars, which were but slowly ply'd, we came about noon to *Carli*, a small town on the shore of the streight, thirty miles from the place we left last. I cannot compare the lovely hair of the *Greek* women in this place, to any I have seen in so many countries I have travell'd through. When loose, speaking modestly, it hangs down to their heels, and when made up into large tresses, to their mid-leg; but their faces are not answerable to the ornament of their heads, for they are not beautiful.

Tuesday the 23d, we lay still because of the bad weather, and had an ill night, there being no *Xan*. Wednesday the 24th, we went aboard in the evening, and sail'd all night with a fair fresh gale, which made the sea run so high, that it wet us and our baggage.

When I expected on Thursday the 25th, in the morning to be at *Constantinople*, I found my self after a run of forty miles, on the shore of *Romelia*, four hours journey from *Constantinople*, and the wind being against us, we landed near a mill. Some *Turks* went away a-foot, but I stay'd all night because of my baggage, and lay in the mill, the noise and coolness of the water inviting me to sleep. Friday the 26th, perceiving all the *Turks* were resolv'd to go, some by land and some by Sea to *Constantinople*, and our *Rais* having no design to go that tide, I thought fit to go too, and leaving my man to look to my equipage, went aboard a little boat, which in seven hours, the wind being contrary, carry'd me to *Galata*; observing as we ran along the streight, that a great part of the wall is fallen, and the *Turks* take no care to repair it. Saturday the 27th, I thought to return to the bark for my baggage, that it might not be carry'd to the custom-house. I was disappointed, for going in a vessel call'd a *Caick* to meet it, I found it at the point of the seraglio; and desiring the *Rais* to deliver me my equipage, he

said

said he could not do it, because he was in sight of the custom-house.

Sunday the 28th, I went to the custom-house with monsieur *Mener*, and with much difficulty the customer condescended to take single duties, pretending to the double, without regarding the *Tafchare* of *Alexandria*, saying it was a separate kingdom, where the custom-house, like those of *Allep* and *Seyde*, is by the grand seignior assign'd over to the *Bassa's* that govern.

Notwithstanding the *Turkish* officer's prohibition, I went over to *Constantinople* on Monday the 29th. There I found a galley ready to depart, to carry over into *Asia*, a *Bassa* that was going to *Mecca*, to visit that *Mabometan* place of devotion. He went in a triumphant manner, his servants carrying clubs adorned with myrtle, and a sort of rich turbant, beautiful for its variety of colours; others had feathers of several sorts at their javelin heads, which they told me was a preparation to that devotion. Having observ'd this novelty in my way, I went near *St. Sophia*, to see two pillars of white marble, which I was told were in the houses of two *Turks*. I found one of them had a curious wrought capital, the other had none, it being purposely cut off to enclose it in the wall; they said they were of equal height, which, as near as I can guess, is forty spans, and sixteen in thickness; they could give me no other account of them. Between the two columns is a little street twenty spans wide. Having satisfy'd my curiosity, I made haste home for fear of the *Turks*.

I came from *Smirna*, with a design to embark for *Trabezond* on the black sea, with some *French Jesuits*, that go thence to their missions, being satisfy'd I could not do amiss in their company, they taking the shortest way, the most frugal and safest from robbers, to go into *Persia*. Finding therefore at my coming, that some of them had agreed for their passage, together with a *Dominican*, aboard a *Saïque* belonging to a *Greek*, I would not slip the opportunity; but taking boat after dinner, went ten miles off to the castles where the *Saïque* lay to secure my passage. The four *French* fathers and the *Dominican* had hir'd a cabin for twenty five piastres, and I offering them to pay my share, they refus'd, because they would be more at their ease. Therefore applying myself to the *Rais*, I ask'd him what place he had for me aboard, to see whether it were convenient. He led me into the father's cabin, which being good, I had no cause

to complain, but only ask whether any *Turks* were to be in it; he told me not, and that only I, and five *Papa's* should go in it; and this, because the *Turks* will rather be expos'd to the rain, than pay above the common rate of a piastre; and thus, without being oblig'd to the fathers, I had a place in their cabin for six piastres, and my man's passage besides.

The castles before-mentioned, seated where the streight is but a mile over, one of them in *Europe*, which has four small towers at the angles, and others at the middle of the curtain, with small pieces of cannon on them; the other in *Asia*, which has five small towers, besides others bigger at the curtains. In both these castles, there are only a few dwellings for soldiers.

Near them, the current sets so hard towards the white sea, that small barks cannot stem it, unless drawn with ropes from the shoar; the other current is a mile from this towards *Constantinople*, and on both sides of it there are little cottages, and a ruin'd light-house.

Tuesday the 30th, I carry'd my equipage in a boat aboard the *Saïque*, having paid the customer his due, who farms all the customs of the *Ottoman* empire, except those of *Caire*, *Allep*, and *Seyde*, for 1500 purfes of 500 ducats each. I had the prospect of the streight over again, pleasing my eyes on the side of *Europe*, with the sight of *Galata*, *Toppana*, *Biscataci*, *Orla-chioy*, *Crey-Jafmy*, and *Arnaut*; and on the *Asian* shoar, the delicious *Scutaret*, *Eufongiu*, *Eftauros*, *Cinghil-cray*, and *Elissar*. Having left my Baggage aboard, I return'd home to order other matters for my voyage.

Wednesday the 31st, for want of other business I went again to see the emperor *Marcian's* pillar, to observe where those two *Latin* verses, transcrib'd by monsieur *Spon* might be; since the *Caimacan* being depos'd, I might be safer in *Constantinople*. I went to *Saraviara*, which is much lower than *Cejada Bassi*; and going into the ruin'd house of a *Turk*, saw the pillar again. Viewing it now on all sides with less fear, I could read no such verses, but only saw four birds like eagles, cut on the four angles of the capital; and on the pedestal next the bath, two angels carv'd, supporting a plain shield or escutcheon, over which there were three verses, so defac'd by time, that there was no knowing the characters, much less reading of them; so that monsieur *Spon* could never read them for these hundred years past; besides that they look'd more like *Greek* than *Latin* characters. On the

GENEAL other three sides, there were three escutcheons or shields, like that *Fortune* is painted with. Returning home, I pass'd by the mint, where I saw money coin'd.

1694.
Cavach
seraglio.

Monday the first of April, being a fair day, I hir'd a boat, and pass'd over into *Asia*, by the upper-part of the end of the great seraglio, to divert my self at the seraglio of *Cavach*, belonging to the grand seignior, opposite to that in *Europe*. I found all shut, but from without, saw four apartments, after the eastern manner, all built several, and an iron gate to them. There are other structures at the angles, and all the garden is enclosed with good walls, and has excellent rows of cypress, fir, beech, and many fruit-trees.

Calcedon.

The seraglio being near *Calcedon*, I went again to observe some remains of it, but could not find, as I had been told, the church standing, in which the council was held. Returning home, opposite to *Leander's* tower, I saw another seraglio, inhabited by sultan *Mabomet's* daughter. It is larger than that of *Cavach*, but not so pleasant.

Friday the 2d of April, being the feast of my saint, I perform'd my devotions, and after dinner, out of meer curiosity to see twenty four brigantines of twenty eight oars each, and six galliots of forty two and forty four, design'd to serve against the emperor in *Hungary*, I run my self into the dismal accident I am now to give an account of. Landing at the *Darfena*, I saw that small fleet, well man'd with sailors, and 8000 soldiers, being to pass through the straight into the black sea, and thence into the *Danube*, to fight the enemy. Having for a long time view'd these vessels, my ill fate guided me to observe the hulks of two galleasses, which having been begun several years since, are yet unfinished, no body working upon them. Designing to go some steps forward, after a great number of people, I heard a *Turk* that was upon the guard call me. I return'd no answer, but went on; but he overtook and carry'd me to the barrack of a *French* renegado captain. He ask'd me several questions, and enquiring at last whither I was going, I told him to look for a friend. This did not clear me; but carrying me before the commander *Mouco Morto*, they altogether began to put several questions concerning my friend, as to his name and quality; and tho' my answers were satisfactory, they led me before the captain *Bassa*, where I waited half an hour before I could speak to him. At last they sent word to the proveditor-general of

the fleet; who going to the captain *Bassa*, when he return'd, sent me away with an officer, who in pursuance to the order he had receiv'd, carry'd me to the slaves bath, and deliver'd me to the goaler, by order of the captain *Bassa*. I was seiz'd with much dread, considering my self to be taken up as a spie, by a barbarous people, who have no compassion, nor will hear reason, but ground all their actions on conceit. When I came to the bath, I would have spoke to a *Jew*, that he might acquaint monsieur *Mener* with my imprisonment; but the *Turk* call'd out, and threw stones after him, so that the *Jew* fled and skipped like a doe. The first thing the barbarous goaler did was to search me, whether I was circumcis'd, and perceiving I was not, began to threaten without examining me. Finding I was no *Venetian*, but went out of meer curiosity to see the galliots, and hulks of galleasses, with a great number of people, he was not satisfy'd, but search'd whether I had any writings about me; finding none, because I was always so cautious as to leave them at home, when I went to suspicious places, he began to execute what further orders he had receiv'd from the captain *Bassa*. He made me pull off shoes and stockings, and lift up my feet, in order to be bastinado'd, two slaves holding the cudgels in their hands, whilst two others held up my feet. But I still persisting in the same story, and giving him a particular account of all my travels, and the captain *Bassa's* orders being only to search me, without proceeding to bastinadoing, he let me down, but search'd all my cloaths over again for writings, because they said, I was drawing the stem of a vessel in a pocket-book; and it was well for me, that I had left all my manuscripts at home; so that he only found a small letter, a *Frenchman* had given me to carry to *Ispahan*; for I had hid my watch and twenty zecchines, which if the *Turk* had found, he would never have restor'd. After these searches, he clap'd a heavy chain of fourteen links on my left foot; then he led me to the coffee-house, and thence to an *Armenian* bakers, who seeing me lie at night upon a bare board, had the charity to give me a sack to cover me. But a thousand thoughts between hope and fear disturb'd me more than the hardness of the board, and yet these were less troublesome than the noise and unpleasant singing of the bakers, and the biting of the vermin that place swarm'd with. I continu'd there but two nights, because the

Turkish
belicf.

the *Turk* who was overseer, complain'd that I walk'd in my shoes on the bread-boards, which made them remove me to another place, where the bread was deliver'd out. Here a *Polander* laid me a quilt on the boards, giving me for a pillow, a cloak of his, so well stock'd with vermin, that I caus'd it to be wash'd the next night to make use of it, or else I had been better pleas'd to lay my head on a flint. Tho' the *Turks* had forbid me talking, or writing, I so order'd it on *Saturday* the 3d, that I sent an account of my imprisonment to monsieur *Mener*. He went immediately to the captain *Bassa* to procure my liberty, but finding him busy about setting out the little fleet, could not succeed: yet he came to the bath, to get an order from me to the *Rais* or master of the *Saïque*, to deliver my equipage to the *Jesuits*, to keep for me at *Trabezond*, because his servant came not in time to the castles to have it loaded and carry'd to his house, when I was taken up, but the *Rais* was gone.

Sunday the 4th, two *Jesuits* came to say mass in the bath to all the prisoners, and the father superior express'd much concern for my misfortune. *Monday* the 5th, I walk'd about the bath, discoursing with some captains of privateers secur'd there, the sultan refusing to hear of any ransom; every one with sighs told me his misfortunes, and how the *Ottoman* ministers would not give ear to what they propos'd.

Tuesday the 6th before noon, my chain was knock'd off, and I set at liberty, at the request of *Griman* and *Fabri*, the

deputies of the *French* nation, who by the interpreter *Bruneti*, represented that I was no *Venetian*, nor any suspected person, but of their country, and well known. *Bruneti* led me from the prison to the captain *Bassa* and provéditeur-general, and spoke to them for me. Being deliver'd out of that dreadful goal, where there was a hellish noise, made by the chains of 1000 slaves, who went at break of day to work upon the ships and galleys, I went to dine with *John* and *David Mener*, and the wife of the latter, and then without losing one moment of time, hasten'd away to find the *Rais* or master of a *Saïque*, bound for *Trabezond*, and agreed for a cabin by my self for four piastres. The *Jesuits*, who did not like I should go in their cabin, were also forc'd to take another vessel; for being unwilling to lie two nights at sea aboard the *Saïque*, where mine and their baggage was, they staid in their monastery, expecting to be call'd when it was ready to sail; which they also persuad'd me to do, and this was the cause of my imprisonment. When the weather was calm, the clerk came honestly, but it requiring some time to go six miles, and the fathers making some delay, when they came to the castles, they found the *Saïque* was gone with the baggage. Thus, being now the second time in danger, never to see my equipage again, I set out in quest of it; and the fathers did the same with the clerk, aboard another *Saïque*. All these disasters beset me in passion week, and certainly I never had one so lamentable and dismal.

CHAP. X.

The Religion, Manners, Government Civil and Military, Revenues, Habit, Coin, Fruit, Temperature, and Border of the Ottoman Empire.

ALL my travels hitherto having been thorough the *Turkish* dominions, it will be convenient before we leave them, to give a short account of their religion.

Turkish
belief.

They believe in one only God, and one only person, who has created heaven and earth; and who will punish the wicked, and reward the virtuous, having made hell for the former, and heaven for the latter. That the bliss of this heaven consists in enjoying fine women, yet so as not to go beyond kissing and embracing; and in being satiated with most exquisite meats, which will produce no excrements.

They believe *Mahomet* is a wonder-

ful prophet, sent by God, to teach men the way of salvation; for which reason the *Mahometans* call themselves *Mussulmans*; that is, chosen for God, or sav'd. They allow of the decalogue, or ten commandments, and are oblig'd by the *Alcoran* to keep them.

Their festival day is *Friday*, as *Sun-* Their festival
day is among christians; but they do
not keep it so religiously, every man labouring at his trade; tho' at noon they all resort to the *Mosques* to pray, more than on other days. They are oblig'd to pray five times a day, that is at sun-rising, at noon, between noon and sun-set, which they call *Lazaro*, at sun-set, and an hour after night.

They

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1994
Ramadan
fast.

They keep a months fast from the new-moon of April, till the next new-moon, which they call *Ramadan*, saying the *Alcoran* descended from heaven at that time. During this time, they do not eat, nor drink in the day-time; but they fet up all the night, spending it in eating fish and flesh, like ravenous wolves; excepting only swines flesh, and wine forbidden by their law.

Bairam
east.

After this fast, they have the feast of the *Great Bairam* (like *Easter* among christians) which they celebrate with public rejoicing. They are also oblig'd at the beginning of every year, to give to the poor the tenth part of all they have got the precedent year; which their avarice makes them unwilling to observe.

They are very vain in building mosques and hospitals, and believe, that when they have well wash'd their bodies, muttering some certain prayers fit for that purpose, their souls remain clean from any filth of sin; which makes them bath often, especially before they pray.

Circumci-
sion.

They use circumcision, which they perform, when their sons are seven or eight years of age, and can distinctly speak these words in the *Turkish* tongue, *There is but one only God; Mahomet is his only prophet and apostle*; and this is their profession of faith. But there is no mention of circumcision through out the whole *Alcoran*, they say, they use it in imitation of *Abraham*, whose law is recommended to them by *Mahomet*. They believe the *Alcoran* was brought to *Mahomet* at several times to the cities of *Medina* and *Mecca*, because the *Jews* and *Christians* had corrupted the holy scripture and divine law.

Matrimo-
ny.

The *Mahometans* are allow'd to have four marry'd wives at once, and as many concubines as they can keep; but they may dismiss these wives when they please, only paying what was agreed on in the matrimonial contract, that they may marry again at pleasure. The women before they marry again, are oblig'd to stay till it appears they are not with child; that is, four months, and widows ten nights more. The husbands are oblig'd to keep the children they have by their slaves and wives, they being all counted equally legitimate. He who has put away one woman three times, may not marry her again, unless another marry her first, and be divorce'd from her.

Publick
structures.

They have mosques, colleges, and hospitals with good revenues, as also monasteries of dervises, who are religious men, who lead an exemplar life, under obedience to their superior.

They have also another sort of vagabond religious men, call'd also dervises, who are clad like mad-men, and sometimes go naked, and some of them slash their flesh in several parts of their body. Thus they are look'd upon as saints, and live upon alms, which no body refuses them. These men may take up and marry when they please.

They do not believe that *Jesus Christ* is God, or the son of God, nor in the most blessed trinity, but only say that *Jesus Christ* is a great prophet, born of holy *Mary*, who was a virgin before and after her delivery, and that he was conceiv'd by inspiration, or by a divine breath, without a father, as *Adam* was created without a mother. That he was not crucify'd, but that God took him up to him into heaven, in order to send him back upon earth, before the end of the world, to confirm the law of *Mahomet*, and that the *Jews* thinking to crucify *Jesus Christ*, crucify'd another that was like him.

They pray for the dead; invoke their saints, to whom they pay great honour; but believe not in purgatory, and many of them think that the souls and bodies remain together, till the great day of judgment.

The *Turks* have a great respect for the city of *Jerusalem*, as the place where many prophets were born; but that is extraordinary which they pay to *Mecca*, where their false prophet *Mahomet* was born, and to *Medina*, where he was bury'd; for which reason they call it a holy land, and perform many pilgrimages to it.

They use no bells in their mosques as has been said elsewhere; but at the hour of prayer the priests go up to the top of the towers, at the angles of the mosques, and call the people with loud cries. It is also forbid them to dispute about religion, and if they are oblig'd by any body to answer, they must do it with their weapons, and not with their tongues.

As for their manners they are altogether barbarous, rude, haughty above any other nation, deceitful, given to laziness, covetous, ignorant, and enemies to christianity. Nor is their government any better than their manners, for their trials are very short, and subject to the corruption of false witnesses; causes being carry'd by those that give most, not by them that have most right; and this because all employments in the *Ottoman* empire being venal, all ministers make it their business to rob, and oppress the people, to repay the great sums

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sums of money they have taken up at excessive interest of the *Jews*, and reimburse the vast expence they have been at. But were the laws observ'd, they would appear agreeable to those of nature; for among criminals they condemn a thief to be hang'd; a murderer to be beheaded; an offender in matter of religion to be burnt; a traitor to be dragg'd at a horse's tail, and then impal'd; and if a man has cut off another's limb, or maim'd him, he is as our civil law directs to suffer the same penalties. Persons convicted of perjury are led through the city in their shirts on asses, with their faces to the tail, which they hold in their hands, their faces daub'd, and on their shoulders a parcel of guts, and other stinking garbage; then they are burnt on the cheeks and forehead, and are incapable of ever being witnesses again.

Their executions are speedy; for in criminal cases, every *Cadi*, tho' but of a little village, has no superior to whom there lies any appeal; but if he is not a lawyer by profession, the assessor must subscribe to the sentence before it can be executed, tho' he were one of the prime *Bassa's* of the empire.

In civil causes, both parties being heard, and the witnesses briefly examin'd, and writings produc'd, they are oblig'd to decide all controversies without delay. Matrimonial contracts are made before the *Cadi*, who often judges of the validity, or nullity of matrimony; for as has been said elsewhere, the *Mahometans* do not distinguish between religious and secular causes, and pass themselves indifferently from ecclesiastical to secular employments, and the contrary. But avarice makes the *Mussulman*-judges utter strangers to reason and justice; which is the cause that the laws seldom take place; and if several christians, whom they hate, should happen to kill a *Turk*, when one of them is executed, the rest buy their pardon of the judge and kindred of the dead man to whom it belongs to execute the sentence.

Soldiers.

The *Janizaries*, who are the strength of their armies, are arm'd with muskets and scimiters. The *Spahis* or horse carry bows and arrows, swords and pistols. The *Asian* soldiers have lances, axes, and javelins. They make use of cannon, as christians do. In battle they observe no order, which is the main point, reposing all hopes of victory in their numbers. They charge the enemy with great fury to break his order, and make hideous cries as they fight; but if they meet opposition the first and second onset, they

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dare not give a third, but fly so precipitately that no authority of officers can stop them.

It is hard to give an account of the great *Turk's* yearly revenues, because they arising out of many kingdoms in *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Africk*, as also out of the spoils of the wretched *Bassa's*, and other ministers of the empire, are not always the same. Every man that obtains an employment is oblig'd to make the emperor a great present; as for instance, the *Bassa* of *Grand Caire* cannot give less than half a million for that post, and as much to the chief *Sultana's*, the *Mustî*, *Grand Vizier*, *Caimacan*, and other persons in favour, who are to protect him. If he has not this sum of money of his own, he must borrow it of friends, or of the *Jews* at *Cent. per Cent.* interest. Nor is the sultan satisfy'd with what he receives at first of the *Bassa*; but when he has paid his debts, and begins to grow rich, he sends him by a messenger a present of a vest, a sword and a dagger, which the receiver is to return with ten times the value, and if he does it not, another fatal one is sent him, consisting of a battle-ax, or sword, a token that he stands not well in the emperor's favour, and that if he does not endeavour to appease him, he will soon lose his head; a barbarous policy practis'd by the *Ottoman* princes, to make themselves respected, by sucking the very blood of their subjects.

It is not only these, to appearance, free gifts, that help to fill the sultan's coffers, but when the *Bassa's*, or other ministers die, they owning they hold all they have of his bounty, he seizes all their goods, and becomes sole heir, tho' the children are born of his own sister. It were nothing if he stay'd till they dy'd a natural death; but the worst of it is, that scarce a year passes, but he takes off the heads of some that think themselves much in his favour, and this on very slight occasions, or perhaps only to secure their wealth. Besides this, all the subjects of that vast monarchy pay three in the hundred of all they have; not to speak of the duties and impositions for taking possession of their inheritances. And were there nothing else to shew for it, we have a sufficient argument of the vast wealth of the *Ottoman* princes in the prodigious sums they must have to maintain so many garrisons in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africk*, and several armies at the same time against christian princes.

The habit of the *Turks* is long, the Habit. under-garment reaching down to the ankle, the upper a little shorter, with close

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1684.

1694. **GEMELLI** sleeves, all generally of red, blew, or green cloth. On their heads they wear turbants of the same cloth made close, and wrapp'd about with several rounds of fine white linnen, or silk. Their breeches are long, and almost serve for hose and socks, these being sew'd to them. Then they put on the *Papuchies*, which are like slippers, and which they take off when they go into the *Mosque*, or into friends houses to avoid dirting the *Soffa*, or carpets. The women wear much the same habit, only that the dress of the head is different, for instead of a turban they cover their face with two handkerchiefs, one from the nose upwards, and the other from the mouth down, leaving just space enough to see.

Coin.

The coin in these dominions is of several sorts, according to the several kingdoms. At *Constantinople* there are pieces of gold call'd *Scerifes*, worth less than the *Venetian Zecchine*. In silver a *Groschen*, that is, a ducat; a *Jerum-Groschen*, or half ducat; besides *Para's* and *Aspers* of silver. In *Egypt* instead of these there are *Medines*, and in other kingdoms, other sorts of money.

The fruit, to speak of the countries I have gone through, in *Egypt* is excellent, and of almost all sorts we have in *Europe*, besides those peculiar to the country, and particularly dates, which are in perfection. In *Romelia*, and the lesser *Asia*, there are all sorts that *Italy* affords, and much better, as winter melons, Pomegranates, grapes, pears, chestnuts, hazelnuts, and others which they keep all the year about.

The climate also differs according to the several positions of so many kingdoms. In *Egypt* the air is bad for strangers. *Romelia* and *Thrace* are every where temperate, and the soil fruitful; but this fruitfulness is almost of no use, through the laziness of the *Turks*, and by reason of the oppression the christians lie under, who chuse rather to leave the land untill'd, than to till it for others. The lesser *Asia* affords all that is requisite to lead a happy life in this world, both the soil being fertile, and the air temperate; for which reason it may be prefer'd before the best countries in *Europe*. *Cicero* declares it in the following words, *The Revenues of other Provinces* are such, that they scarce suffice to defend those very provinces; but *Asia* is so rich and fruitful, that it far exceeds all countries in fertility of land, variety of fruit, plenty of pasture, and variety of such things as are transported.

The confines of this vast monarchy are *Germany*, *Poland*, *Muscovy*, *Persia*, and *India*, and in *Africk*, *Abissina*, and *Lybia*. In *Europe* it is bounded by the *Mediterranean*, the *Adriatick*, and *Ionian* seas; in *Asia* by the *Euxine* and *Egean*, and next the ocean by the gulphs of *Persia* and *Arabia*. The chief rivers that part it from other dominions, are the *Boristhenes* and the *Tanais*. To conclude, it is of so large an extent, that bating *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, part of *Hungary* and *Greece*, it contains all that the *Romans* subdu'd, and some other provinces which never knew the *Romans*, much less were subject to them.

The End of the Second BOOK.

A

A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part I.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
TURKEY.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The Chronology and Succession of the Ottoman Monarchy.

THeir opinion is very probable, who will have this powerful nation to derive its original from the vast woods near the *Palus Maotis*, because of the great plenty of game those woods afford, which is their usual sustenance.

Osman Ottoman.

The first that laid the foundation of this mighty monarchy was *Osman*, call'd *Ottoman*; a bold and daring man, by birth a *Tartar*, and foldier under the great *Cham*. He, offended at some wrongs done him, went into *Cappadocia* to live by robbing, with sixty followers, infesting all the country about. Others allur'd by hopes of plunder, or despairing of pardon for the crimes they had committed, joyn'd him; so that growing by degrees more powerful and formidable, and having taken several cities, he made himself master of *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Bitbynia*, *Pampbilia*, and *Cilicia*. This some say happened in the year 1300. He reign'd eighteen years.

Orcanes.

His son *Orcanes* succeeded him, who taking the same measures, not only kept what his father had left him, but making his advantage of the intestine broils, between the emperors of *Constantinople*, subdu'd *Misia*, *Lycæonia*, *Phrigia*, *Caria* and *Nicea*. He reign'd thirty six years.

Amurat the first.

Amurat, a great master in the art of dissembling, or reigning, succeeded his father *Orcanes*. He in 1363, took *Gallipoli* in *Thrace*, and after it *Adrianople*, *Misia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*; but being at last vanquish'd and slain by *Lazarus Despot of Servia*, he ended his base life after a reign of thirty one years; leaving two sons, *Solyman* and *Bajazet*.

Bajazet.

Bajazet having murder'd his brother,

subdu'd all *Thrace*, *Thessaly*, *Macedon*, *Phocis*, *Attica*, and *Bosnia*. Then he held *Constantinople* eight years besieg'd; but finding an obstinate resistance, he rais'd the siege to give battle to the christian princes, whom he overthrew. Then returning to the siege, and having after three years prosecuting of it almost reduc'd the place to a necessity of surrendering, his design was disappointed by *Tamerlan*, the great *Cham* of *Tartary*. For he marching out of his country, and waisting *Asia* with fire and sword; *Bajazet*, with much reason, thought it convenient to leave the siege to oppose that torrent, and meet him on the confines of *Galatia* and *Bitbynia*; there coming to a battle, the wretched *Bajazet* was overthrown in the year 1397, with the loss of two hundred thousand men, and thrust, loaded with chains, into a cage; where despairing of ever recovering his liberty, he beat out his own brains against the bars. He reign'd twelve years and a half, leaving three sons, *Calapin*, *Mabomet* and *Mustapba*.

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Calapin, or *Alpin*, was put to death by his brother *Mabomet* the first, who ascending the throne, conquer'd *Valachia*, and *Macedonia*; fixing his court at *Adrianople*. He dy'd in 1422, having reign'd seventeen years.

Mabomet
the first.

Amurat the second, next mounted the throne. He passing over into *Thrace* by the assistance of the *Genoeses*, overthrew his uncle *Mustapba*; and then, *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland* and *Hungary*, breaking the peace at the persuasion of pope *Eugenius* the fourth, he paid the *Genoeses* 100000 crowns for liberty to pass over into *Europe* at *Gallipoli*, and accordingly

Amurat
the second.

Gambelli cordingly wasted over his whole army. He fought three days incessantly, and at length *Uladislaus* being kill'd remain'd victorious, always reproaching the christians with breach of faith. When *Amurat* had reign'd thirty years he dy'd at *Bruggia*, the seat of his empire.

Mahomet the second succeeded him. He having tyrannically establish'd himself on the throne, by the murder of his brother, reduc'd *Constantinople* about the year 1435, on the thirtieth of May. Then he conquer'd *Bulgaria*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Trabezond*, and *Theodocia*, a city belonging to the *Genoefes*, now call'd *Cassia*. He dy'd in 1481, when he had reign'd thirty one years, and liv'd fifty eight, leaving two sons, *Bajazet* and *Zizi mis*.

Bajazet the second, having expell'd his brother, conquer'd several countries in thirty two years he reign'd.

Selim the first, his son ascend'd the throne, subdu'd a great part of *Egypt*, and returning to *Constantinople* dy'd in 1520, when he had reign'd eight years, and liv'd forty six.

Soliman succeeded him, and subdu'd *Belgrade*, *Rhodes*, *Gran*, and *Buda*. He dy'd in the forty seventh year of his reign.

After him came *Selimus* the second, who took *Cyprus* from the *Venetians*, but the christians gain'd the famous victory over him at *Lepanto*.

The next was *Amurat* the third, and then *Mahomet* the third, who came to the empire embruing his hands in the blood of several brothers.

Then came *Achmet*, and then his brother *Mustapha*, who was depos'd, and *Ojman* set up; and he being unfortunate in the war against the *Poles*, and endeavouring to curb the insolency of the *Janizaries*, was at procurement of the *Muphti*, murder'd by them.

Mustapha was taken out of prison and restor'd to the throne, but his ill fate, after a years time, sent him again into prison, the subjects deposing him for inability.

Achmet the second, brother to *Ojman*

succeeded, at the age of fourteen; after *Achmet* whom reign'd *Amurat* the fourth, who dy'd at *Constantinople* in 1640, at the age of thirty three.

Ibrahim, the first of the name succeeded his brother *Amurat*, and in 1645, made war on the *Venetians* and knights of *Malta*. In the island of *Candia* he fought with various success. He was at last murder'd by his rebellious subjects, who not long before had kill'd the grand vizier, this was in the year 1648.

Mahomet the fourth, came next to the empire at sixteen years of age. He tho' so young continu'd the war with the *Venetians*, without ever giving ear to any accommodation till in the year 1672, he had made himself master of *Candia*, the metropolis of that island; after which he concluded a peace, the *Venetians*, continuing posses. of some places in the same island. Growing weary of the long peace with the empire, at the persuasion of his prime minister, he made war on the emperor, laying siege to *Vienna* in 1683, with a formidable army of 300000 fighting men; and after some weeks vigorous attacks reduc'd it to such a condition, that it must have fallen into his hands, had it not been reliev'd by the powerful *Polish* and *German* armies, which rais'd the siege, with the defeat of the *Ottoman* forces. This prov'd the ruin of the *Turks*, who the following campaigns lost *Buda* and all *Hungary*. The soldiery, and *Muphti* imputing all these losses to the unfortunate *Mahomet* the fourth, they depos'd and imprison'd him, and his two sons *Mustapha* and *Hamet*, the first twenty four, the other eleven years of age. *Mahomet* reign'd thirty nine years.

In this place they set up *Hamet* the second, after he had been forty years a prisoner, who being unexperient in warlike affairs did not at all recover the monarchy, nor did his reign continue long, tho' he kept at *Adrianople* for fear of the *Janizaries*.

His successor was *Mustapha* the second now reigning.

CHAP. II.

The Author's Voyage on the Black Sea to Trabezond.

HAVING recover'd my liberty, as I said above, which cost me forty six piaſtres, laid out in a vest of brocade I gave the captain *Bassa*; I embark'd on Wednesday the 7th, aboard a *Saick*, belonging to a *Rais*, or master, call'd *Agi-Mustapha*, thinking every hour an age till I got out of that to me unfortunate city. I lay aboard that night, because

my landlord understanding I had been prisoner in the bath, would not entertain me any longer, looking on me as a dangerous man. Monday-Tuesday the 8th, we did not sail, because the *Rais* had business, and I went ashore to visit the holy sepulchres. Good-Friday the 9th, I din'd with monsieur *Menor*, bid him adieu, and thank'd him for all favours receiv'd.

receiv'd. *Holy-Saturday* the 10th, I perform'd my devotions, and took leave of friends; and *Sunday* the 11th, being *Easter-day* in the morning, the *Saïque* left the port of *Constantinople* in such haste, that I had not time to hear mass. Having run nine miles to the village of *Gregni-chioy*, the *Rais* put in there for water, and continu'd there all day, the wind coming up contrary.

Monday the 12th, we set out with little wind, which afterwards turning to a dead calm, the *Saïque* was tow'd by its skiff, and at last was drawn with ropes from the shoar as far as *Umuriar*, five miles distant. Going up here to the top of the hill, to see the mouth of the black sea; as I came down, a *Turkish* shepherd ask'd me, why I went thither, and understanding by signs, that he said I was viewing the country; my last sufferings having taught me experience, I made haste aboard the *Saïque*. *Tuesday* the 13th, the wind coming up fair, we sail'd at break of day, and two hours after entered the black sea. All the way between the first and second castles, the shoars of the stright are no less populous and pleasant than those from *Constantinople* to the first; for on the side of *Natolia* are the villages of *Calignia*, *Cibuchi*, *Erigerli*, *Beicos*, and *Cavach*; and on that of *Romelia*, *Stegni*, *Gregni-chioy*, *Tarabia*, *Buyuch-dare*, and *Sanjar*; with good pleasure-houses and gardens between them, which make the prospect of them agreeable.

The second castle is worse than the first, for that on the side of *Europe* has but two little towers on the plain, and very weak curtains; and the other in *Asia* near *Cavach*, is a square tower; both without cannon. On the top of the hill, half a mile distant, stood a castle, whose out-works reach to the other, but its walls are all ruin'd.

On both the opposite points of the stright there are light-houses, and small dwellings. Near that on the side of *Romelia* on a rock, is the remainder of the pedestal of *Pompey's* pillar.

We made but little way on *Wednesday* the 14th, the wind being contrary, but it coming up fair on *Thursday* the 15th, we coasted along *Natolia*, and at night were opposite to *Erzele*, where is a good port, a rarity in the black sea. The same wind continuing till two hours in the night, those drowly brutes furl'd their sails, and making fast the helm laid them down to sleep, leaving the *Saïque* to rock upon the waves.

The same wind blew again on *Friday* the 16th, carrying us about twelve

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miles an hour, and at noon came up with the other *Saïque* that made the same voyage with us, and carry'd above 150 soldiers and servants of the *Bassa* of *Trabezond*, who was gone before with twenty five of his family in six small *Feluccas*, carrying with him six horses, besides as many more aboard the *Saïque*. The country that appears along the sea, is most mountainous, and abounding in chest-nuts, hazle-nuts, and apples, to furnish *Constantinople*, and several neighbouring provinces.

Saturday the 17th, the wind came up directly contrary, so that we had much ado to put into cape *Sinope*, for fresh water. Weighing betimes on *Sunday* morning we pass'd in sight of the city *Sinope*, seated on the easternmost part of a point of land, with a high mountain near it. A thick fog which held till evening, hinder'd our view of the pleasant coast. So the storm that rose was the cause we made little way in the day, but the wind coming fair in the evening, we advanc'd considerably till midnight.

Monday the 19th, a great rain fell, after which the wind was so fair, that we made a great run the night following. The same wind and rain continu'd *Tuesday* the 20th, which set us very forward. The *Bassa's* family was wash'd from head to foot; and I admir'd the patience of the *Turks*, who rather than give a zecchine for a cabin, are content to be expos'd to the weather, like so many beasts. In other respects they were persons of good behaviour, who convers'd with me civilly, both during the passage, and my stay at *Trabezond*; nor was I wanting to shew them more courtesy, that I might make use of their friendships if I had need; and particularly to recover my baggage out of the hands of the *Rais* *Lester*.

The same rain and rough sea continu'd all night, and *Wednesday* the 21st till noon, carrying us within three miles of *Trabezond*; but there it fail'd, and in the evening was contrary, so that we were forced to have the *Saïque* tow'd by its skiff. I still bless'd the two crowns and a half I had given for my cabin, for I could not have endur'd the weather; but he that hir'd it to me, at last rais'd a knavish controversy, asking more than we had agreed for before the Interpreter, and mounseur *Mener*. Yet I satisfy'd him with a small matter, notwithstanding he had found out two *Tartar* false witnesses, who depos'd they had heard me make the bargain, as he said.

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All the *Bassa's* retinue stay'd aboard that night; but I, who long'd to be out of the *Turkish* territories, went ashore immediately, and to the little *Hospitium* the *Jesuits* had settled there within three years, for the conveniency of their missions. There I found *F. Vilot* superior of the mission of *Armenia*, with three companions, and the *Dominican*, all clad after the *Armenian* fashion. They were very glad to see me deliver'd out of prison, and safe arriv'd after three days storm, and a voyage of 900 miles. And certainly we had perish'd, but that the *Euxine* sea, whose circumference is 5000 miles, its length 1100, and the breadth 200, and where most 400, is not so boisterous as the open sea, as some pretend. I also found my equipage recover'd by the fathers, and carry'd to their house, which completed my joy.

The fathers told me what they had suffer'd during their voyage. Imbarking aboard the second *Saïque*, as was said before, they were carry'd to *Unia*, 500 miles from *Trabezond*¹ coming whence in small boats, they were in danger of being lost; and at last they were taken up for the tribute, and put into the hands of the master of the boat, for him to give an account of them to the receiver at *Trabezond*, to decide whether the *French* ought to pay or not; and this because they falsely alledg'd, That their king had broke the peace with the grand seignior; but the *Cadi* declar'd they were not oblig'd to pay. That night, out of excess of joy we drank together merrily, congratulating our safety, and forgetting past sufferings.

Trabezond
city.

Trabezond, by the *Turks* call'd *Tarabassan*, is seated in the latitude of 42 degrees, on the utmost bank of the black sea, and at the foot of a mountain that looks towards the north. Its whole circumference is but a mile, but its large suburbs make up room for 20000 inhabitants. It is an archiepiscopal see, and metropolis of *Cappadocia*, a province between the lesser *Asia*, and greater *Armenia*. When the empire of *Constantinople* was destroy'd, the *Greeks* chose this place for the seat of their empire, but it was not lasting; for the family of *Lascari* having reign'd there two hundred years, that is from 1261 till 1460, at length in the reign of *David*, it was taken and destroy'd by *Mahomet* the second, emperor of the *Turks*. At present they call it the head of the province *Genich* or *Jenich*. It was rendered the more famous by the martyrdom of forty faithful soldiers, who were put to death in a frozen lake by the com-

mand of *Licinius*; as also for the birth of *George Trapezuntius*, a most learned man, who dy'd in the year 1486, at ninety years of age; and of *Bessarion*, who for his excellent wit and learning, was, by pope *Eugene* the fourth, made cardinal, and patriarch of *Constantinople*.

Trabezond has not only suffer'd many calamities in past ages, but even in this present; for in 1617, the *Russians* crossing over the black sea, plunder'd and burnt it; as they did *Sinope* and *Caffa* cities seated upon the same sea. So many disasters may sufficiently persuade, that nothing of its ancient splendor remains; it being now more like a village than an imperial city; so that it looks like a wood inhabited, every house having a large garden, with olive and other fruit-trees, besides some fields intermixt.

Thursday the 22d, I observ'd that the city has two small citadels; one on a mountain commanded by a *Chians*; the other on the plain, being sometimes the place of abode of the *Bassa* or *Beglerbeg*, who governs the city without any *Sangiac* under him. They have both weak garrisons, and little cannon; and if the townsmen upon occasion do not take up arms, they can make but a small defence.

Friday the 23d, I took notice the suburbs were for the most part inhabited by *Armenians* and *Greeks*, with their bishops, for the exercise of their religion. Provisions are dear, to what they are in other parts of the *Turkish* dominions, and not good neither, especially the bread; the neighbouring villages furnishing wheat, both the hills and plain about the city being barren; and the high mountains cover'd with snow cause more cold than plenty. Flesh is to be found in the market only some few months in the year; and fish is never to be seen, because the city has no port, but an open shoar, expos'd to the inconstancy of the sea, which renders the little fishing there is very difficult. Of all the land produces, only the oyl is good; and the wine indifferent; other sorts of fruit for pleasure are sent in from the villages further off. They keep their oil and wine in earthen vessels, and rack off the liquor from one to another with cranes made of canes.

The custom-house of *Trabezond* is not severe, for they never search'd my equipage, nor the fathers, so that any thing may be carry'd into the city. But mistrusting lest the officers on the way might give me some trouble. I went of my own accord, without being call'd,

on

Citadel.

Provision.

Custom
house.

on Saturday the 24th, to the customer, for a *Taschbare*, or billet. He would know what I paid at *Constantinople*, and take my word for it; and I telling him that all I had being but a few trifles, I paid four piaſtres; he took the same of me, besides a prospective-glaſs I presented him with.

The *Bassa's* family was maintain'd several days at the expence of the poor *Greeks* and *Armenians*, who are to make a good contribution when the *Bassa* himself arrives; nor does this exempt them from the pole-tax; and it is a dismal thing to hear their complaints, they being to earn all that money by their labour and industry. The worst of it was, that provisions were then at the dearest, it being the month of *Ramadan*, or the *Turkish* fast, when they make amends for the abstinence of the day by their gormandizing at night, spending most of it in eating of the best.

Sunday the 25th, after hearing mass, I went to see the low citadel. It is seated on a rock, with a double wall, and deep ditch, and by its building it appears to be antienter than the other.

My *Rais Lester*, refusing to give me the *Taschbare* of *Constantinople*, and I on that account demurring to pay the freight for my goods, we went on Monday the 26th, before the *Cadi* to decide the controversy; and it was given for him, because he brought the *Cadi* in his *Saïque*.

Whilst we diverted our selves with the

Jesuits, we provided to set out for *Arzerum* with the first caravan. In order to it we hir'd horses for a zecchine a-piece (which in christendom would perhaps have cost ten crowns) for eleven days journey; laying half a load, besides the rider on each, after the custom of the east, and so the fathers and I did. Travelling is very cheap in the *Turkish* dominions, provisions being at reasonable rates on the road; but on the other hand there is the inconvenience of lodging in the caravanfara's, where nothing is to be had, every thing being to be bought elsewhere, and dressed there. The *Turks* carry all sorts of utensils for the kitchen of brass, and very neat.

Our company was made up of *F. Villot*, a *Lorrainer*, superior of *Arzerum*, re-established in his mission, by express command of the grand seignior, two years after he had been expelled by the *Bassa*, (like those of *Trabezond*;) at the instigation of the schismatic *Greeks* and *Armenians*; of *F. Dalmatius* of *Auvergne*, who was going missionary into the province of *Sciamaki* in *Persia*; of *F. Martin* of *Guienne*, who was to reside at *Isfahan*, on the same account; and of *F. Dominick* of *Bologna*, a *Dominican*, design'd for the same religious employ in the monastery of *Naxivan*; *F. Lau* of the country about *Lyons*, staying at *Trabezond* to exercise the same function.

CHAP. III.

The Author's Journey to Arzerum or Erzerum.

Tuesday the 27th, I set out after dinner, with the aforesaid fathers, and a good caravan. After four hours of mountain and dirty way, we lodg'd at the high caravanfara of *Oreglan*, where we lay in the open air, with the noise of the great river close by, and of wild dogs that run about the mountains in troops.

Wednesday the 28th, at break of day we proceeded on our journey leisurely over dreadful mountains, and having travelled twenty four miles in nine hours, stay'd at the caravanfara of *Cuscan*, so convenient, that the sky covers very many. This was not the most beaten road, but us'd in winter; because that of *Aggibasci*, which is shorter by two days journey, is impracticable by reason of the snow; for which reason, when we came from *Trabezond*, we left it, passing over the bridge on the left, where the custom-house officers use to be.

Thursday the 29th, we went on over high and uncouth mountains cover'd with snow, and thick of fir-trees; and mounted so high, that at the latter end of the day, we found our selves almost in the second region of the air, on the top of mount *Zigana*. There the wind us'd to be so violent, that two years before this time *Calolics* passing the same way to his government of *Trabezond*, in February, lost about ten of his retinue, stifled with the wind and snow. *F. Villot* to confirm this, told me, that he passing over there five years before with *F. Vanderman*, a *Flemming*, this last lost the use of his tongue through the excessive cold, staying behind in the snow, without being able to follow the caravan; but that he recover'd with chewing cloves, and therefore ever since the missionaries call that the mountain of cloves. *F. Dalmatius* being out of patience on the top of this hill,

being

GEMELLI being quite spent with labour of climbing aloft, broke out into these words.

1694. *Come hither Gentlemen of the Propaganda, and see what a condition we are in here. And a few steps further. Come along you who do not give a penny; whereas we come upon the Alps of France; and I am satisfy'd you'll give all you are worth to be at home again* As he repeated these words, I smil'd, and the more to tempt him, said, *Do you think that coming to the Mission in the Levant, is like taking a walk in the Tuilleries at Paris, or at monsieur's Palace?* To save my self the pains I would not alight, but went up a horse-back, in danger of breaking my neck down those dreadful rocks. We descended four miles of craggy way to the *Caravanfera*, which takes name from that mountain; after travelling twenty four miles in eleven hours. Friday the 30th, we went down a more easie way, but very long because of its winding about the mountain which abounds in fir, beech, and nut-trees. Then we pass'd over the third stone-bridge near a mountain, at the foot whereof we entered into a way under ground, to come to a *Caravanfera* at the other side. After riding twenty two miles in ten hours we lay at night in the *Caravanfera* of the village of *Giumis-Kane*, that is, silver-house, because of the ruins of this metal there are in that neighbourhood, where the country produces plenty of apples, hazle-nuts, and bad wine. Here we had but an ill night of it.

Mines. Saturday the first of May, after six hours riding, we pass'd by a gold mine, where they did not work because it was spoil'd by the inundation of the river, and at a small distance thence by one of silver. The natives told me there were many more of lead, and copper, which is therefore very cheap among the *Turks*, who have all sorts of utensils of it tinn'd both within and without. Thence we pass'd by *Cuvans*, and after travelling twenty miles in ten hours, night coming on we lay at *Balasor* in the house of our *Catergi* or muletier. This village is seated in an excellent and fruitful plain. I cannot decide whether the houses are caves or stables; for they are dug out of the earth, which serves as a wall, with great beams lay'd across above to support the roof which is of earth also, and even with the roads they ride on. They leave a large gap in the middle to let in the light, not regarding that all they do within, can be seen through it. Men and beasts lodge together in them; so that I was forc'd to spend that night in such good company. I

was much pleas'd in this country at their ovens to bake bread and for other uses. Strange They make a trench three spans deep in the ground, plaister'd with plain mud, with a small hole for the flame. Making a wood fire in it, they fasten an iron across the mouth, and to that another that is moveable, so shap'd that five pots may stand and boil on it. This turns round for the conveniency of the person that dresses the meat. The pots being taken away from the top, and the fire from the bottom, and the oven cleans'd from ashes, they put in the dough unleaven'd after the fashion of the east, and thus the bread or cake is soon bak'd, which the *Mabometans* like extremely. This done it serves to spread the table on, and keep the company warm, without any other fire. And shutting the hole they make use of it to keep the meat warm, in case strangers should come in.

The village being for the most part inhabited by *Armenians*, they all flock'd in crowds to our stable, to be instructed in the divine mysteries by *F. Villot*. He had learn'd the *Armenian* language perfectly to this purpose; and invented a game like that of the goole, to make them the better remember those things, calling it a game of devotion, because the said mysteries were printed on it.

I was not a little edify'd to see what pains those good people took to get room in our stable, calling one another to hear the word of God, which lasted till night. The harvest in *Asia* is great, and the labourers but few. Did a missionary stay in this place but a few weeks he would draw all the people out of the darkness of heresy; so easily are they brought to own their error. The *Jesuits* apply themselves very zealously to this good work in many parts of the *Turkish* and *Persian* dominions; suffering the affronts and outrages of the *Mabometans* with heroick patience, having been several times persecuted and expell'd by them. They are maintain'd out of revenues set apart for this purpose in *France*.

At Night came a *Chiaus*, who was hastening the march of the *Asian* troops; because they advanc'd slowly, to be at *Belgrade* at the end, rather than at the beginning of the campaign: This put us to a great deal of trouble, for at midnight he took two of our horses for his own use; and in the morning we were at a loss, the caravan being ready to set out, and no other horses to be had in the village. Therefore that we might not be left a prey to robbers or *Janizaries*

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Janizaries we made the half-loads whole ones; and so a horse remain'd quite light to ride by turns all day, and this made amends for the joy of the foregoing night being *Sunday* the 2d, when we suppd merrily and had a pleasant time of it, in remembrance of the persecution suffer'd by the *Jesuits* at *Arzerum* and *Trabezond* on that day two years, as was said before.

However encouraging one another, we set out like pilgrims on *Monday* the 3d, following the caravan through a plain, and well cultivated country. The *Jesuits* would not make use of the horse, but like the apostles travell'd all the day afoot, *F. Dalmatus* still calling upon the gentlemen de *Propaganda* to come and see him walk. The *Dominican* father and I rode by turns, and the country being full of pigeons, and mallards, I shot many flying both a foot and a horse-back, to the great admiration of the *Turks*, who could not hit one; which made *F. Villos* say I was one of the king of *France's* huntsmen, sent to serve the king of *Persia* in that employment. After travelling twelve mile in six hours, we pass'd through the suburb, into the city *Beiburt*, where they pay a quarter of a ducat toll for every horse.

Beiburt
city.

This city is seated on a rock, wall'd, and furnish'd with but a few pieces of cannon. Good woollen carpets made there, are fold cheap. Its suburb is part in the valley, and part on the side of the mountain. We went six miles further along the river, near which we encamp'd at the place call'd *Meaciur*, where we recover'd our horses, the *Cibians* having left them. A great rain at night wet us all.

Tuesday the 4th, we advanc'd but ten miles in four hours, setting up in the village of *Avirac*, seated on a mountain, because the next days journey was long. We lay in the house or rather stable, of an *Armenian*, built after the same manner as was said before. Here they were then sowing of wheat, because the soil being fruitful, it grows in a very short time, and yields a plentiful harvest,

provisions are generally cheap there; *GEMELLI* 1694.
six eggs being sold for a penny, and a hen for fifteen pence.

Wednesday the 5th, we climb'd up most dreadful high mountains cover'd with snow, on the last whereof we saw a good quarry of white marble. The *Turks* of the caravan being afraid of robbers would come one after another to bid me stand upon my guard; relying much on me because I had a gun and pistols, and they thought me a good marksman; whereas they had but few fire-arms, and some wanted powder, some flint, and some ball. Others came to me to fix their guns, and give them ammunition, for fear of the danger that threatned. From the vast height of the third mountain we again descended into a deep valley, the horses with their loads every where slipping on the snow, and took our rest in a stable in the village of *Carvor*, having travell'd twenty four miles in eleven hours.

Thursday the 5th, being to ford over the river *Euphrates*, then swoln with water, we thought better to go three leagues about than expose our selves to such danger. Therefore parting from the caravan, with a few more that follow'd us, we went away to pass over a stone-bridge, near which the river *Gerzime*, carrying not much less water falls into the *Euphrates*, or *Ceraste*, which is there less than the *Vulturius* of *Capua*, in the kingdom of *Naples*. We travell'd along on the left of it eight miles on the plain of *Erzerum*, our days journey being ten hours to the village of *Teurischuil*. There were persons appointed in all those villages by the tax-gatherer to receive the head-money of all travellers, but we as *Franks* defended our selves by virtue of the grand seignior's *Firman*, or order.

That night, being near our journey's end, with the consent of the *Catergi*, or muletier, to whom I promis'd a reward, I clap'd some small things that were to pay custom, into a bag of straw, which in those countries they lay under the loads instead of pannels.

CHAP. IV.

The Author's Arrival at Erzerum, and the Description of that City.

Friday in the morning, travelling over a beautiful, and well cultivated plain, scatter'd with several villages, and encompass'd with mountains cover'd with snow, at the end of twelve miles we arriv'd at *Erzerum*. As soon

as we entred the suburbs, we paid fifteen grains of *Naples*, that is about three pence half penny for each horse. Then we went to the custom-house, but the customer being at noon-day prayers, when he came, we desir'd him

GEMELLI 1694. to seal the trunks, that he might come home some time after to search them. He very civilly comply'd, sending soon after one to search them, who found nothing liable to pay; so that I found not that severity monsieur *Tavernier* mentions of sealing the trunks and bails a day before they come to *Erzerum*, by people appointed by the customer, that things liable to pay may not be taken out to defraud the custom-house.

I took a stately room in the *Caravan-fera*, near the custom-house, that I might often enjoy the company of mr. *Prescot*, an *English* merchant, who acted as consul, and liv'd opposite to me. He coming to bid me welcome, carry'd me home, and entertain'd me well at dinner and supper, being sorry he could not treat me, as he would have done in *Christendom*, because the country does not afford those dainties that are to be had in *Italy*, and other parts; but he tormented me with often drinking to me, requiring I should do the same, which I could not. He inform'd me to my sorrow, that the day before my arrival, a great caravan was gone for *Tauris*, which had been an excellent opportunity for me.

Erzerum city. *Erzerum*, or *Adirbegian*, by some is plac'd in the lesser *Armenia*, and by others made the metropolis of the greater, where they think it likely the first man

Asie Nov. was created, and placed by God in the *defc. lib. 5.* most delightful garden of paradise. *cap. 1.*

Gen. 8. The country is noble for having been first cultivated by *Adam*, when expell'd paradise; and because *Noah*, after the flood came there out of the ark, and offer'd sacrifice to God. A country, that on the top of its mountains long kept the remains of the ark, according to antient traditions, and upon the credit of antient patriarchs. *Euphrate* authors will have it that *Thessalus* took the name of the *Armenian* hero.

Joseph lib. 1. antiq. cap. 4. *Erzerum* is seated on a long plain, under high mountains, at the end of the plain thirty miles long, and ten in breadth. Its walls are two miles in compass, and are double, but not fill'd with earth, or ramparts. About it is an indifferent ditch, and several towers at convenient distances, with small pieces of cannon, such as they call falconets, so that on the out-side it looks much like *Constantinople*. At the east end is a castle and a fort, for the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, both of them commanded by a kull, and a tower on it, whence the enemy may be discover'd at a great distance. Near this castle is the *Armenian* cathedral, much decay'd, except-

ing two towers built of brick. There are three iron gates to the city; at that call'd of *Tauris*, there lie on the ground twenty good pieces of cannon; the rest being broke up to be carry'd to *Constantinople*. The houses, as also those in the suburbs, for the most part inhabited by *Armenians* are low, and made of wood and mud; the streets narrow, and unpav'd; and the *Bazars* mean; but it is so populous, that there are in the suburbs only, twenty two caravan-fera's for the caravans of *Persia*. The air is very cold, by reason of the snow lying continually on the neighbouring mountains; but it is not so bad for the eyes as *Tavernier* pretends; but this makes the fruit ripen very late, for which reason it is first brought out of *Georgia*, and were it not supply'd from the villages about, it would be scarce. Yet provisions are very cheap, for a pennyworth of bread will serve a man a day, and he may buy almost thirty pounds of bisket for a *Carline*, or six-pence; five eggs for a *Tornefe*, or penny, and a hen for five, and so other things proportionably. All this plenty proceeds from the fruitfulness of the aforesaid plain. But, as I was told, corn does not ripen in sixty days, and barly in forty, (according to *Tavernier's* account) for whilst I was there, they were actually sowing to reap in *Septemper*.

The river *Euphrates* has its springs in a mountain call'd *Abbrat*, or *Mingol*, river, six hours journey from *Erzerum*; wherefore the springs of this river, according to scripture and fathers, being in paradise, I was within six hours of paradise. But others are of opinion that its true source is in *Georgia*, and that the frequent earthquakes have cover'd it.

The government of *Erzerum* is very beneficial, and much esteem'd among the *Turks*. The women in the city are clad in cloth, and wear boots, and a black thing before their forehead to hide their face; on their head they have a long piece of stuff hanging down to their knees.

Saturday the 8th, monsieur *Lacroniere*, of the province of *Blois*, came with the caravan from *Persia*, and the next day turn'd *Mabometian*, despairing of ever obtaining his pardon for two duels he fought, killing two men in *France*. He gave out he was sent into those parts by the king, as a spy upon the *Turks*, and that all the *Franks*, who go into the *Levant*, are spies sent by the king to stir up the *Persians* to recover *Bagdat* and *Erzerum*; and others into *Muscovy*, to persuade that prince to seize the towns on

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on the black sea; and that therefore they carry their credentials few'd up in their shoes. Tho' the *French* look upon him as a mad-man, yet those barbarians seem to credit him, to have the opportunity of doing the *Franks* harm; and this made me live in some fear.

Sunday the 9th, I heard mass at the *Jesuits* church. Having left my gun at the city gate, according to custom, I sent Monday the 10th, the usual duty to the *Turk* at the gate to have it return'd, but Mr. *Prescot's* man going in his master's name, he restor'd it without taking any thing. But on Tuesday the 11th, as I was going to Mr. *Prescot's*, I saw the *Turk* that had restor'd the gun making signs to me to stop. I went on nevertheless, for not understanding him, I thought it in vain to stay. The *Turk* enrag'd that I slighted him, ran after me with his knife drawn, and had hurt me, but that Mr. *Prescot* laid hold of him about the middle. I had not fear'd him in another place, but in *Turky* the laws are too severe against a *Frank* that opposes a *Turk*, and therefore to be rid of him, I gave what he demanded.

Extortion
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Turki.

Wednesday the 12th, I din'd with *F. Villot*, and we rejoiced at our safe arrival, but my satisfaction was disturb'd on Thursday the 13th, three persons coming to me from the *Mussellin*, or *Bassa's* lieutenant, to command me to depart the city within three days; which order was also sent to the *Jesuits* and *Dominican*, they believing we were all five *Papa's*, or religious men. We guess'd this was not only brought about by the *French* renegado, but by the schismatick *Armenians*, to obstruct the fathers settling in *Erzerum*, and the spreading of the word of God. They had two years before presented the *Bassa* with 2000 piastrres, to send them away together with *F. Philip Grimaldi*, who was going to *Cbina*; which was done with some tumult rais'd by the *Armenians*, 2500 persons going in a seditious manner to the *Bassa's* house, and about 400 to the monastery, where the fathers had been in danger of their lives, had they not been well barr'd. To put a stop to this mischief, brother *Manfredi*, who play'd the physician to reconcile the people to the society, was sent to the *Mussellin*, to shew him the grand seignior's *Firman*, or order for re-settling the fathers at *Erzerum*; but he without so much as seeing it, order'd we should return that same day towards *Trabezond*. The great distance from court made him not value the *Firman*, and he said the *Papa's* had represented things as they thought fit

to the sultan; and therefore he would acquaint him how averse the whole city was to their re-establishment. The brother went thence to the *Cadi* to obtain at least some longer time, and was civilly answer'd they might go with the first caravan, that they might not be expos'd to be robb'd and murder'd by thieves. The *Mussellin* hearing of it, sent for *Manfredi*, and railing at him for having been the occasion of the fathers return first, and then of their stay, committed him to prison; but being told that the *Cadi* had consented to the delay, he releas'd him within two hours; threatening to make him stay in the city, and after formal process to cause him to be bastinado'd till the nails of his toes flew off.

That same day the *Mussellin* would be inform'd what I was by Mr. *Prescot*, who giving him an account of my travels, told him I was no religious man, nor of the society, but a lay-man that travell'd out of meer curiosity. As he was returning home, the *Dominican* father came to desire him, that he would acquaint the *Mussellin* that he was not of the society, but a *Dominican*, sent into *Persia* by his general, and that his order not being comprehended in the petition of the *Armenians*, he would get him leave to proceed on his journey. But the consul's words were of no force with that barbarian, whom nothing but money could mollify. *F. Villot* was very angry that the *Dominican* should have made that use of *Prescot*, and therefore came in a passion at night to tell me, every one might shift for himself, because he and his companions had the *Firman* to go into *Persia*. I bid him mind his own business, for I did not mistrust God's providence, and was ready to suffer those crosses, and therefore without being at all dismay'd, I resolv'd if I could not go directly from *Erzerum*, to return to *Trabezond*, and thence pass thorough *Georgia* into *Persia*.

Going on Friday the 14th, to hear mass at the *Jesuits*, I saw brother *Manfredi* go to the *Mussellin*, and return with a favourable answer, which when *F. Villot* had heard, he said to me, monsieur *Gemelli*, the matter is adjusted for twenty five ducats; two zecchines will be your share to go into *Persia*. I might have answer'd, that since the foregoing night they would not admit me into their number, I had taken other measures; and that he did me that favour to save charges, because the *Mussellin* would have as much for three as for five; but that he might see I was not led away by interest, I said I would

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GEMELLI would pay my quota; which the Dominican was very unwilling to do.

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After dinner the *Nazar*, or protector of strangers, who had been acquainted with the business by his brother the *Muffellin*, sent for *Manfredi*, and made a great noise because we were not gone. The other answer'd we had leave to go for *Persia*. No, said the *Nazar*, you shall go for *Trabezond*, with the caravan that is now ready. *Manfredi* understanding his design was to have share of our money, he told him he would bring him an answer the next day. But it pleas'd God that, news being brought both the brothers on *Saturday* the 15th, that the *Bassa* had sent others to take their places, they being taken up, refusing to resign to the others, never thought of us.

In the evening, the *Muffellin* sent for some fathers that could speak the *Turkish* language, to expound some maps given him by the renegade *Laeroniere*, who could not do it: *F. Villos* went, who, having given him satisfaction concerning part of *Asia*, tho' the *Turk* was not much the wiser, was ask'd, where he had learnt the *Turkish* language; and he answering that in a year he resided at *Constantinople*. The *Muffellin* reply'd, he could not learn to speak so well in a year. It falling then opportunely to talk of our affair, the father added, I liv'd some time in this city, and was here when the fathers were expell'd; which I am given to understand you design to do again, notwithstanding the grand seignior's order. The *Muffellin* reply'd, why do you not go upon the mission into *Germany*? Because the *Germans*, said the father, are our kings enemies, and would kill us, and therefore we come into this country who are our

friends. Then they went together to the *Cadi's* (a man whose wisdom had raised him to the greatest employs of the empire in the reign of sultan *Mabomet*) and having shewn him several countries of *Asia*, he ask'd whether the father durst undertake to make such a map in the *Turkish* tongue, and how long he would be about it. Being told he could do it in a week, they sent him home, bidding him stay and do it.

F. Villos being to stay, eight zecchines were sent by brother *Manfredi*, on *Sunday* the 16th to the *Muffellin*; after which the *Cbiaga* sent to enquire about the rest and hasten our departure, signifying that *F. Villos* must go when the map was made. The *Nazar* sent for brother *Manfredi* again on *Munday* the 17th, to let him know he would be presented as well as his brother; both of them had good words, and were put in hopes of that which was never to come to pass. The same day two servants of the *Nazars* came to the caravanfera in his name to ask a vest of me. Being sensible this was an invention of their own, that they might not go away dissatisfied, and contrive to do me some mischief, I promis'd mr. *Prescot* should give them a piastre after I was gone, that they might not send others on the same errand. Seeing my self expos'd to be cheated and robb'd on all sides, I resolv'd to be gone without a caravan, hazarding all dangers whatsoever; both the fathers and I thinking it better to go on, venturing to be robb'd by thieves, yet with the liberty of defending our selves, than to stay in the city, like sheep among wolves, without being allow'd to speak for our selves. Having therefore hir'd horses for four piastres a piece, we prepar'd to leave *Erzerum* privately.

More exacti-
ons.

CHAP. V.

The Author's Journey to Kars, and the Danger he was in of being robb'd.

They proceed on their journey.

Tuesday the 18th, the fathers *Dalmatius* and *Martin*, French *Jesuits*; *F. Dominick* of *Bologna* a *Dominican*, and I, took our flight out of the city after midnight, like the *Israelites* persecuted by *Pharaoh*. Near break of day the custom-house officers came out of a tent to stop us six miles from the city; but shewing them the customers discharge and giving them a *Rup*, which is a quarter of a *Neapolitan* ducat, they let us pass; notwithstanding my muletier, who was a *Georgian*, falling out with an *Armenian* belonging to those

officers, had buffeted him very well. Three miles from thence my horse starting threw me; and with the fall broke the stock of my gun, which I could put but into an indifferent posture to serve me by the way. All the country we travel'd over that day was plain, and much resembling the plain *Apuglia* in the kingdom of *Naples*. They were actually sowing, tho' they had not plow'd. Having cross'd a great river about the evening, we went to take up our quarters at the village of *Axa*, our *Catergi's* place of birth, in whose house we lodg'd; having

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in eight hours travell'd twenty miles out of the common way of the caravan, which always paffes thorough the little but beautiful caſtle of *Haffan-kale*, feat- ed on a hill, and four miles diſtant from the aforeſaid village, where a *Rup* or quarter of a ducat is paid for every horſe. We were lodg'd in the muletier's houſe, and had an excellent ſupper, becauſe the place is plentiful of proviſions; four pi- geons being fold for five *Torneſes*, or five pence.

Wednesday the 19th, a *Janizary* croſſing the road, would make us return to the fort to pay a certain duty, and with much difficulty we perſuaded him to re- ceive it, without giving us the trouble of going back to the fort. Twelve miles further we had a worſe re-encoun- ter, through the fault of the muletiers, who would take a road not uſ'd by the caravans. The officers of the custom- houſe of *Toliſci*, and of the bridge of *Scio-ban-nupri*, ſeeing we did not take the way of the bridge, came up and com- manded us to go with them, as far as the village. Being willing to buy off this trouble, they aſk'd us five piaſtres, but ſeeing we coſt'd at their impertinent de- mand, they began to fly for fear of being beaten. We on the other hand fearing ſomething worſe might befall us, thought it better to overtake them and compound for two piaſtres.

The fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, makes pro- viſions theſe worth little or nothing; and the more becauſe the natives live up- on four milk, cakes inſtead of bread, and water. Having travel'd twenty eight miles in ten hours, we came to the village of *Koraſon*, where another of our *Catergis* was born, on the left of the river *Araxes*, which runs from the foot of mount *Min- gol* into the *Caspian* ſea. The houſes of this village are under ground like thoſe of *Balaxor*.

Thursday the 20th, being *Aſcenſion-day*, we ſtaid in that village to pleaſe the *Ca- tergi*. One ſent by the cuſtomer, came home to view my trunks, and ſee the *Taſcare* of the cuſtom-houſe of *Erzerum*. He took nothing; but a *Nazar* that came with him, ſeeing we had no paſs came again at night, and would have a piaſtre by way of compoſition, which the cuſtomer did not approve of. It is moſt certain the poor *Franks* every where ſuffer through the avarice of the *Turks*, but in ſome places a ſmall matter con- tents them. The women of this village cover their faces, almoſt after the man- ner of *Egypt*, with little plates of ſil- ver, worth about a *Carline* of *Naples*, which move prettily with their heads;

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and they wear two rows of buttons on each ſide their veſts, with other little ſilver plates.

Friday the 21ſt, we travell'd eight miles of mountain way, and halted on the bank of a river, where our *Catergis* would waſh themſelves, that place a- bounding in mineral waters. Going thence we met with three *Janizaries*, who pre- tending they belong'd to the poll-tax gatherer, would have us pay that duty.

We reſuſing to pay it on account of our *Firman*, they would make us turn back; and therefore tho' we were ſtronger, we were forc'd to give a piaſtre to be rid of them. All about theſe plains there were curious wild tulips, which would be much valu'd in *Europe*. We lay that night at *Mifingbirt*, a village in a val- ley at the foot of a rock, on which is an antient and almoſt ruin'd caſtle. Here tho' there were many chriſtians, yet we lay in the open field. The natives to get ſomething, gave us to underſtand that but a few days before, the rogues on the mountain had robb'd ſome tra- vellers. The fathers and one *Coggia A- bram* born at *Erzerum*, being put into a fright at this news, would needs take four men along to convoy us. I was ſatisfy'd they were ſpies, and worſe than thieves, and that they had no good arms, yet that they might not think I kept off out of covetouſneſs, I condeſcended to pay my ſhare of five *Rups* we gave them, which is a ducat and a quarter.

For the more ſecurity we travell'd by night, through woods of pine-trees, and over ſteep mountains, the neſts of rob- bers; two of whom meeting us, had not the courage to make any attempt. I loſt the ſcourer of my gun in lighting to walk part of the way, and be ready upon any occaſion.

Saturday the 22d, about break of day, we found our guards ſuch as I had ima- gin'd them; for two of them had match- locks without covers to the pans or match, another had neither powder nor ball; and the fourth had nothing but a long ſtaff which only wanted a good arm to ſtrike. Theſe being as great thieves as any in the world, ſeeing it was day, demanded their pay before we were out of the wood. *F. Dalmatius* reſuſing, be- cauſe we were not yet out of danger, one of them threatned to run him thro- rough with his ſpear; which made me perſuade him to pay, rather than indan- ger his perſon. When they had receiv'd the money, they ſtay'd behind, without regarding their duty, for we had ſtill two miles to go through the wood. We had advanc'd but a few ſteps to get out

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Danger of robbers.
of it, before twelve men, some a foot and some a horseback appear'd before us, at sight of whom my *Catergi* drawing near me, said, *Crusi*, or thieves, and ask'd for one of my pistols, but I would not give it him. Our company was in a consternation, but *Coggia* above the rest, who tho' the night before I had fix'd his gun, that he might help to defend us in case of need; yet chose rather to trust to his horse's heels, without regarding the shame of running away, than hazard his life, by shewing courage.

The frightened fathers and I being left to oppose the robbers, I alighted with my guns and pistols in a readiness; and leaving them a horseback with bad pistols, and without powder, posted myself on the left, behind some rocks, waiting under covert to see what the rovers would do. They being badly arm'd, and some of them only with staves, tho' twelve in number, would not stand the test, but turning off, went up the mountain, leaving the way free to us. The

Turks extoll'd my behaviour, and the fathers much more, who from that time forward us'd in jest to call me *Caravan-Bashi*, or captain of the small *Caravan*. I was so enrag'd against the run-away *Coggia*, that as a punishment for his cowardice, I would have left his goods to the mercy of the robbers; but at the request of the *Jesuits*, I suffer'd them to be carry'd on. Being out of the wood, we rested our horses in a plain, near which there was good pasture, and a village of *Kurds*. Three hours after we set forwards a good pace, and went to lie at the village of *Cotanlo*; having travell'd that day thirty six miles in ten hours. This place was inhabited by *Armenians*, who disturb'd us with their sick, to get some medicine of the *Jesuits*, who carry several forts; which happened to us where-soever we came. All the way beyond the mountains, which made one half, was an excellent soil, but untill'd for want of people.

CHAP. VI.

A short Description of Kars, and the Continuation of the Author's Journey to the Frontiers of Persia.

Sunday the 23d having travell'd twelve miles in five hours, we came to the city *Kars*, the frontier town of the *Turkish* dominions, and lodg'd in a caravan-sera in the suburb.

Kars city. *Kars* is a large, but not populous city, tho' there be plenty of provisions, and very cheap, seated in a most fruitful plain, and 78 degrees 4 minutes of longitude, and 42 degrees 40 minutes of latitude. The reason of its being so ill inhabited is, because being on the frontiers, it has suffer'd sometimes by the *Persians*, and sometimes by the *Ottoman* arms; being no sooner recover'd from the one, than it has fallen again under the other, as has happened to many other places, which have been ruin'd by the *Persians* for eight or nine days journey. *Kars* is a sufficient testimony to posterity of the behaviour of the *Persians* in taking of strong holds; and how dreadful the strokes of their scimitars are to the *Turks*.

Lex. Geograph. Phil. Err. Verb. Conf.
But to return to the business in hand. *Kars* is seated in *Turcomania*. Its shape is long, looking towards the south, and two miles in compass, on the side of a rising ground. Its two walls are of earth, with small towers, two gates, and as many bridges on the side of the river and suburb. The fort which stands on the rock, is inaccessible on that side next the

river. In it is a good garrison, out of which every night a detachment of forty horse goes to scour the country on the frontiers. The houses by reason of the thinness of the inhabitants are more like dens, made of timber and mud. For 130 years last past, since subject to the *Ottoman* empire, it has always been govern'd by a *Bassa*; rather out of jealousy because it is a frontier, than because the greatness of the place deserves it.

In compliance to the *Catergi*, we stay'd there all Monday the 24th. The *Georgian* would have all the money for the journey paid him here, whereas the custom is to pay at the journey's end; and we refusing, he stood in it, that he would go no further. We were forced to get the *Armenian* customer to oblige him to go; or else we would have provided our selves otherwise at his expence. But the cheating *Armenian* made us pay for his kindness; for whereas his duty was half a piastre a loaded horse, he demanded a zecchine, and with much difficulty took a piastre.

Having agreed with the custom-house, we proceeded on our journey on Tuesday the 25th, taking as a good omen four guns the *Turks* fir'd on account of the solemnity of their *Bairam*, their fast of *Ramadan* being ended; which rejoiced the

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the hearts of the poor country people, seeing themselves deliver'd from the hardship of working on the fast-day, and watching to eat at night. All that day riding over those excellent plains, we met several troops of *Kurds* with their moveable houses on oxen, with pannels on them.

The
Kurds.

These people live like beasts, and are so brutal, that they wander about all the year, seeking good pasture for their herds, living upon the same food as they do. After riding thirty miles in ten hours, we lay in the village of *Chiala*, consisting of but a few caves. Here the insolent *Catergi* began again to refuse going any further, unless he were paid his whole due; and we did nothing but wrangle from morning till night. I had much ado to forbear beating of him, for fear of bringing my self into further trouble.

Ani-kagae
city.

We set out late on *Wednesday* the 26th, and were not a little mov'd to compassion by the way to see so many places destroy'd by the wars, whose ruins still shew their former greatness; and particularly the city *Ani-kagae*, six miles from the aforesaid village. It was founded on an advantageous, tho' marshy ground, by a king of *Armenia* of the same name. A good part of its walls are still stand-

ing, near the east side, whereof runs the river *Arpafuy*, which rising in the mountains of *Mingrelia*, falls into the river of *Kars*. There are still to be seen the ruins of several monasteries, two whereof are almost entire, which they say were founded by kings.

Going on at a distance, we discover'd the high mountain *Ararat*, where *Noah's* ark is said to have rested. Then we entered upon a valley, on which there were several things like pyramids scatter'd about, made by the water in stone, very pleasant to behold. Next we pass'd by the fort of *Arpafuy*, the last garrison of the *Turks*, seated on a rock after such a manner, that it needs no wall on three sides; but only on that where the entrance is. Within it there is a good garrison, and without a village, where a *Rup*, or quarter of a *Neapolitan* ducat is paid for every horse that passes. In this same valley we pass'd a bridge over a river, which parts the *Ottoman* and *Persian* empires. As soon as I got to the further side, I alighted to kiss the ground I had so long wish'd for, that I might be deliver'd from the frauds of the *Turks*. What happened to me from that time forwards, shall God willing be deliver'd in the second volume.

GEMELLI
1694.

The End of the First VOLUME.

A

A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part II.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
P E R S I A.

B O O K I.

C H A P. I.

The Author's Entering upon the Persian Dominions, and Journey to Erivan, with the Description of that City.

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1694.

THE possession of those things we have long desir'd, produces in us such joy and satisfaction, that it makes us forget past sufferings, and disposes us willingly to undergo such as are to follow. This happened to me at my entering upon the *Persian* dominions, for the pleasure of it made me not think of a tiresome ascent we had to climb; and taking heart now I was in a country, where more honesty was practis'd, I with good cudgelling made the *Cateris* go on, who would needs then, at an improper season, stay to rest their horses, having advis'd me but just before to be upon my guard, because the *Turkish* garrison us'd to make excursions on that side.

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After ten miles riding, we met a multitude of *Kurds* incamp'd in tents (which they set up in a moment, fixing a pole in the earth, with a great wheel at the top of it, to which other crooked staves are fastned to bear up the tent) they exacted half a pialtre a horse of us for passing; for in *Persia* it is not usual to open trunks, but to give something according to the quality of the persons. Having reared, and fed our horses, we went on a very stony way, and having in all travell'd twenty eight miles that day in ten hours, the chief muletier set up at *Talen*, the first village of *Persia*. In this place was a good church for the use of the christian *Armenians*, who are the best part of the inhabitants. On the high altar are the pictures of the holy apostles; but it is now gone to ruin, as is another near it. Having taken up our lodging in the house of a christian, as we had done all through *Armenia*, that is subject to the *Turks*, a

Versabietto, or *Armenian* preacher, but to look to, a rude ignorant clown, came to visit us, who seeing one of our horses sick, fell to blessing of water for him, crossing it, mumbling some words, and making ugly faces, and throwing a needle into it three times, in the most superstitious manner imaginable. To this village they bring on oxen, with pannels on them, abundance of stone-salt, which they cut out of a mountain a day's journey from thence.

In these fields I saw a curious and rare flower, which any *Italian* prince would perhaps give a considerable sum of money to have in his garden. The stalk of it is not above half a span long, at the end whereof there are three white flowers standing upright, like a plume of feathers, and three other purple ones hanging down in a triangle, with a little black rose in the middle, and three others of a brighter colour, twining about the afore-said flowers.

Tuesday the 27th, at break of day we set out again, and after riding twenty four miles in nine hours, came to the three churches, call'd by the *Armenians* *Eghiamisfen*, that is, only son, which is the name of the chief of them. This, as their histories tell us, was built 300 years after the coming of Christ; and they add, that when the walls were as high as a man, the devil in the night destroy'd all they built by day; but that at last Jesus Christ appearing one night, the devil could no longer obstruct the building of the church. It is dedicated to St. *George*, to whom the *Armenians* pay a great veneration. Within, the structure is in the form of a cross, with a cupola in the middle, under which they shew the stone, on which they say

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our favour appear'd to St. Gregory, much honour'd by them. There are three doors into it, and all the pavement is cover'd with good carpets. It has three altars; to the high one there is an ascent of four steps, and near it on the right side is the patriarch's chair. There are six steps up to the altar on the right hand, and three to that on the left, with each a patriarchal chair against mass is solemnly celebrated at them. On the outside there are four small towers at the four angles, in one of which the bells are, and the standards of the cross every where set up; which is not permitted by the Turks on any account.

Closet by the church is the monastery, where the bishop and fathers reside, with an excellent garden in the middle. The patriarch's apartments are over the first great court, where the fountain is; thorough which they go into the second, which with its arches serves only for a caravanserai for pilgrims; for the monks go through another court and larger gate to their cells and church. The whole place is enclos'd with high mud walls, within which compass there are several vineyards and gardens.

The patriarch is counted one of the first among the Armenians, and has such a conceit of himself and his authority, that not very long since, he had the boldness to excommunicate S. Leo Pope, because he approv'd the council of Calcedon, which condemn'd theirs and the Greek heresy.

The second monastery, with the church dedicated to S. Cagana, is a musket-shot from the first. It was built in honour of a princess, who coming from Italy with forty maidens, to see St. Gregory, was by a king of Armenia cast into a well full of snakes, because she would not consent to his will; where having remained fourteen years, without receiving any harm, at last in a rage he put her to death with the forty maidens; as the Armenians relate.

The structure of the church is like the other, but less. There is but one altar, with the body of an heretical Armenian, whom they call a saint, under it. There are two other tombs without, one on each side of the great gate. As for the monastery it has a small cloister, with a garden, and cells for a few monks, who look to a small number of ignorant idle country people.

The third monastery a mile and a half from these, is very small, and dedicated to St. Revima. There is but one altar in the church, which has three doors, and good vineyards and fields belonging to

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it, as well as the others. The Armenians that go out or return to Persia, use generally to stay three days at these churches, to perform their devotions, and receive the patriarch's blessing.

This plain of Erivan is very fertile, and full of vines and fruit-trees; as also abounding in wheat, rice, and other grain; and this because the natives improve it, making use of the waters of the river Araxes, which runs a-cross it, besides several other rivulets; and levelling the ground with a long rowler drawn with a rope by one man, and help'd forward by another, with a handle. Hence it is, that when the corn is ripe in Persia they are sowing in Turkey.

Mount Ararat is but eight miles from these monasteries. A constant tradition deliver'd down to our days, will have it that Noah's ark rested on it. At the foot of it runs the river Araxes, and rises another large mountain, but small in respect of mount Ararat, of which we shall speak hereafter.

That night I lay in the great monastery, and Friday the 28th in the morning, went into the church, to see about seventy priests officiate in two rooms in the midst of it. Three hours after we continu'd our journey to Erivan on a good road, and passing by many villages, after ten miles riding, came to that city. I took a room in the only caravanserai there was in the suburb, to avoid troubling the Jesuits, who did not live like the Italians.

The present city of Erivan was built on the ruins of another of the same name, in the longitude of 64 degrees and 20 minutes, and 42 degrees and 15 minutes of latitude, next the river Zangsi; it is seated on a rock, and the other parts on the plain. Its whole circumference is but a mile, with a deep ditch, a double wall, and bastions of earth, subject to be beaten down with cannon, and wash'd away with the rain. Nor are the houses any better, and inhabited only by a few traders, and the garrison. It has three iron gates; and but a few, and those small pieces of cannon. The Bazar is indifferent. The palace of the Chah or governor fronts the river, and is as great as earth can make it.

Saturday the 29th, I went to see the mint, where the silver and brass is coin'd; there being no gold coin in Persia, but what little is made at the king's coronation, which is either scatter'd among the people, or given to those that have deserv'd well. The Persians coin their money after this fashion. Having placed the metal in a trench, with coals and

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Gambelli wood over it, they melt it by the blowing of two pair of bellows; they cast it into long slips, which they afterwards beat out into plates; others cut it out and others make the pieces round, others weigh, and others hammer them smooth, after which they are stamp'd by force of men.

The bridge. Sunday the 30th, I went to take the air on the bridge there is over the aforelaid river, consisting of good arches, near which, under the shade of thick trees, there are small rooms for the diversion of the *Cbam*, to whom the government of the city is worth full 200000 crowns a year. This river comes from a lake call'd *Gigaguni*, eighty miles distant from *Erivan*, and falls into the *Araxes*, running three leagues off on the south side.

The suburb. Monday the last of the month, I walk'd about to see the suburb, or rather the inhabited country, because of the many farms and gardens it contains. It is twenty times as big as the city, most of the traders, and all the artificers and *Armenians* living in it. There is an excellent *Bazar* and *Meidan* along the city wall; but there is an infinite number of ruin'd houses, by reason of the continual wars betwixt the *Turks* and *Persians*, which have reduc'd the city and country about it, to a deplorable condition. The whole compass is about ten miles, for the most part enclos'd with a work thrown up of earth, and by the neighbouring hills, which in time of war, might much en-damage the city. All this space produces excellent wine, and abounds in delicious fruit, besides pleasant poplar, and willow-trees.

From *Tocat* to *Tauris* the country is for the most part inhabited by christians, who get their living by silk-works, and other trades; because of the continual passage of the caravans, which carry silk from a province near *Erivan*, and other commodities of *Persia*. It is incredible how great an income these caravans bring to the king; because the custom-house being nothing severe, for no bales of goods are open'd, the merchants are willing to resort thither with the best commodities they can, paying but some small duty to the officers on the way.

Kiekart church. Tuesday the 1st of June, not to lie idle at *Erivan*, I hir'd a horse to go with some others into the country, to the church of *Kiekart*. I came thither after eight hours riding, and found a monastery of *Armenians* cut out of the rock, whereof the pillars are made that support the church. According to their tradition, the spear that pierc'd our saviour's side,

is preserv'd in this place; which they say was brought by St. *Matthew*. Near this church is a lake, and five other monasteries of *Armenians*.

As soon as I came to *Erivan* I hir'd horses for *Tauris*, for ten *Abassi* a piece (every *Abassi* is worth about thirty eight grains and a half of *Naples* money, that is, two shillings wanting three pence) but understanding the road was not safe, was satisfy'd to stay for company. At length finding some, I resolv'd on Wednesday the 2d, to go along with a *Georgian*; but whilst he was preparing his fardle, I sent for my horses, and found the *Ma-bometan*, who had hir'd them, broke his word with me, counterfeiting himself sick. This disappointment fretted me, seeing my companions go away, without hopes of finding any more at that time: because the caravan that came from *Erzerum*, had stopp'd half way for fear of thieves.

Thursday the 3d, I din'd in the monastery of the *Jesuits*; and being inform'd on Friday the 4th, that there was another small company of *Georgians* going to *Nakivan*, I resolv'd to go with them, the *Persian* dominions being more free from robbers than the *Turkish*; and accordingly I hir'd two horses, at the rate abovementioned, and prepared for my journey.

Before I go further it is fit I give an Mount account, that all the while I was at *Erivan*, I observ'd mount *Ararat* was always clear in the morning up to the top; but towards evening the many vapours the sun draws, both from the mountain itself, and from the waters on the plain, thicken the air, and it thunders and lightens, and at last the vapours dissolve in rain. It is also to be noted that this mountain is higher than *Taurus*, or *Caucasus*; and that being above the first region of the air, and always cover'd with snow, it is as cold as possibly can be. However the *Mulst. de. Dutchman's* relation is fabulous, who *del Univ. tells us* that in the year 1670, being to 2. p. oblig'd to go up it, to cure a religious man, he spent seven days in the ascent, travelling fifteen miles a day; and lying at night in certain hermitages he met with, at every five leagues; and that he pass'd beyond the bounds of the first region of the air, where the clouds are form'd, the first of which he found thick and dark; and the others vehement cold, and full of snow; and that the third cloud he pass'd through, he must have dy'd with cold, had his dreadful passage lasted but a quarter of an hour longer; but that the next day as he mounted,

mounted, the air grew more temperate and that coming to the cell of the religious sick man, he was inform'd, that in twenty years he had liv'd on the mountain, he never had felt heat, cold, or Wind, or seen any rain fall. Besides that the good hermit would give him to understand that *Noab's* ark was still whole on the ridge of the mountain, the good temperature of the air having sav'd it from rotting. An excellent invention of the *Dutch-man* to persuade us

the terrestrial paradise is there; but I GEMELLI 1694. and all that have seen it, have observ'd the top of it surrounded by a very thick mist, from the evening forwards, as has been said. It is true about the sides of it, there are many hermitages inhabited by religious christians, who endure very much cold, there being not so much as a stump of a tree about the mountain to make fire of. The *Armenians* call it *Mesefusar*, that is, mountain of the ark, and the *Persians*, *Agri*.

CHAP. II.

The Author continues his Journey to Tauris, with the Description of that City, and of Nakkivan.

Saturday the 5th, that I might not lose the second opportunity, I caus'd my luggage to be loaded on my man's horse, and let out in hast, with *F. Dominick*; *F. Dalmatius* being gone that morning to his mission at *Sciamaki*, and *F. Martin* staying at *Eriwan*. We put on a good rate to overtake the *Georgian*, and others that were gone before. About an hour in the night began the usual lightning and rain on mount *Ararat*; and we coming an hour after that to the bank of the river *Gavury-ciny*, which was much swollen and was to be forded, thought it more advifible to defer it till the next day. We lay in the village of the same name where there were many *Kurds*, having travell'd but eighteen miles. The smallness of the caravanfara oblig'd some *Turks* who were with us, to lie on the ground in the open air.

Sunday the 6th, at break of day we cross'd the river with a guide of the country, because, being two muket shot over, it is hard for strangers to ford. Then we rode along a plain country, some untill'd and some cultivated and improv'd with the cuts drawn from the neighbouring rivers to water the corn, and other grain; which has this great fault that it will not keep above a year. This day we travell'd thirty miles in eleven hours, and at night lay in the village of *Satarach*, where instead of sleeping, every man watch'd to guard his baggage, for fear of the country people, who are most expert at robbing of travellers.

Munday the 7th, we set out betimes, and held on our journey through a valley very dangerous for robbers. Being got out of it, at fifteen miles end we ford'd another deep river. Here we found the *Rattars* or guards of the roads, who demanded an extraordinary sum of me, and *F. Dominick*, so that I was forc'd to

make my way with pistol in hand. They still would not quit *F. Dominick*, who seeing they held his horse by the bridle would have the other pistol to fright the *Rattars*; but at last they seeing me resolute let him go, taking an abassi head. The guards being again crept into their cottage, we pass'd through another deep river, into a cultivated country, and two miles further another river call'd *Arpaci* or *Arpaju*. This river tho' divided into three branches is very rapid, and we had like to have perish'd in it. The stream before our eyes carry'd away for a large musket-shot, an *Armenian* catholic woman a horse-back with her son behind her, and she was never the least daunted; no more than was another that rode behind a *Turk*, for in *Persia* three or four will get upon a horse. When the water is higher by reason of the thawing of the snow, they pass it a league lower. Riding on along fields altogether untill'd, we went to lie by the caravanfara of *Keraba*, having travell'd thirty miles in eleven hours.

This structure was square, and one of the most capacious and beautifullest I had seen. There a plentiful spring of good water gushes out of a cut stone. The *Armenians* say it was made by *Sbem*, the son of *Noab*. As for this water's petrifying in a ditch ten miles off. Tac. lib. 1. Ta-chap. 4. Ta-chap. 4. Ta-chap. 4. *vernier* dreamt it, for none of the *Persians* or *Armenians* that were acquainted with the country, knew any thing of it; much less that the caravanfara was built with those stones.

Tuesday the 8th, riding fifteen miles we came to *Nak-civan*, whence *F. Dominick* went directly for the monastery of *Abarener*, whither he was bound, but with great fear of the *Rattars*, who are great thieves. I was left alone expos'd to their knavery, and they ask'd me

GEMELLI 1694. me twenty abassis for my horse, whereas the *Armenians* pay but two or three, and I had much to do to content them with nine. They use none so ill as they do the *Franks*, who must give them what they will have for fear of some affront, they being insolent in the highest degree. It may therefore be truly said that *Nak-civan* is the most troublesome place in *Persia*, on account of these *Rattars*, and like another *Erzerum* in *Turky*.

Nak-civan city. Some will have *Nak-civan*, to be the antientest city in the world, pretending that *Noah* when he came out of the *Ark* liv'd there; perhaps because it is but thirty miles from mount *Ararat*. They add that *Noah* was bury'd there, and they support their opinion by the etymology of the city, because *Nak* in the *Armenian* tongue signifies a ship, and *Civan*, staying. Whatever there is as to this point, there is a sufficient testimony of its antiquity in the ruins of its buildings reduc'd almost to nothing, by the continual wars; and particularly by the barbarity of *Amurat*, who utterly destroy'd it, leaving no token of the noble *Mosques* built by the followers of *Hali*, and held as profane by the *Turks*; for which reason wherever their arms come, they destroy them; as the *Persians* do by those of the *Turks*, through difference in religion, whereof we shall speak hereafter.

In the new city, there is but one long and narrow street, with one good *Bazar*, and four large and excellent caravanferas, for the conveniency of the many caravans, that of necessity must pass that way. The suburb is small, with houses built like caves. Near the city is a great brick-building, above seventy spans high, and octangular, ending like an obelisk. The entrance is through a great gate, within which, there are winding stairs up to two towers, that are on the sides, and have no communication with the obelisk. They say it was erected by *Tamerlane*, when he went to conquer *Persia*: The city and country is govern'd by a *Cham*.

Finding my self in the power of such base people as the *Rattars*, or guards, who threaten bastinadoing at the same time they demand their toll, I endeavour'd to fly the soonest I could. Accordingly, I provided that same day to go along with a *Persian* envoy, who was going to *Ispahan* to carry a present to the king. Having therefore hir'd two horses for my self and man for five abassis apiece, I set out of the city alone about three hours after night, to expect the envoy at a place appointed. Two miles

from the town I cross'd a river that falls into the *Araxes* on a good bridge of twelve arches, and at a small distance thence join'd the envoy: We held on our way through a plain country, cross'd by many cuts to water the fields, which made their waters run thick and muddy, as does the *Araxes* itself.

Having travell'd twenty seven miles in nine hours, we rested on Wednesday the 9th at *Zulfa*, to cross the *Araxes* there in a boat. *Zulfa* at present may be said to be altogether disinhabited, because *Scia-Abas* the first, king of *Persia*, transplanted all the inhabitants to new *Zulfa* in the province of *Guilan*, and to other places, that they might not be left expos'd to the continual incursions of the *Turks*; yet what remains of it under barren rocks, on the left of the *Araxes*, sufficiently demonstrates, it was no very considerable city, being a heap of mud, and of caves under ground. The two caravanferas built by *Coggia Nazar* an *Armenian*, one on the one side of the river and the other on the other, are also ruin'd; and therefore only a few *Armenians* live there, because but a mile from thence there is an excellent and fruitful soil.

The *Araxes* being here confin'd between two mountains is not narrow but deep, being swell'd by the water of that river, which three miles from thence we forded four times. It is thought to be the same that *Moses* and the holy scripture call *Gihon*, which springs in the terrestrial paradise, because it has its rise in the same mountain, and at a small distance from *Euphrates*, the one running east and the other almost west. The boat to ferry over the *Araxes* is ill built, and worse managed, having only two oars to bear it up, so that when it comes to the further side, the rapid stream carries it a musket shot lower than it should go, and then it must be hal'd up with a rope. The ferriermen have half an abassi a horse, and there is one appointed by the *Rattar* of *Nak-civan*, who delivers a letter seal'd in token that the duties are paid, which if it were omitted, they would oblige them to pay again; so base and deceitful is the officer, and he that employs him. There was formerly a stone-bridge, afterwards broke down by the king of *Persia*. Having pass'd the *Araxes*, we rode fourteen miles further in four hours, and lay at the caravanfera of *Deradus*, which not being big enough to hold all, we were forc'd to lie in the open air.

Thursday

Thursday the 10th, three hours before day, we entred into a valley betwixt two mountains, much frequented by robbers, and being out of it, travell'd over a barren plain to the caravanfera of *Alachi*, the whole journey being fifteen miles, in four hours. It is a brick building, large, and square, with four towers at the four angles. Then riding twenty miles further, we came to the village of *Maranta*. Here they say *Noab's* wife was bury'd. The village is large or rather a wood of houses, by reason of the trees and gardens among them, which hinder the sight of the mud-houses, at any distance. It is seated in an excellent fruitful plain, three miles in length, and two in breadth, with many more villages about it. Here is a great noble caravanfera, with four towers at the four angles, and a curious spring of the best water I ever tasted out of *Italy*. Four miles short of this place, I was met by the *Rattar*, or guards of the ways. These are more to be fear'd than robbers, because under colour of their employment they rob securely, being arm'd with knotty clubs (a weapon common to both noble and ignoble in *Persia*) like *Banditti*, and they cheat *Franks* more than any other people, exacting what they please of them without respect to the nature of the commodities; and because they do not open the bails, they will have as much for a parcel of rags, as for the richest jewels in the world. The common duty is five abassis a horse, but they are scarce satisfy'd with all a poor traveller has.

Friday the 11th, before day we entred upon a mountainous road, at the end whereof we met the other *Rattars* of *Schiachit*, who take an abassi a parcel. After riding ten miles in three hours, we pass'd by the excellent caravanfera of *Jangbet*, well built of brick, with four towers at the angles, and big enough to hold an hundred persons. Having travell'd as many miles more over a sandy plain, we came to the city, or rather forest of *Sephana*; for there are so many trees, and delicate gardens about it, that the houses cannot be seen till a man is upon them. Having stay'd there two hours, we travell'd eighteen miles further in six hours, and came to *Tauris* an hour before night. By the way I saw a hill on which they told me *Amurat's* army incamp'd in the year 1638, when he besieg'd, took and burnt this city. They tell it as a notable instance of sedateness of *Scia Sepbia* king of *Persia*, that he little or nothing concern'd

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at that news, said; *Let Amurat come forward, for he will destroy himself*; and at the same time gave orders, that all the waters about should be turn'd away, there being no other rivers beyond *Tauris*. His prediction prov'd true, for *Amurat* advancing with one hundred thousand fighting men through dry and barren plains, lost a great part of his army, and was forced to turn back with dishonour.

Tauris, or *Ecbatane*, is seated in the *Tauri* province of *Adirbeitzan*, (as the *Persians* call it) in 33 degrees of longitude, and 40 of latitude. It was once the metropolis of the empire of the *Medes*, whose original was eight hundred and seventy six years before the birth of Christ. There is nothing but the bare shadow of its ancient splendor now remaining, having been the stage on which the *Turks* and *Persians* exercis'd their weapons during the wars between those two monarchs. What remains now is a great plain, encompass'd on three sides with mountains like *Erzerum*; and it resembles *Erivan* in the mutability of the weather. Its compass is thirty *Italian* miles, by reason of abundance of gardens and open places in it. The houses are ill built of mud; but the *Bazars* and caravanferas are good, because the conveniency of its situation draws a vast number of merchants, as well *Muscovites* and *Tartars*, as *Arabs*, *Georgians*, *Mingrelians*, *Indians*, *Turks*, *Persians*, and several others with all sorts of commodities; more particularly with silk brought from the province of *Gilan*, and other places; so that a great number of people is employ'd in that work. Tho' its compass be thirty miles, and a *Jesuit* compares it to *Rome*, in his account of it, yet I do not believe it contains above two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, both because of the gardens and fields, and by reason the houses are but thin of people.

Sunday the 12th, I went to see the tower of *Scian-Cafan*, which some without any good ground for it, will have to be that of *Babel*, mention'd in holy writ. It is made of brick two hundred and twenty of my paces in compass, its diameter forty paces, and the thickness of the wall twelve, but it is ruin'd on two sides. A winding stair-case of one hundred and ten steps goes up to a room on the top of it, and on the out-sides of the walls of this room there are cyphers and characters. At the bottom is a place with iron gates, where the *Persians* say the founder lies bury'd.

Next, I went to see the *Atmeidan*. This is a great square, to which most of the merchants and artificers resort, because there is a better trade there

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than elsewhere. The chief thing sold there, are good horses, and those cheap, (for I bought one for ninety abassis, which at *Naples* would be worth three hundred) as also shagreen-skins, whereof there is a great consumption, all gentile people wearing shoes and boots of them. They make them of horses, asses, and mules hides, but only of the rump part.

The *Mosque* of *Hassan-Bajcia* being in this place, I went to see it. This structure was erected by the *Osmanlis*, without sparing cost or time. At the first coming in, there appears a front curiously wrought in brick, with reliefs of marble carv'd after the *Italian* manner in flowers, birds, and fruits of several sorts. The gate is all of one entire piece of white marble, like that of *Osmanla*, which leads into a cloister, or square court, and then to a treble arch, on the sides of the *Mosque*, without any ornament. At the end thereof there are two small gates to the *Mosque*, whose front with two high towers is of the same sort of work; but the tops of the towers are gone to ruin. The *Mosque* is only one great cupola of the same marble curiously wrought with *Arabick* characters in blew and gold, and in some places curiously painted with fine flowers, in others with odd fancies. The nich, whether few go to pray, is on the side of the *Meidan*, or square; therefore the gates are only on the sides answering to the two cloisters, which are uniformly built one on each hand.

The upper gallery of the *Mosque*, is from the cupola supported by twelve arches, three on every side, whereof those next the aforesaid east and west gates are equal, the others greater, but those on the north and south are kept shut. At the upper part of every angle there are as it were separate balconies, to see what is doing. On the sides of the nich are two curious marble-stones as clear as alabaster; on the left is a pulpit with an ascent of fifteen steps; on the pavement poor mats, because the *Persians* make small account of that *Mosque*, and think it polluted, as having serv'd *Osman's* followers. Behind it at the north-end is a large square garden, with trees of several sorts.

Near this *Mosque* is another structure, with the same outward ornaments, now going to ruin. They call it the place of waters, because there the *Persians* wash their dead. In the same place is a church belonging to the *Armenians*, almost fallen to decay, whether they say *St. Helen* sent a piece of the cross. At the end of the *Meidan* is a great pa-

lace built by the *Turks*, whilst they were masters of that place. Every evening there is a pleasant consort of drums and trumpets in a gallery of this place.

About noon, the *Cham*, or governor's lieutenant made his publick entry into the city, attended by five hundred horse he brought with him; besides one thousand five hundred that went out to meet him. But before we proceed, it will be convenient to say something of the other lieutenant his predecessor, who dy'd a little before in *Tauris*, because he was always a great friend to the christians, and especially protector of the *French Capuchin* missionaries, whom in publick assemblies he placed by his side, to the great regret of the *Persian* priests.

His name was *Sultan-Bigian Beg*, son ^{A notable story of a Persian.} to the great *Russian Cham*, call'd *Spasalar*, great general of the *Persian* army, which drove the *Osmanlines* or *Turks* out of the country of *Tauris*: The great *Russian* had a grandson; and *Sultan Bigian*, who dy'd *Cham* of *Erivan* was his uncle. His family had always kept in the king's favour, being of the blood of the *Georgian* princes. But *Bigian* was disgrac'd during the command of *Atmat-Dolet*, or the grand vizier his enemy, who made the king look upon him as a mad-man and drunkard. This man we speak of, seeing fortune frown on him, after governing *Sciamak*, retir'd to live a private life at *Tauris*, with twenty five servants, placing his greatest delight in drinking the best wine in the country. His nephew *Russian Cham*, now general of the army, and *Divan-Beg*, or chief of all the judges, being then in the king's service, and well advanc'd in his favour, he one day bid him ask some grace. He modestly answer'd he was satisfy'd with the honour and bread he daily receiv'd; but the king still pressing him to ask some grant, he said, *Since Your Majesty Orders it, I beg nothing but that you restore my Family to the same Honour it enjoy'd in the time of my Grand-father Russian*. The king ask'd whether he had any kinsman to prefer. *Russian* reply'd, *There was his Uncle Sultan Bigian Beg*; and the king enquiring, where he liv'd, he said, *He eat the Bread His Majesty's Goodness had left him at Tauris*. The king said, *That Mad-man, your Uncle Sultan Beg. He is not Mad, said Russian, but our Enemies have represented him as such to your Majesty; and if you please to let him appear in your Presence, you will be sensible how much you have been impos'd upon*. Well, said the king, send for him. Sir, reply'd *Russian*, we have sent for him several

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several times, and he would never come, nor will he now, without your special Command. I will do it, answer'd the king, and will send the son of a Cham to Conduct him. Sir, said Rustan, he is not in a Condition to present an Envoy of Your Majesty's, and therefore it will suffice to send him a written Order by an Express. In short, three expresses were sent with the king's orders in March 1692. He being a drinking, when they came, tols'd of a glass to the king's health, laying his majesty's letter on his head, and from that time never drank wine. Being come to *Ispahan*, he went to the *Ala-Capi*, or house of refuge to which all criminals retire; as also those who are sent for by the king before they know whether it is for their good or evil. The king being inform'd by his nephew that he was come, and lay in the royal house of sanctuary, order'd him to be brought out, and a good apartment fitted for him, because he would see him. *Bigian* being brought before him, two days after he receiv'd him very courteously, saying to him in token of affection, *Baba*, that is grandfather, you are welcome; and asking whether he drank wine, he answer'd, *That tho' he drank merrily during his Abode at Tauris, yet after receiving His Majesty's Orders, and drinking one Glass to his Health, he had never tasted any more.* Then the king causing wine to be brought, made him drink out of his own gold cup, and then smoke out of his gold pipe; then he gave him the post his father the great *Rustan* held of great general, but he generously refus'd it, pleading his age, and beseeching his majesty, if he thought fit to bestow it on his nephew *Rustan*; whose lieutenant at *Tauris* he was contented to be, the government of *Tauris* being ever united to the generalship, which the king graciously granted, and within a few months he went away to his government. 'Tis true, his nephew did not receive the profits belonging to the post of *Cham* of *Tauris*; for the great general never goes thither, but only receives a sum of money of the lieutenant he appoints, who make their advantage of the rest. This is the true history of *Sultan Beg*, the great friend of the *French Capuchin's*; and I hope the reader will not dislike this short digression made on his account.

During my stay at *Tauris*, I lodg'd at the *Capuchin's*, who have a good church and monastery there, through the bounty of *Mirza-Ibrahim*, who was intendant of that province, and a great lover

of the liberal sciences, wherein he would ^{GEMELLI} be instructed together with his sons, by ^{1694.} *F. Gabriel Cbinon*, then guardian.

Sunday the 13th, passing through the *Atmeidan*, I saw a man gently beaten on the soles of his feet with a wand, being bound to a high post, at which they shoot with arrows upon publick festivals. Then I took notice of certain religious *Persians*. They wear a turbant like the *Turks*, with a border about it, and the middle part sharp, and cover'd with red cloth.

After dinner, I mounted a horse-back, and rode about the city. We pass'd over several bridges on the river *Sebenkaic*, which runs through the midst of *Tauris*, and has excellent water; but sometimes it swells so high, that it over-flows a great part of the city. I observ'd there were among the houses several corn-fields, as well as orchards. There are also in them several tombs, some round, and others in other shapes, ending sharp at top, and cover'd on the out-side with excellent black and blew tiles, full of characters and *Arabick* letters. Returning to the monastery, I met a man a horse-back, with a turbant after the *Turkish* fashion, a feather on the forehead, and on the sides two upright horns of tin fix'd to the turbant, between which stood up a thing shap'd like a cylinder, cover'd with red and blew silk. They told me it was a *Giarci* (there are four of them in the city) which are chiefs of the sergeants, and serve to proclaim the price of bread, and the sentences given by the governor, and his lieutenant.

Money falling short to continue my journey, and pay for the horse I had bought; a catholic *Armenian* of *Zulfa*, whose name was *Malacby*, lent me eighty crowns to be paid him at *Ispahan*, upon my bare word; a courtesy I should scarce have met with in *Chriftendom*.

Monday the 14th, I went to see the *Scien evi* royal palace call'd *Scien-evi*. I thought ^{palace.} to have found a noble structure, but was disappointed, for the first floor was only three rooms and a gallery, which leads into the garden. A man must have a care here not to tread upon a certain round piece of white marble; because the *Persians* holding it in great veneration, as a stone of *Mortafale*, whoever should transgress would be bastinado'd. I saw there two indifferent gardens with almond, and apricot-trees, whereof there is great plenty in *Tauris*, and several sorts of roses. In one of them was a small apartment, to take the air in summer: Having given
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GEMELLI the gardiner a gratuity, I went on to take a better view of the *Mosque* of *Osmanlu*, which is the best in *Tauris*, and the *Persians* let it go to ruin as polluted and heretical; because it was built by the *Sunnis*, who are followers of *Omar*, as was said above. This structure is square, and the front of it over the great gate, to which there is an ascent of eight steps, is curiously wrought, almost like *Mosack* of curious blew, purple, black and white tiles, with two high towers closing above like a turban, cover'd with the like work, but rais'd. Within there are winding stairs, but that on the left was half beaten down by lightning. The *Mosque* within is adorn'd with curious painting, after the *Moorish* fashion, and with ciphers, and *Arabick* letters in blue, and gold. The gate of the *Mosque* is not four foot wide, but all of one piece of transparent white stone, twenty four foot high, and twelve in breadth. Here is a

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rissake in the author mentioning two several breadths, which I know not how to reconcile, the reader may judge of it. The cupola is thirty four paces diameter, with the same sort of work within, scarce to be out-done by the curious pencil. It is supported by twelve marble pillars within, and by sixteen without, which are very high, and each of them six foot square, with niches on the out-sides to leave the shoes, as is practis'd by the *Mahometans*. About it is a rail with doors to go from one side to the other. There is a way round three parts of it, for the fourth leads to another less cupola, but more beautiful, and gilt. The pavement is of bright marble, like that of the front, and the pillars are cas'd with it eight spans from the ground. This cupola is curiously adorn'd about with a sort of violet-colour work, set off with flowers of gold; and the pavement is two spans lower than that of the first. The outside of the great cupola is cover'd with green tiles, with small white flowers, and the other with white stars on a black ground, which are pleasant to behold. Within the *Mosque* on the left hand, is a walnut-tree seat rais'd upon six steps leaning against the wall of the first cupola; and on the right another of the same sort, but better workmanship. About it is a small rail, with fourteen steps up to it. On the south-side there are two great transparent stones, which look red when the sun shines on them. This they say is a sort of alabaster, made by the petrifying of the water, a day's journey from *Tauris*, where it soon hardens in a ditch.

It is much esteem'd by that nation, who place it on their tombs, and make cups and other curiosities of it, which they present as a rarity at *Ispahan*. All people unanimously affirm'd it was petrify'd water; denying that positively which *Tavernier* speaks of at the caravanera above-mentioned.

On the other side of the street, opposite to this *Mosque*, is still standing the front of the palace of the great priest, or *Shec-Iman*, artificially built of several colour'd stones.

In my return home, I went to see two heathen temples, call'd *Uria-Schiageret*, that is, master and scholar. They are both of them at a distance from the street. That on the left, coming into the city, is the least, and square, with two great gates, and thirty windows about it. The cupola which had been round, was fallen. The temple on the right is of the same structure, but much bigger. Between the great gate and the *Atmeidan*, there are two vast pillars standing, which appear to have supported another temple near the other two. The fronts are of the same workmanship before-mentioned; but the structure, tho' very thick, is of good brick, and so antient, that it cannot last long.

Two musket-shot further is the curious large front of a *Mosque* of the same workmanship, going to ruin. Going in (leaping over the marble of *Mertofale*) there appears a fine large garden full of several sorts of trees and flowers; at the end whereof there are some great fabricks, which they say belong'd to an old *Pagan* temple, call'd *Alusian-Tagbi*, which had two gates on the sides, and one in the front. There is also a great square enclos'd with good brick walls, which serves upon publick rejoycings.

Taking the advice of the *Capuchins*, who courteously entertain'd me as their guest, I left the company of *Persians*, to prevent being robb'd by them on the road, or at least by the *Ratters*; who because they are not paid by the *Mahometans*, among other insolencies, delight in stripping a *Frank*. These fellows are so insatiable, that no purse can hold out to satisfy them, as has been said before; tho' in *Tauris*, because it was a city, they took but five abassis of me. For this reason I resolv'd for the more safety to expect some company of merchants, who do not use to travel unprovided.

Tuesday the 15th, a *Jesuit*, a bare-foot *Carmelite*, and an *Augustinian* set out for *Erzerum*, after they had been several days in the same monastery of the

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Capucins. They rode on horses of their own bought at *Tauris*, there being none to hire, but when caravans go. These fathers had gone before by the way of *Bagdat*; and when they came to *Karmanica*, a city on the frontiers, four days journey from *Babylon*, the *Cham*, or *Bassa* would not suffer them to proceed; so that they were oblig'd to turn back to *Hamirdan*, by the way of *Tauris*, in order to go thence to *Aleppo*, or *Trabezond*, and thence to *Constantinople*; but in their return they were robb'd by the *Raitars* both of their cloaths and money, especially the *Portuguese Augustinian*, who lost eighty crowns, and was imprison'd with his servant; nor did the other two *French* fathers meet with better usage.

Salt mines. We must not forget to observe, that about *Tauris* there are good mines of white salt; that within the city there are excellent fresh waters, to which there is sometimes an ascent of fifty or sixty steps; and that there is a mint as well as at *Eriuan*, where during my stay, they coin'd abassis.

The *Capucins* monastery being near the *Meidan*, every evening at sun-setting, I heard the ungrateful musick of drums and trumpets, being the signal for all persons to shut up shop, and for the guards to scour about the *Bazars*. At the same time the *Mullabs* cry out from the tops of houses, not from the towers like the *Turks*, calling the people to prayers. About an hour and a half after night, an untuneable drum beat, being the sign for all persons to keep within doors; after which, none may go without a light, upon pain of imprisonment. Two hours before day the same drum beat again; to give notice to shop-keepers, that the guard, or watch was going off, after having walk'd about the *Bazars* all night, and therefore every man must look to his own.

Wednesday the 16th, F. George of Vendosme, a Frenchman, and superior of the monastery, carry'd me in the morning to see the *Bazar* built at a vast expence by *Mirza-Sadoc*, whilst he was great, and intendant of the province of *Abdergiam*, all cover'd with large bricks, or tiles hardned in the sun. Near it we saw a caravanfera, a bath, and coffee-house, built by the same man, with a prodigious trench fifty foot deep, sixty in length, and forty in breadth, to keep ice, taken out of a pool, where the water soon freezes. Close by it is a college to instruct the *Persian* youth, with a *Mosque* in it.

Next we went to see the *Mosque*, call'd *Vol. IV.*

ravanfera, coffee-house, and ice-house made by *Mirza-Ibrabim*, brother to *Mirza-Sadoc*, who had the charge of *Mustofi Mumalsk*, or high chancellor. There is a great gate to the *Mosque*, whose front and cupola are curiously adorn'd with tiles of several colours ingeniously plac'd. First there is a fine, but small garden, on the one side whereof is a little, but neat *Mosque*, with two little towers on the sides, handsomely cover'd with the same tiles. Opposite to it is a divan with such like towers, and a great fountain of water before it to make the dwelling the pleasanter, all adorn'd after the same manner with stones. At a small distance is another little *Mosque*, set off after the same manner.

Thence we went to the palace of *Mirza-Taer*, son to *Mirza-Ibrabim*, then vizier of *Abderbegiam* (the best of four there are in *Persia*) in his father's place, who was employ'd in receiving the revenues of two provinces. The outward structure was of mud, made but a bafe appearance; but going in, I saw a fine garden with several water-works, and beautify'd with trees and flowers. Thence I went to see the summer apartments; the *Aram* or womens apartment, and a stately divan, tho' not finish'd, to administer justice; all adorn'd with marble, and well enough painted after the country fashion. On the two sides there were four curious marble stones fix'd in the wall, being almost as fine as alabaster, with a great fountain in the middle. Here I much admir'd the simmetry and proportion the *Persians* observe in their apartments, as well in the windows and balconies, as in the roofs and paintings. On the other side of the garden was the winter apartment then finish'd, with a little divan, but curiously painted, and gilt with several flowers in blew and gold after the *Arabian* manner. We also saw another little but curious garden, and another divan well set out, adjoining to which there were very delicate little rooms, all gilt and painted, with some looking-glasses fix'd on the wall, opposite to one another, as also a chimney adorn'd with the same glass, which with the reflexion of the sun dazzled the eyes. The floor was cover'd with good *Persian* carpets, and in the rooms there were alabaster fountains to please the eye; the whole well enough contriv'd by the ingenious *Persians*, according to the aforesaid *Mirza-Taer's* good fancy. He has also built a good caravanfera in the *Meidan*, which

G g is

GEMELLI is therefore call'd *Mirza-Taer*, and another where money was actually coin'd; both of them large and good structures. He has also an admirable garden on that side of the city next *Ispahan*, in which there are all sorts of *European* fruit, and by it two pleasure-houses. Near this palace are those built by *Mirza-Sadoc*, and *Mirza-Ibrahim*, his father and uncle, which are truly magnificent both as to their structure, and inward ornament.

Returning by the mint, I went in to see a large cupola close by it, which the *Persians* call *Esfara*, in which were the richest, and most valuable commodities of the city. Near it is the goldsmiths, and silversmiths street, with stately arches of curious brick, but cover'd like all the streets and *Bazars* in the east.

Superstition of barren women.

Thursday the 17th, passing through the place where the gallows stands, I took notice of a superstition, or folly of the barren *Persian* women; who go three or four times under the gallows, whilst the bodies of malefactors who were actually hanging; which I should scarce have believ'd, had I not seen it. They imagine the dead body can infuse fruitfulness into the womb, and make them breed children; and so they conceive, and hold it for certain. That passing several times over the aqueduct, which conveys the water from the bath, where men are actually bathing, they receive the same virtue of conceiving. I believe the bath may make them fruitful, but not the gallows with the dead bodies.

Instead of razors, the men pull up their beard, and the women their down with pincers, which puts the men to great pain, drawing out the root that it may not grow again, for they fear

that if they should take it off with an ointment, as the *Turkish* women do, the skin would grow hard.

Three miles from *Tauris* is a gold mine, but the cost being greater than the profit, they have given over working at it. Four days journey from the same city is another of copper, which brings a great income into the king's coffers.

Whilst I expected the setting out of one *Jus-Bafci*, a *Georgian* renegado, who was to go to the court of *Ispahan*; to avoid idleness, I rode to take the air out of the city, in the company of a *Frenchman*, who was acquainted with the country, and well known by persons of quality. When we had gone two miles, we saw upon the right hand on a mountain, a bridge fifty paces long, with stately arches, of no use to the publick, because there never was any water there, nor is it possible to carry any thither. Asking what that bridge was built for, they told me that a *Mullah* desiring to be spoken of by the king had built it; knowing that *Scia-Abas* the first, king of *Persia*, was to come to *Tauris*, and could not come any other way. The king accordingly coming, and enquiring after that useless structure, the *Mullah*, who was at hand answer'd. *Sir, it was I that built it, that when your Majesty came you might enquire who did it.* Others say it was built by a woman.

Going two miles from thence, and looking towards the north, on a mountain not far distant from the city, I saw the ruins of a *Mosque*, and below it a fort and temple both destroy'd, and abandon'd by the *Persians*, as being built by the *Turks*; but there is a monastery entire on the brink of the precipice.

CHAP. III.

The Description of the Cities on the Road to Kom.

Returning to the monastery in the evening, I was inform'd that the *Jus-Bafci*, who is a captain of one hundred men of the country troops, was upon his departure; therefore making the best provision I could in haste, I set out at two in the morning on *Friday* the 18th, with *Malacby* the *Armenian*. We went to the *Jus-Bafci*'s house, and stay'd half an hour till he was ready, after which he mounted with only twelve followers, most of them unarm'd; and this because, tho' the king pays for one hundred men, either he has them not, or else lifts townf-

men, who have never handled weapons, and makes his advantage of their pay. We travell'd all night over the plain between barren mountains, and at break of day after riding twenty miles in seven hours, came to the caravanfara of *Sciemi*, built betwixt those mountains by *Scia-Sof*, king of *Persia*. It is a good structure, with a noble front fit to contain one hundred persons, and their horses; because the country between *Tauris* and *Ispahan*, and *Ormuz* and *Ispahan* is inhabited, and there is need of such good large caravanfara.

Here

Caravanfara in Persia.

Here the *Rattars* are, who take an abassi for ever; horse; but I paid it not on the score of the *Jus-Bafci*, who was much respected on that road. Having first climb'd, and then gone down a prodigious mountain, we pass'd by a lake full of wilde geese. Thence there are two roads to *Ispahan*; the one through *Ardevil* and *Cashin*, leaving the lake on the right, and riding along the mountains; and the other through *Kom* and *Kafcian*, leaving the lake on the left. This way we took, riding ten miles through a well-cultivated country to the village of *Agia-Aga*, to which we came before noon. There we found a good caravanera; but *Malachy* and I lodg'd in a *Turk's* house. The night at this time of the year is very cold in *Persia*, and the day as hot as in *Italy*. We lay still the remaining part of *Saturday* the 19th; And,

Sunday the 20th, waiting for the cool of the night to set out, my horse getting loose, took such a run, that I thought I should never have seen him again; but a *Moor* mounting another, follow'd and brought him back. At sun-set we continu'd our journey over the plain, and there fell a mighty rain, which lasted several hours, making it so dark, that we could not see our way; so that we wander'd half the night. This oblig'd us to take a guide at a village, who conducted us to the caravanera of *Guilach*, having rode fifteen miles in six hours. My horse falling in the dark into a ditch, broke one of my pistols, and I was well wash'd.

Monday the 21st, we rested about an hour in this caravanera; and then set out to enjoy the cool air; not that our lodging was bad, the caravanera having been built with great cost by a rich citizen of the province of *Guilan*, whose name it bears. Ten miles from it we pass'd by the caravanera of *Dautler*, built with stone, whereas the others are of brick. In *Persia* there are good caravaneras every four leagues. Eight miles further we came before noon to the village of *Caraciman*, seated in a valley. The country we travell'd through that night was plain, but the next day mountains, yet well cultivated, there being no part of it wast; and I can avouch, there is no plain so green on the frontiers of *Persia* or *Turky* at that time of the year. This is the reason that provisions are so plentiful, that a man may have bread enough to serve him a day for a tornefe of *Naples*, which is less than a penny. But the ground is stiff, and they are

forc'd to plow with four or six oxen; GEMELLI 1694. a child sitting on the yoke of the foremost to keep them going.

The *Jus-Bafci* would needs have me dine with him, expressing much kindness, a thing rare among the *Persians*, who make a scruple of eating with christians, and think their touching of meat, pollutes it; but he being a *Georgian* renegado was not so precise. During the dinner he told me all his life, saying, he was the son of a prince of *Georgia*, and had but lately recover'd his liberty, after two years imprisonment at *Tauris*, where he had chains on his hand, neck and feet, having been misrepresented to the king by his enemies, and being now restor'd to favour, he was going to see the king, and a brother he had that was surveyor of the mint, whom he had not seen for fourteen years past. Others told me he had been imprison'd on account of his extortions in some villages of *Armenians*, where he had the command, who at last sent their complaints to court. We discours'd about the opportunity the king of *Persia* then had, of making war upon the *Turks*, and how easy it were for him to conquer what he pleas'd. He said, he and every body else desir'd it, but that the king being wholly taken up with the pleasures of the *Aram*, let slip so favourable an opportunity.

The sun being almost down, and the heat of his rays abated, we set forwards and travelling twenty one miles in seven hours thro' an uneven country, but cultivated and well peopl'd, we came to the village of *Jus-Bafci-Candi*, leaving behind us the open town of *Turcoman*, seated in the midst of a valley. The *Jus-Bafci* continu'd his *Persian* civility at dinner, making use of his hand instead of a spoon, and taking up the rice by handfuls to put into mine, and *Malachy's* plate; a swinish civility in *Europe*, but a great compliment in *Asia*. There the rice is brought in one dish, and the flesh in another, which are distributed by the chief of the guests. When dinner was over, the *Jus-Bafci* stood a good while with his hand up in the air, waiting for warm water to wash off the grease.

Some of the inhabitants came to see me in this village, the report being spread abroad, that I was an ambassador sent to the king, by the christian princes, and would not make known my character, till I came to *Ispahan*. They were the more easily induc'd to believe it by their own practice, because they receive any person as an ambassador, that brings but a letter of recommendation

Caravan-
eras in
Persia.

Eusebius
of the
Persians.

GEMELLI
1694.
dation to the king from any prince in *Italy*; and therefore he that comes in this nature, is receiv'd with great honour by the first *Cham*, upon the frontiers, who at the king's expence conducts him to another governor's liberty, till he is brought to the king at *Ispahan*. Several merchants procure such letters, to spare the charge of customs, and the guards on the roads, as also to be carry'd all the way at the king's expence. Here we were warn'd to be upon our guard for fear of thieves; because the inhabitants of the village of *Miana* being run away, not being able to pay the taxes, and having no other way to live, many of 'em wandered about to rob travellers. This did not much fright me, knowing they were most of them unarm'd.

We rested here all the remaining part of the day in a *Persian's* house, and set out towards night. An hour after a good shower of rain fell, which made it so dark that we were forced to take a lantern and a guide. After three hours riding the *Jus-Bafci* would rest near a river. We set forward again two hours before day, and travelling over barren mountains and valleys about sun-rising, after riding fifteen miles in five hours, found our selves in the aforesaid village of *Miana*, a dirty place, as being seated among marshes. There was no soul in it; for as I said, they were all fled, leaving their houses and goods. There were only two *Rattars*, who durst not come near us. We saw an excellent caravanera new built, and another gone to ruin. The country was not bad, and will certainly be peopled again.

A high
Mountain.

Four miles from the village we cross'd the great river of *Miana*, where there was once a bridge of thirty arches, whereof only six are now standing. We forded over all the four branches it is divided into, the last of which is so deep, that in the winter there is no passing it a horse-back, but on camels. Then we ascended a mountain call'd *Kaplanu*, the highest in the road to *Ispahan*, which on the other side has a long upright descent to the river, over which there is an excellent bridge of three arches, newly built, call'd *Casiosan*. This river as well as that before mention'd, after crossing the province of *Gilan*, where they are both of them drawn out into several trenches to water the corn, run down to the *Caspian* sea. The villages about this mountain pay nothing to the king, because they belong to the *Mosque* of *Ardevil*, where there are some tombs of

king's of *Persia*, and that of *Scia-Sefi* accounted a saint, for which reason all the *Persians* go thither in pilgrimages. That *Mosque* has eighty thousand crowns revenue, distributed among the poor, and the priests belonging to it. Not far from the aforesaid bridge is a rock apart from the rest, where there appear some remains of ancient fortifications, and of a castle on the top. The *Jus-Bafci* told me a woman had built that fort, she whilst the liv'd being posses'd of the city and places about the mountains, which could never be taken from her because of the narrow passes on the hills. Having travell'd thirty three miles in eleven hours through a barren country, abounding only in liquorice and thieves, we halted before noon at the caravanera of *Sin-Malava*, seated on a mountain, with seven well built towers, which at a distance make it look like a castle. There were abundance of partridges all about, but as hard as stones, and of another colour and tast than ours; there are some like ours, but on the mountains.

It is not so safe travelling in *Persia*, ^{Dangers on the road in Persia.} as I had thought; for a man may light upon robbers, or *Ciapars*, which are the king's messengers, who carry letters from one province to another, by order of the governors or princes. These have authority to take away any man's horse they meet on the road, which they usually send back a day or two after, and they but a stranger to very great trouble.

The *Rattars* having intelligence sent them by the *Odabafci*, or overseer of the caravanera came in the evening, but, seeing the *Jus-Bafci*, durst not demand the duty; but asking him leave to practise their cheating power upon me and *Malaby*, he chid and sent them away.

Wednesday the 23d, about night we continu'd our journey, and about two hours after began the usual rain with thunder and lightning. Two hours before day we pass'd by the caravanera of *Sarcesma*, well built of brick, with four towers at the four angles. So we travell'd fifteen miles in five hours and a half through a barren country, and unfit for plowing. Having rested an hour and a half, we advanc'd twenty five miles further in seven hours and a half, and came at last in the morning, to the village of *Nubba*, where we unloaded the beasts in the caravanera call'd *Nickbe*. To avoid ^{Caravan. I ferus de ferio'd.} so often repeating the same thing, I must observe once for all, that the caravanera's in *Persia*, are all built with brick, after the same model, and are large and magnificent; but so uniform and

and well proportion'd, that they are not inferior to the best structures in *Europe*. About the court are the rooms for travellers, who if they will not put their horses into the large stables, which are behind, may tie them before their rooms to a stone with a hole in it, plac'd there for that purpose. In the stables over the mangers, there are niches for the muletiers or grooms to lie, who naturally love being there better than elsewhere. This caravanera of *Nichbe* has four towers at the angles, and an excellent front, where on a long piece of fine marble, the founders name and quality is writ in *Arabick* characters; for these caravaneras are commonly built by rich persons for the benefit of their souls. The lower part of the structure is of white and red stone, mix'd like marble.

Having rested the remaining part of *Thursday* the 24th, we set out before midnight by the light of a lanthorn, which was not so clear but that we went out of our way twice, which we afterwards found out by the natural brightness of the serene air. Having travell'd twenty four miles in eight hours through an uneven country, we came to *Zangan*, a large town, but dirty, whose houses were ill built with mud, and in no order. But there are excellent gardens with variety of fruit and flowers, as also trees for fuel, planted by the industry of the natives (a rarity in that part of the country, where there is not a tree to be seen all about to shelter a man) and with that wood they give the fire some nobler matter to feed on, it being generally made of the dung of their beasts. What I most admir'd, is, that tho' there was such scarcity of trees, yet the gentry and country people all carry'd clubs in their hands, which they call *Afeu*.

We thought to have gone on that same day to *Sultania*, but considering the horses had the day before travell'd forty miles and better, and to save exposing our selves to the sun, we alter'd our minds, and stay'd in a coffee-house, where we rested all *Friday* the 25th, enjoying the fresh air all the while by the noise of a cold large spring which rises in the midst of it, preferring our stay here before the good caravanera at *Zingan*. The *Rattars* came to the coffee-house, but durst not demand anything. After supper we mounted, ten *Turks*, and two of the king's soldiers joining us. We travell'd without a lanthorn through a plain dry country, the sky being bright, and passing by the little

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caravanera of *Difa*, at the end of nine miles, at break of day on *Saturday* the 26th, after travelling fifteen miles further we came to *Sultania*.

This city was formerly several times the court of the kings of *Persia*; and the great structures laid level with the ground, make it appear that it would still be one of the best cities in the kingdom, had it not been destroy'd by its own kings, and not by *Tamerlane*. There still remain the ruins of three *Mosques*, whose cupola's and towers were cover'd with tiles of several colours. One of them has the two front towers still standing, but without the tops, by reason of their extraordinary height.

Sultania is seated in a valley, whose greatest breadth from east to west is not above three leagues. Its compass is of many miles, because of the abundance of fields, gardens, and ruin'd houses there are in it. Some few poor houses still standing are ill contriv'd; the *Bazar* is only one long street, and the caravanera but very indifferent. The air is not wholesome by reason of the neighbouring marshes. It is govern'd by a *Cham*, to whom the adjacent parts are also subject. We should not have taken the way of *Sultania*, but another two miles from it on the left, where is the usual caravanera for the caravan of *Isfahan*. We came this way because the *Jus-Basfi* had some business. The *Rattars* came to us to play their part, and went first to *Malacky*, who to avoid paying feign'd himself a *Georgian*, and inquiring after me, told them I was a *Frank* that went to *Isfahan* to serve the king. Hearing this, and seeing us with the *Jus-Basfi*, a person in authority, they took our words. The same man sav'd me a toman, which is worth nineteen crowns of *Naples*; which was the sum a servant of the king's messenger demanded to pay all the *Rattars* their due.

That same day we set out two hours after night, having first fitted the *Jus-Basfi's* servants pistols, for fear of robbers. We travell'd all night through a plain country well cultivated, without meeting any suspicious person; but had there been occasion, we must have built a small fort to plant a falconet, one of the king's soldiers that was with us carry'd instead of a musket; for my part I could scarce lift it from the ground, nor can I imagine how he could fire it. After three leagues riding we pass'd by the caravanera of *Allab-buper*, and then by that of *Tahse*, and having travell'd

Hi

twenty

¹⁶⁹⁴ **General** twenty eight miles amidst mountains in ten hours, came on Sunday the 27th, to *Habar*. We should have pass'd through the village of *Xorandera*, but took this way for our conveniency.

Habar
city.

We found out this ancient city, as it were in a labyrinth of large and curious gardens, enclos'd with mud-walls and high poplar-trees. In the gardens there are good apples, pears, cherries, plumbs, grapes, and other sorts; as also the finest roses in the world; so that as the time of the year then was, a man could not desire a pleasanter place to pass his time, than amidst the cool and fragrant solitudes of this city. We lay in a small caravanera of a muddy structure, as is the fashion of that country, with very cool arch'd small rooms. Near to it was a large *Mosque* much decay'd, particularly the cloister, in which was a fish pond with good cool water.

As for the city, tho' ruin'd, it is of a vast compass, because of the gardens, which make all about them look more like a wood than a city.

We mounted again two hours after night, in the company of ten of the townsmen known to the *Jus-Bashi*. Having rode eighteen miles in five hours over barren plains, we pass'd by the village of *Parsein*, encompass'd with good gardens, and furnish'd with a convenient caravanera. Here we met a great man with a retinue of fifty men a horseback, and a *Giapor* that conducted him.

All the country about this place being fruitful, is well peopled, but from thence forward barren and untill'd. We met here a caravan of a thousand horses going from *Ardevil* to *Tauris*. Holding on our way still over a plain country; after riding twenty six miles in six hours, we set up before noon in the small caravanera, seated in the village of *Xeare*; the other great one without, being gone to ruin. Here we wish'd for the cool waters of *Zangan*, *Sultania*, and *Habar*, this place affording none but what was very bad and brackish. This village was once for the most part upon the hill, but many houses going to ruin, as being built with mud, several families are come down to live in the plain. The soil produces good wine and fruit.

Monday the 28th at sun-set, we continu'd our journey by moon-light, and riding eighteen miles in six hours through a barren uncultivated country, came to *Senava* where we rested till day. This village is on the plain, and has good houses and gardens, and a caravanera. It is famous for good nuts.

Tuesday the 29th, continuing our journey, we saw a sort of wild cattle feeding on the plain, which are very good meat, call'd by the *Perfians*, *Geiran*, or *Garellis*, which we have not in *Italy*. Their hair is like a buck, and they run like dogs without leaping; at night they feed on the plains in flocks, and in the morning return to the mountains. Having travell'd twelve miles further in four hours, we put into the village of *Karajanch*. Here we enjoy'd the cool air under tall maple-trees there are along the side of a brook. No village in *Persia* is without one, which is the cause of the continual greenness of the fields, and of the plenty of pleasant fruit-trees in their many delightful gardens. Thence we went to dine in certain houses built on purpose for the entertainment of travellers.

In the afternoon came the country *Rattars*, and entering my room, very much admir'd my buckskin-breeches for riding. Some of them said they were *Dutch* cloth, others that they were leather. *Malacky* being ask'd the question, to play upon them, said, I was a wrestler, because the wrestlers in *Persia* wear such. They answer'd, I was too lean for that sport, but *Malacky* knowing that their wrestlers exercise themselves daily in lifting and carrying great weights, answer'd, I was grown lean with too much exercise. The fellows said they would be glad to see it, and some of them would wrestle with me. Come in the morning, said *Malacky*, and you will see him do such things as will astonish you; but as for wrestling he will not be guilty of murdering any of you, for he would certainly throw you so that you would never rise. But he will go to *Ispahan* and do all the king shall order him. Thus we diverted the tedious hours of the day, playing upon their ignorance, and passing the time till the *Jus-Bashi's* servants had dress'd a lamb for supper. At last the *Rattars* taking *Malacky* for a *Georgian*, and me for the king's wrestler, went away without any money; for near *Ispahan* they are not so insolent, and dare not abuse a *Frank*; especially if they believe he is going to serve the king.

Mounting again in the evening on *Tuesday* the 29th, we proceeded on our journey, and riding near twenty miles in six hours, came to the caravanera of *Rebe-ginp*. This caravanera is large and well built, with a lofty arch at the entrance, and four towers on the angles, tho' seated in a desert plain, without any village near it. Then travelling twelve miles further

Cheep travelling in Persia.

Messen-gers.

The Jus-Bashi.

ther in four hours, we rested at such another caravanfara call'd *Koschkeria*. Then going on as many miles more on *Wednesday* 30th, we came to the caravanfara and village of *Dongb*, where the two aforementioned roads to *Spaban* meet: Three miles from this is another good caravanfara, for those that come from *Ardevil* and *Cashin*. That of *Dongb* is singular for structure; for whereas all the rest have rooms about the court with arches before them to sleep in summer, and places behind for the horses, this on the contrary is only a continued row of open arches, the founder being resolv'd that travellers should lie cool there all weathers. The structure is of good brick, and all the front is a large inscription, containing as I was told, the founder's name and peculiar virtues. At a small distance is a good fountain of cool water.

Cheap travelling in Persia.

Before we proceed any further it is proper to observe, that it is very cheap travelling through all the dominions of *Persia*. For in the first place, whether a man buys or hires a horse the rate is very easy, and provisions are sold for a small matter, by reason the *Persians* are sparing and temperate; living a whole day upon a little cheese, or four milk, in which they dip the country bread, which is as thin as a wafer, insipid, and of the colour of a pumice-stone. At noon and night they add to it a little rice, or *pilao*, sometimes boil'd in fair water. I was not able to hold out with that fare, and sometimes made provision of eggs and lamb in the villages we pass'd through; treating the *Jus-Baschi*, as I did my self also with good wine and brandy. Only wood is dear there, and therefore instead of it they make use of dung. About *Dongb* I took notice of the folly of the natives, who tho' they have excellent grapes, do not know how to preserve the wine, but put the must under ground into cisterns daub'd with lime.

Messengers.

That very morning we met an express a-foot coming from *Spaban*. He had six horse-bells hanging about his girdle, just like the mules of our messengers. This they do both to be known, and to cheer them to walk. Those that serve princes may have to the number of twelve, and others according to their quality.

The Jus-Baschi.

To return to our *Jus-Baschi*, his behaviour was rather like a courtier than courteous; for if he eat or drank, he said it was for my sake; and I would have been glad he had been more sparing of his favours. He also represented it as a great piece of respect and civility that he did

not buy a horse, knowing I was about ^{GEMELLI 1694.} him.

That same *Wednesday* about evening we set forward, without fearing the change of weather and rain, as we did at *Tauris*. Having rode twelve miles in four hours (I measur'd the way after this manner, because the *Persian* differ from the *Turkish* leagues, and are not always alike) we pass'd by a caravanfara; and ten miles further gone in four hours, we came to the city *Sava*, where we lodg'd in a caravanfara made of mud.

The city *Sava* is seated in a fruitful ^{Sava city.} plain, with abundance of villages about it; and looks handsome, tho' many of the houses are of mud. The walls which are four miles in compass, are fallen down in several places, only wash'd away by the rains; which has been the fate of the fort standing on the top of a hill. There would be good *Mosques* were they not ruin'd with age. The principal trade of this city consists in certain small long furs, which not only the *Persians*, but all the christians of the east use for lining their garments and caps.

Leaving the city *Sava* on *Thursday* the 1st of *July*, five miles from it, we saw on a high ground another ruin'd fort, in which was a good cistern, because all about there, tho' they have good brooks, they use rain-water, and seven miles beyond that we cross'd a river. We found the country well cultivated, and abundance of villages for above three leagues; and after twenty miles riding came to the caravanfara of *Giavar-Abad*; the largest and best in *Persia*, were not a great part of it fallen down, and out of use. Therefore they have built two others near a good spring, where almost all travellers lodge, and we stay'd after six hours riding.

The *Jus-Baschi*, whose name was *Melich-Sader-Beg*, had invited me and *Malachy* to a village of his an hours riding from *Sava*; and we not to displease him, had promis'd to go dine there one day. Being to go that same day, we understood he was gone to the bath, and therefore we thought fit to proceed on our journey, charging his servants to make our excuse for us; and the more because perhaps he would have stay'd long in his village to gather money, whereof he stood in need. This village was given him by the king for his life, ^{Pay of a Jus-Baschi.} besides fifty *Tomans* a year, the common pay of the *Jus-Baschi's*, which amounts to 950 crowns of our money, it being usual, over and above this, to give all those

^{1694.} *GENELLI* those that have deserv'd well, and are in favour, a village, which is worth to them 1000, or 2000 crowns a year. This the king particularly practises with the *Georgians*, to remove them far from their country, that they may not think of revolting. But before he gives them any employment, he causes them to be circumcis'd either by fair means or by foul; knowing that tho' they be not themselves, yet their children will be absolute *Mabometans*. The same misfortune had happened to our *Jus-Bafci*, once *Cham* of the province of *Gori* in *Georgia*, who, blinded with interest, renounc'd christianity; which his mother and sisters would not do, tho' carry'd for that purpose to *Ispahan*. Yet discouraging together several times he told me, he was not well pleas'd with the king; and that if he did not make good to him 200000 crowns he had been a loser by his imprisonment, he would certainly go to *Rome*, and become a catholic; where, getting letters of recommendation from the pope, he would go into *Hungary* to serve the emperor against the *Turks*, he well knowing what to do on the *Black Sea*, and the country about it, and that his nephew was already gone away to *Venice* with ten thousand crowns. Six *Georgian* servants he had were no better *Mabometans* than he, having suffer'd themselves to be circumcis'd only to follow their master's fortune, never regarding to pray after the *Mabometan* fashion, and cursing that false prophet.

Night coming on, we set forward thorough a barren country like that we had travers'd before, and riding nine miles in three hours, saw the mountain of *Giavar-Abad*, of which they say *Ider-cait-mas*, that is, he that goes to it returns not; it being an old receiv'd opinion among the *Persians*, that many who have attempted to go up it never came back; nor have they any probable reason to give for it. No man therefore dares go up for fear of death; but I who am not credulous of such stories, would certainly have gone had it not been night. Being but nine miles from the city *Kom*, we held on our way thither, but the moon setting, we stopp'd at a small distance from the city, expecting day to go into it. Accordingly on *Friday* the 2d of *July* in the morning, we found our selves in a fruitful plain about two miles in compass, and then crossing a small river on a bridge of ten arches newly built, went to rest us all that day in a caravanfera.

Kom city. *Kom* is seated in 83 degrees of lon-

gitude, and 35 of latitude, and is about ten miles in compass, but as well the walls as houses have been in great measure beaten down by the rains. Neither are the squares beautiful, nor the *Bazars* and shops rich, there being scarce any thing but provisions. But there are several *Mosques* that might be call'd beautiful, were they not let run to ruin, the natives not regarding to repair old buildings out of the vanity of erecting new ones; and they told me that any man who was well to pass would think himself miserable, should he die without founding some *Mosque*. The caravanferas are convenient, and some of them have a floor up stairs. The fruitfulness of the soil plentifully supplies the city with grain, and all sorts of fruit. Here is good *Turkey* leather of all colours made, for the *Pa-puces* or shoes.

That same day, taking a guide along with me, I went to see a *Mosque* held by the *Persians*, in equal esteem with that of *Ardevol*, because in it are the tombs of *Scia-Sefi*, and *Scia-Abas* the second, kings of *Persia*; as also that of *Sidi-Fatima*, the daughter of *Iman-Hacen*, who was the daughter of *Hali*, and of *Fatima-Zubra*, the daughter of *Mabomet*. The great gate of it opens to a long square (with shops on both sides, and a caravanfera next the river) over which is an inscription in gold letters containing the praises of *Scia-Abas* the second. This leads into a longish court, looking more like a garden, because of the many pine-trees there are along the way, and this way is also enclos'd with two low walls, to secure the roses, and other flowers in the middle. On the right hand, coming into this court, there are small rooms, where the poor eat their allowance of rice, flesh, and bread daily given them for the alms of the *Mosque*, according to the intention of the founder. There are other rooms for debtors who are not able to pay, to retire to, who are also maintain'd by the *Mosque*; to the great loss of the creditors, who can expect no honest composition from those that live free-cost, without any care. The first court leads to the second, which is bigger and longish, like the other, with trees about it, and lodgings for the inferior servants of the *Mosque*. At the end of this is a gate into a third square court, about which are the dwellings of the *Mullabs* or priests, and in the middle a curious fountain of spring-water. Ascending twelve steps made of brick, at the foot of a curious front, adorn'd with several colours, is the entrance

A *Mosque* much more

Fatima's tomb.

trance there temple behold that a middle right that of alms a this middle Being who we books, up, and one about That into the was an in the n ma, gra so dispr nefs of room en wall. This rich pall silver bar placed in same me other; at hanging a the *Mosque* lumns, t is curious

WE of heard from square, the July, about journey. four hours lage of K of the five place. Saturday day on a which last to the car fresh water for the use being new leagues ab found a d by a hot most takes Vol. IV

trance into the fourth court, in which there are also some lodgings, and the temple or *Mosque*, which is beautiful to behold on the outside. Of three gates that appear in the front, that in the middle leads to the *Mosque*; that on the right to the aforementioned tombs; and that on the left to a hall, where the alms are given out to the poor; with this difference, that the threshold of the middlemost is cover'd with silver plates. Being come to this place, the *Mullabs*, who were within reading in certain great books, as soon as they saw me, stood up, and made signs to me to come in, and one of them very civilly led me all about; contrary to what *Tavernier* says, That christians are not permitted to go into those places. I found the *Mosque* was an octagon, with eight little doors; in the midst was the tomb of *Sidi-Fatima*, grand-daughter to *Mahomet*, made so disproportionably big to the smallness of the *Mosque*, that there was scarce room enough to pass between it and the wall.

Fatima's
tomb.

This tomb is square, cover'd with a rich pall of silk and gold, and round silver bars about it, sixteen spans long, placed like lattices, with knobs of the same metal, where they cross one another; and many silver and gold lamps hanging about. From the pavement of the *Mosque*, up to the top of the columns, that support the cupola, there is curious workmanship in the tiles, of

several colours; and the cupola and arches are set off with *Arabick* fancies drawn in gold and azure. On the right hand coming in, is a large room cover'd with good carpets (as is the *Mosque*) where the alms are given to the poor, who stand in the room adjoining, to avoid confusion.

Going up three steps still on the right of the *Mosque*, and passing through two doors, I came into a stately hall cover'd with carpets, and thence through another door to the tomb of *Scia-Sefi*. It is like an altar four spans above the ground, and cover'd with cloth of gold. The room is arch'd with four doors on the sides, one of which is shut, and answers to the tomb of *Sidi-Fatima*; another leads to a little cloister, and the fourth to the tomb of *Scia-Abas*, the second. This tomb is cover'd with a red silk; the place is round, with small niches in the walls for ornament, and good carpets on the ground (as in the other) and about it great books for the *Mullabs* to read. The walls are all garnish'd with gold and blew, and tiles of several colours handsomely plac'd after the fashion of the country. Returning thence I saw another good *Mosque* near this.

That of
Scia-Abas.

The *Rattars* of *Kom* are not so rude as in other parts, for they took nothing of me. In this city there is a mint, but they did not coin when I was there.

CHAP. IV.

The Author continues his Journey to Ispahan.

WE departed the city with the sound of drums and trumpets that were heard from the *Meidan*, or market, or square, that same day, being the 2d of *July*, about sun-setting, to continue our journey. After riding twelve miles in four hours, we came to the large village of *Kassum-Abad*, and rested in one of the five caravanfara's there are in that place.

Saturday the 3d, we set out with the day on a sandy way, and very barren, which lasted six hours, and fifteen miles to the caravanfara of *Abcirim*, that is, fresh water; because there is a cistern for the use of all the caravanfara's, there being never a drop of water for five leagues about; so that by the way we found a dog dying for thirst, occasion'd by a hot wind that blows there, and almost takes away ones breath.

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We set out again towards evening that same day, and at five miles distance pass'd by the little village of *Sinsin*, and eight further by that of *Nasfar-Abad*, quite destroy'd; but shewing the ruins of good buildings, where we rested a while in the open air, till *Sunday* the 4th, at break of day: When, departing thence, we came two hours before night to the city *Casfian*, after riding twenty miles in eight hours. The soil for only three miles about the city was fit for tillage.

The city *Casfian* is govern'd by a *Casfian Cham*, like *Kom*, and is but little or nothing less in compass. Its length is three miles, and the buildings not so much ruin'd as in the other. The *Bazar's* are light, and well contriv'd, in comparison of the others, which are every where dark, and ill order'd. Two

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GEMELLI of them particularly deserve to be seen, where among other trades are the braziers, who make all necessities of brass and copper. The streets are also very good, and so the caravanera's, which are large, and well built with two apartments. We saw a stately one on the right hand, without the gate we went in at, with two great courts, in one of which was a cistern of water, whither the merchants in summer carry their beds to lie cool. Both above and below, all about the doors of the rooms there is curious workmanship of bricks of several colour. Those caravanera's within the city, are not built for the good of the souls of the departed, but for private interest, every body paying four abassis a month, or four casbis a night. The principal trade of this city is wrought-silks, on which account an infinite number of merchants resort to it from *India*, and other parts of *Asia*. *Malacby* shew'd me three ells and a half of *Taffeta* two spans and a quarter wide, which he bought for two abassis, which is about eight carlines of *Naples*, about three shillings six pence *English*.

King's
house and
gardens.

I went to see the king's house and gardens near the road we came. A brook runs through, and divides one of these gardens; and along it there are orderly rows of pines, and other trees of several sorts, whose variety is pleasing to the eye. About the garden there are also two ranks of cypress and pine-trees, making a delightful shade with their never-fading green. The other garden nearer the city has also abundance of water, and the trees planted in the same order, by which it appears how much the *Perfians* exceed the *Turks* in ingenuity. The king's house (which like all the rest, is a sanctuary for malefactors) has an indifferent front of tiles of several colours, according to the fashion of the country, and good lodgings within. Before this house was a troop of horse, curious to behold, for the variety of fashions the soldiers wore on their heads; for some had turbants, others plain caps, others plumes of several sorts, and others had a perfect cylinder in the middle of the same cloth of the cap. Drawing near to observe the characters, that were over the gate, one of those soldiers being angry that I had not made obeisance to it, according to their custom, made me do it on my knees, with my forehead on the stone of the threshold, as to a royal and sacred place.

To return to the city, tho' it has a

double wall about it, yet that is so ruin'd, that there is no need to go about to the gates. The best of them was that we enter'd at, which is handsome without, and has a passage through high arches to the *Bazzars*, some of which have particular doors to shut at night, when the noisy signal is made with fics and kettle-drums from the *Meidan*.

That same *Sunday* we proceeded on our journey, and going out of *Casfian*, I perceiv'd the soil was nothing better, than what we had travell'd over from *Kom* thither. Among other mischiefs, there blew such a hot wind, that it oblig'd me now and then to lay a wet handkerchief upon my bare skin. After riding twelve miles in four hours, we came into valleys, and then ascending, rested some time in the caravanera of *Giaur-Abad*, well enough built in those solitary mountains. Six miles thence we came to the pools made by *Scia-Abas*, the second, king of *Persia*, the better to supply *Casfian* with water in summer, in case the rivulet that runs thorough it should not suffice, and yet it is not very small. They say he had them made, because finding once the city deserted by the inhabitants for want of water, he promis'd to remedy that evil, and soon after caus'd a wall above a hundred paces in length, thirty in thickness, and fifty in height, to be built between two mountains, to keep in the rain-water in winter; and afterwards distribute it as need requir'd, through seven sluices there are in it. They shew a house close by, whither they say the king went to forward the work.

Monday the 5th, riding six miles by break of day, we rested a while at the village of *Cone*, seated amidst the mountains, which have not a foot of fruitful land. But the valley in the midst of them makes amends, with the plenty and goodness of all sorts of fruit growing in its gardens (which are wall'd in with stone) caus'd by the plenty of water, tho' they do not ripen so soon. The nuts are excellent, and there is such plenty of them, that they supply several places. Other provisions are dear. There are two caravanera's, the one a good stone-building, the other of mud.

The moon rising, we mounted again, leaving behind us the barren mountains at the *Caravanera* of *Agaka-mala*, which is well built. The country, tho' plain, was as barren as the mountains, and therefore tho' near *Ispahan*, there is no village to be seen for thirty miles.

Tuesday the 6th, we set up betimes in the little caravanera of *Agaka-mala*, a good structure,

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4. p. 434

structure, which is twelve miles from the great one of that name, and nine from *Cone*; but the miles are so long they might be counted thirty of bad way.

A road of
salt.

In the darkest of the night we met a company of *Armenian* merchants, travelling to the province of *Gbilan*, and *Malacby* told me that there is no going thither from *Casbian*, without riding twelve hours along a road of pure salt, on which it is very hard to find some little water in cisterns.

Being eager to see *Ispahan*, we set out betimes the next day, and riding fifteen miles in five hours, saw the ruin'd village of *Micanor*; then advancing twelve miles in four hours we pass'd by the poor caravanfera of *Aganuri*; and still continuing our journey with horses much tir'd by the dry barren ground, on *Wednesday* the 7th, about break of day we rested at the little village of *Gafsi*; where there is a very large caravanfera, built by the king. From this place to the city, the country is fruitful, producing all sorts of grain and fruit, for which reason it is very full of villages and houses of pleasure. Setting out after noon we travell'd nine miles, and four hours after entred the

city, which at a distance look'd more like a wood than any thing else; this 7th day of *July* being just a year since I set out from *Redicina*.

I was a long time considering with myself, where I should lodge, having my choice of the *Carmelites*, the *Jesuits*, and *French Capucins*; and at last resolv'd to take up with the *Portuguese* fathers of *S. Augustin's*, as well to learn their language, which is much us'd in *India* and *Cbina*; as because theirs being the first nation that settled in those parts, they are much esteem'd by the king. They receiv'd me with extraordinary civility, giving me the best apartment they had in two arch'd dormitories that compose their dwelling. These arches are curiously painted with blew, and gilt after the country fashion, and look into a fine garden artificially divided into squares for several sorts of fruits and flowers.

The church tho' small is beautiful, as are the sacristy and refectory, the structure being very good. The fathers liv'd well enough, having the best meat the place afforded, dress'd by a *Portuguese* cook; and being serv'd in other affairs by twelve men, three blacks, two *Arabs*, three *Armenians*, and four *Indians*.

CHAP. V.

The Description of Ispahan, and the most remarkable Things in it.

Ispahan
city.

Ispahan, *Spaban*, or *Spabon* in the *Persian* tongue, is seated in 90 degrees of longitude, and 32 and 40 minutes of latitude, in the province of *Hierac*, formerly a part of the ancient kingdom of the *Parthians*. Its a large and fertile plain, is enclos'd on three sides, like an *Amphitheatre*, by a ridge of mountains, ten or twelve miles distant from it. It is believ'd to be built on the ruins of the ancient *Hecatompolis*; but it plainly appears to have proceeded from the union of two small villages, the one call'd *Hay-deri-dey-deri*, the other *Guybare-Hamet-Ilay*; for which reason to this day there are these two contending factions of *Hay-deri*, and *Hamet-Ilay*, and their disputes sometimes end in blows.

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verb. *Ispahan*.

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Tom. 5. l.
4. p. 434.

Yet the *Persians* say it was formerly call'd *Sipaban*, but that *Tamerlane* afterwards subduing those countries, transposing the two first letters, call'd it *Ispahan*. Their modern authors still write it *Ispahan* sometimes. Whilst the kings of *Persia* kept their court at *Casbin*, and *Sultania*, *Ispahan* was no better than a village; but the kingdoms of *Lar* and

Ormus being afterwards united to the crown, *Scia-Abas* remov'd his seat thither for the conveniency of its situation, being invited by the fruitfulness of the soil, water'd by so many trenches drawn from the river *Sanderu*, and supplying most of the houses in the city:

The compass of the mud-walls of *Ispahan* is in all about twelve miles, with small towers, and a ditch full of water, but shallow, near which there are rows of trees to take the cool air. I was curious to walk round it, but in several places the way was interrupted by garden walls, joining to those of the city, or by some publick structures. Nevertheless if we include *Zulfa* and the other suburbs, with all the fields and gardens within them, the compass will be little less than thirty miles.

On the south-side at six miles distance is another mountain, on which may be seen the ruins of a castle, where they say *Darius* stood to see the second battle *Alexander* fought with the *Persians*.

Ispahan has ten gates, call'd *Der-Toczi*, *Der-Dext*, *Der-Abassi*, *Der-Lombun*, *Der-Daulet*,

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1694.

GEMELLI *Daulet, Der-Mod-bac, Der-Affan-Nabat,*
1694. *Der-Herrum, Der-Seet-Hamedeyun, and*
Der-Guibare; which are small, ill made,

and cover'd with iron. The keys are kept by particular officers; but the walls being down in several places, there is free entrance by night on all sides.

Streets.

The streets are narrow, crooked, and uneven, and many of them dark by reason of the arches that cover the *Bazars*, and serve to walk dry in rainy weather from one house to another. Did not the wholesomeness of the air make amends for the negligence of the people, the dirt of the streets would breed many distempers. At certain distances there are sinks shut in summer and open in winter, to give passage to the water into the shores under ground; besides there is a trench before every house to throw out their filth, which the gardeners take away to manure the ground. Another great inconvenience is the dust in summer and dirt in winter, there being no pav'd streets throughout all *Persia*; and tho' there be persons appointed to water them three times a day, yet they only do it in the *Meidan*, and other places where rich merchants live, who are able to pay them. The same is done with the cold water others carry in skins, within sacks full of ice, to give gratis to any that will have it, they being paid out of the revenues left for that charitable purpose, by *Persians* deceased.

Add to this the filthy custom of casting out dead beasts into the publick places, as also the blood of those the butchers kill, and that the *Persians* ease themselves wheresoever they have occasion. So that I cannot imagine what reason one of our *Italian* writers had to compare *Ispahan* to the neat and beautiful city of *Palermo*, whereas the former is so far from having any street like the *Cassaro* in the latter, that the meanest house in *Palermo* far exceeds the best in *Ispahan*, which, excepting some few belonging to the king and great lords, are all of mud walls, with only some bricks dry'd in the sun intermixt at every four spans. The higher they rise, the narrower they grow, else they could not bear their own weight; and because these walls easily moulder away, they only stop the gap with a little mortar, and they are terrass'd at the top. Tho' the structure is so bad, yet it costs much money; every dauber that makes the walls being allow'd eight carlines, that is, three shillings and six pence; and the labourers about three carlines, near eighteen pence.

The general form of the houses, is Houses to have a portico in the middle with a fountain, or cistern of water. On three of the sides there are windows at the top to receive sufficient light, underneath small arches to take the cool air, and rows of rooms with lattices curiously painted at the windows. Further in there is generally a great room, where there are quilts and pillows stuff'd with cotton to sleep on. The ground is all cover'd with good carpets suitable to the quality of the owner. The palaces of great men seldom exceed two floors, and on the four sides of the portico have two arch'd rooms to each, all adorn'd with *Arabian* painting of several colours. In some rooms built for the women, there are commonly lattices of wood well painted, or of marble cut through with glass in the holes. The roof, as I said before, is after the *Neapolitan* fashion, and in summer they lie upon it because of the great heat. It is made of earth mix'd with lime and bruis'd straw, and with bricks burnt with fire, and they are very careful in winter not to let the snow lie long upon it, for fear of pressing it down.

The *Persians* put their best furniture in those rooms, where they receive visits, in all the rest there is nothing of value. The floor being cover'd with carpets, they lie on it, being satisfy'd with a quilt under and blanket over them.

Ispahan is so populous both on account of the wholesomeness of the air, and the convenience of trade, that they call it half the world; and not without reason, as well for the diversity of tongues spoke there, as for the prodigious wealth of its *Bazars*, and shops of all sorts of commodities.

The father prior of the monastery where I resided, understanding that my horse was quite spent, on Tuesday the 8th, order'd the best in the stable to be saddled for me to make use of. Mounting him I went out attended by his servants to take a turn in the city. The first thing I saw was the tower the *Persians* call *Monar-Kale*, built by *Scia-Abas* the great, covering it all with the bones of wild beasts he kill'd in only one days hunting. They say that the workman telling him there wanted but one head to compleat the work, he caus'd his to be set in the place. It is about eighty spans high, and not above forty in compass.

Thence I went to see the *Dutch* companies house, where I found *James* their agent shooting turtle-doves in the garden, which was delici-

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ous for its fountains and curious rows of trees. After we had drank merrily he shew'd me a dozen horses and mares, the finest any monarch in the world can be master of, as well for mettle, as the curious spots of several colours, not inferior to the finest figure, nor could a painter colour them to more perfection. Thence he led me to see his little house of sport, where he had ten hawks fit for all sorts of birds, and beasts, with servants to look to them; a custom they have learnt from the *Persians*, whose greatest delight this is. He had several pipes of gold and silver set with jewels for those to smoke in that came to bear him company, by his fish-pond. In short, he liv'd great in all respects.

Friday the 9th, the father prior of the barefoot *Carmelites*, the father provincial of the *Dominicans* and other *Franks*, gave me the favour of a visit, the provincial inviting me to a consecration that was to be two days after.

Saturday the 10th, I rode several hours about the best streets and *Bazars*, seeing vast wealthy shops of all sorts of commodities. *Sunday* the 11th, I went to *Zulfa* with the father prior and three *Portuguese* religious men; and alighted at the monastery of the *Dominicans*, where the ceremony was perform'd by the archbishop of *Abraner*, an *Armenian* of the same order. Here twenty four of us din'd, among whom was the pope's ambassador, monsignor *Pidic*, consecrated archbishop of *Babylon*, who was to depart for his residence at *Hamedan*; father *Elias* a *Carmelite*, archbishop elect of *Ispahan*, another *Sciran* catholic archbishop, the ambassador of *Poland*, the father rector of the *Jesuits*, and other religious and lay men. There was merry drinking the excellent wines of *Sciras* and *Ispahan*, during the dinner of most exquisite varieties; the pope's and the *Polish* ambassadors, and the archbishop of *Ispahan* doing me the honour to drink my health first. Not to trouble the guests, it was left to the last to drink the pope's health standing, as all did, every man holding a great nosegay in his hand, which went about.

Both going and coming, we pass'd through noble *Bazars*, and through the street of *Sciarbach*, so call'd, because both sides of it are shut in by four gardens of the kings, and in the *Persian* tongue, *Sciar* is four, and *Bach* a garden or orchard. It begins at a delicate pleasure-house with galleries curiously painted, which have a communication with the royal palace, and this

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way the king comes out when he goes to *Zulfa* to divert himself, or to other gardens. It runs a mile in length to the bridge, and is a musket-shot in breadth. The water runs along the middle of it in an handsome canal of stone, making four great pools in this length. On the sides there are two orderly rows of *Cinar*-trees, which are like the plane, within the walls, and two without, under which there are two pay'd paths, each of them four foot wide, and as high above the rest of the way, for people to walk in the shade free from the horses. Hither the *Persians* come in throngs to divert themselves; smoking, or eating fruit at several shops, neatly built along it. Short of the bridge this way is cut by a branch of the river of *Sanderic*, which runs parallel to another, made after the same manner. To go to *Zulfa*, the bridge over the same river *Sanderic* or *Ruicuria*, must be pass'd. It consists of thirty five arches in length, and as many across; in the intervals whereof the natives stand and smoke, and take the air. Above there are two walls sixteen spans high, and as long as the bridge, leaving a convenient space in the middle, and as much towards the walls as several persons may go abreast, all along adorn'd with arches and niches, at due distances.

Beyond this bridge is the other street or way like this, above two miles long. At one end on the left is a pleasure-house, call'd *Teckci-Seis*, built by king *Scia-Sofi*, for a *Darvis* his favourite. Fifty paces further there are two more, though not so large, yet equally beautiful. Then two other fine structures with balconies above, to have the view of a curious fish-pond in the middle of it. Here the ground rising, to hold on the same way, there are two streets to ascend, between which is a structure, to keep the ground even. On both sides at convenient distances there are little houses of pleasure, with curious fronts, through which there is a passage to several of the king's gardens adorn'd with trees of all sorts.

After enjoying such a curious prospect upon so long and noble a way, we came to the king's great garden call'd *Azar-gerib*, three miles in length, and one in breadth. The first that occurs is a stately front with double rows of balconies next the way, and excellently painted next the garden, like the house, with figures after the *European* manner, in gold and blue. At the four angles are four fine towers, as well for

Kk ornament,

GEMELLI

1694.

GEMELLI

1694.

ornament, as to serve for dovescotes. In the middle is a canal of water, which rebounds pleasantly as it runs over the well-wrought stones; and in other places, the ground being uneven, has delightful falls, which like glasses, reflect the green of the *Cinar*-trees growing along it. Further on opposite to the gate, is a great pool of water, with two galleries on the sides painted after the *Moorish* fashion, where the king uses to stand to take the air. Going still forwards there is a little house in the midst of the canal, under which is a mighty vault to contain water; besides that which, for the diversion of the royal family, is cover'd with a roof delicately painted, and supported by wooden pillars. About the house, there are balconies to enjoy the pleasure of the canal, on all sides. Further on the rising ground, there are two other little pretty houses painted like the rest, for the women of the *Aram* to take their pleasure, who have also a little boat to pass their time on the pool there; and there is another house for them at the end of the canal and garden. On the sides there are other canals for those whose business it is to water the plants, and walks. In short, this garden, what for extent, and what for the beauty of its trees, and variety of fruit and flowers, may compare with the best in *Italy*.

The park. In our return we saw the park, where there were little above twenty tigers, lions, and other wild beasts. Here we also saw three *Pars*, which are small creatures about the bigness of a cat, with which they use to hunt deer, and other game, loosing these creatures after them, when the hawks having fastened on their heads, hinder their flight with their wings.

We met the general of the horse, called *Saperfelar* (we stood till he was pass'd) with fifty soldiers before him, beautifully clad, having plumes of feathers of several colours on their heads. He was about fifty years of age, well-countenanced, and wore great whiskers.

A wonderful shower.

Sunday the 11th, the prior of *St. Augustin* shew'd me, a bit of a root about as big as a fitch, like liquorice, whereof a great quantity fell the year before from the sky, in the village of *Ciafe* in the province of *Meirva*. The matter was thus: There was so great a scarcity in that province, and particularly in the aforesaid village, by reason of the bad harvest that year, that several people every day dy'd for mere hunger. An honest woman one day went out with

abundance of people into the fields, and with many tears, implor'd the divine mercy, that all might not die so miserably. God, who never fails us in distress, heard her prayer, and caus'd this root, like a heavenly manna to shower down from the sky, for three miles about, during a night and a day, and such vast plenty of it, that it was three spans thick on the ground. Gathering it, they made bread, of which the king and many great men at court, tasted; and thus the famish'd multitude was reliev'd. I should never have believ'd it (nor do I think the reader will be easily convinc'd) had it not been attested to me, by all the religious of *St. Augustin*, father *Elias* of *Mons*, a barefoot *Carmelite*, and bishop of *Isfahan*, with all the fathers of his order, the *Armenian* bishop of *Nack-civan*, the ambassador of *Poland*, the father rector of the *Jesuits*, all the *French* that were in the king's service, and all the *Persian* persons of quality I spoke with. I sent a bit of it to my friend the councillor *Amato Dario* at *Naples*, for him to shew it to curious persons.

Monday the 12th, began the persecution an expulsion of the barefoot *Carmelite* fathers of *Zulfa*, the *Divan* Beg, or government of *Isfahan*, going thither in person to carry the king's order: the reader I suppose will not be displeas'd with the relation. Those fathers having of late years settled a little house at *Zulfa*, they thought of enlarging it, and building a good church. To this purpose they bought the house of an *Armenian* for fifty tomans, given them in alms by a catholic, but through neglect they omitted to register the purchase in the king's books, according to the custom of *Persia*. The heretick *Armenians*, being set upon obstructing the work already begun, made a great clamour, pleading the king's order, which prohibits the exercise of any religion in *Zulfa* but the *Armenian*; the fathers on the other side, thought they ought not to give over their work; having the king's leave to build in any part of his kingdom whatsoever. From words it came to actions; for two thousand *Armenians* assembling, went to break open the *Carmelites* gate, and they had doubtless committed some outrage, had not the ambassador of *Poland* sent his people to keep them off. The catholics of *Isfahan* had several meetings to put a stop to this growing evil, but could make nothing of it, because the *Armenians* were rich; and one *Stephen Vert-abiet*, or preacher, having gather'd 3000 tomans, that

that is 57000 crowns of Naples, had presented the queen mother, and the king's favourites, and by that means obtain'd the order he desir'd. The first thing the *Divan Beg*, who put it in execution, did, was to ask father *Elias*, whether he had any instrument, or deed to shew for the sale. The father could shew none, because it was not in due form; and on the other side the seller, being threatened by the hereticks, said he had not fold it, but that being indebted fifty toman to the monastery, father *Elias* had taken it from him by force. He deny'd, alledging he had bought it legally, with the consent of the seller; but the *Divan Beg* interrupting him, said, *What, do you take the king's subjects houses away by force, without any deeds to shew?* At the same time order'd all the works to be demolish'd, and shutting up the monastery, seal'd the gates. Father *Elias* asking, *Whether that was the usage they gave the king's guests in Persia?* The other answer'd, *That therefore it was they did not proceed to punish them more severely.* The *Divan* returning to the city, sent twelve of his men to command father *Elias* and his three companions in the king's name, immediately to depart *Zulfa*; and not presume to set foot there again, upon penalty of 100 toman. The good fathers set out amidst that rabble, that was to conduct them by order of the governor of *Isfahan*; but by the way they met two fathers of *St. Augustin* (sent to meet them out of civility by father *Gaspar dos Reys*, prior of the monastery where I lay) who mounted them on their horses. Being come before the *Divan*, they with much difficulty obtain'd leave to remain in the *Polish* ambassador's house. The mutiny had been great at *Zulfa*, and no less the joy of the hereticks, who with extraordinary insolence, threaten'd to expel the *Jesuits* and *Dominicans*; relying on the protection of *Aga-Camal* (a black eunuch, the king's favourite) the queen-mother, and several great men, for which reason the aforesaid ambassador thought fit to send his retinue, to guard the *Jesuits* house. There being reason to fear that all the catholick missionaries would be banish'd, the aforementioned father *Gaspar*, and other *Portuguese* fathers, who were in great esteem, went on Tuesday the 13th to *Zulfa*, to acquaint *Vert-abiet*, that if he intended to expel the other religious men, as he had done the *Carmites*, it would be look'd upon as an open declaration of his being an enemy to catholicks; and if so, the king of

Portugal, and other catholick princes ^{GESELL 1694.} would not fail to take their measures accordingly. Adding, that as a friend, he forewarn'd him, that this indiscreet zeal of his would be the cause of all the mischief that should befall the *Armenian* merchants in christendom. Tho' this *Vert-abiet* was a hot-headed old fellow, and answer'd at first that he valu'd not kings when the salvation of his flock lay at stake; yet the prior and his vicar, who was excellently skill'd in the oriental languages, manag'd it so discreetly, that they prevail'd with him, before their faces, to teat the *Rogam* or king's order for banishing all the catholick fathers; declaring he did it for their sakes.

It is not to be admir'd, that all these fathers having *Rogams* for their foundations, the *Armenians* should so easily obtain others contradictory to them; because the king liv'd in stupidity, being altogether govern'd by others. The life he led, can scarce be call'd life; for no sooner did he awake from the profound sleep, caus'd by the brisk wine of *Sciras* and other places in *Persia*, but he fell to drinking again, and when he could not hold the glass, his cup-bearer gave him three bumpers. Then being somewhat recover'd, he took three more with his own hand, till being again overcome with the fumes of wine, he lay down to sleep; and thus he spent his days between sleeping and a shadow of waking. He could not forbear drinking as he sat in council; and very often sleep overcoming him, the assembly broke up without doing any thing. Persons of credit told me, that *Scia-Abas* the great, having slain the king of the *Usbecks*, he made a dish of his skull set in gold; and that the king we now speak of, out of his barbarous and bloody inclination, using to drink out of it upon solemn occasions, it once happened he did so in the presence of that king's successor's ambassador. He ask'd him in jest, *whether he knew what that dish was made of?* and the other answering, *he did not*; he said, *This is your king's head.* The ambassador turning away, very discreetly answer'd, *No, king was happy amidst his misfortunes, in dying by the hand of so great a monarch; but to me he appears much more glorious at present, since I see his memory preserv'd by so mighty a king as your majesty.* This answer was so well taken, that for the future the ambassador was deny'd nothing he ask'd.

Whilst

GEMELLI 1694. *Whilst the Portuguese fathers labour'd with much christian charity about the affair of Zulfa, another no way contemptible accident happened on Wednesday the 14th. The king's order was notified to Coggia Marcara, a catholick Armenian, for him to pay 500 tomans. Some said this was because he had been concern'd in the last troubles, by assisting father Elias; others, and this was the most probable opinion, said it was, because having alter'd his religion, he had not embrac'd the Mahometan, as the laws of the realm direct. They said, that the Divan Beg being inform'd of it, had sent to ask the opinion of the Axond (who is the chief in religious matters, and judges of weddings, divorces, buying, selling, bartering, and other contracts, whether they are valid or not) and that he had declar'd he ought to be burnt alive. The king thinking this sentence too severe, chang'd it into a fine of 2000 tomans, but afterwards, at the request of Marcara's daughter, who was in the Aram, he came down to 550.*

Punishment of an Armenian convert.

The Armenians not satisfy'd with persecuting the catholicks, us'd their en-

deavours to do all the ill offices they could to the ambassador, who supported their cause. The Vizier had some months since given him his answer, that the king did not design to break the peace with the Turks, and the ambassador pressing to be dismiss'd by the king, these base Armenians represented him in such manner to the ministers of state, that on Thursday the 15th, they again sent him orders to be gone; adding, that since he was not satisfy'd to be dismiss'd by the prime minister, they would send an inferior person to do it; refusing at the same time to give him the allowance for three months since he was first dismiss'd, and a suitable attendance to go away, much less to pay the hire of his house, for the time to come.

Friday the 16th, as I was at dinner with the fathers, the ambassador came in, and sitting down among us, said, he would certainly be gone for Poland by the last day of August, whether he had the kings answer or not; since there was no likelihood of the Persians engaging in a war against the Turks; as his master desir'd.

CHAP. VI.

The Description of the Meidan and Royal Palace, and an Account of some Passages that happened.

The Meidan.

THE Meidan or square I went to see on Saturday the 17th, is the best structure in Spaban, built by king Scia-Abas; being made by the model of another, now ruin'd near the monastery, where I lay, where there liv'd a prince of the Persian race. It is a quarter of a mile in length from north to south, and about half that breadth from east to west. It may compare with, and perhaps exceed the best squares in Europe, in the uniformity and beauty of the arches, shops, windows of the second floor, and of all its other parts. There is this difference betwixt it and that of St. Mark at Venice, that the arches of the Meidan are shut up with walls and portico's at convenient distances, to give way to go in; whereas in Venice they are open. The front of this last is adorn'd with marble and statues, and the other with bricks. But on the other hand the Meidan is much larger than St. Mark's place.

The shops below serve for trade, and the rooms above to live in, being all arch'd. About it is a stone canal, which has not water at all times, or in all

places, and sometimes it stands in several parts of it and stinks. Of all the trees Scia-Abas caus'd to be brought thither, there are but few standing, and they have neglected to plant others in the place of those that decay'd.

The royal palace has two principal gates, one call'd *Ala-Capi*, the other *Daulet-Cuna*, near the Meidan on the west side of it. That of *Ala-Capi* leads into a long walk, where there are small rooms for the criminals that retire thither, as to a safe sanctuary. The king cannot refuse to hear their complaints, perhaps of wrongs done them by his ministers, because being there, they think themselves under the shelter of his mercy. At the end of this lane or way is a gate call'd *Hali*, on the threshold whereof is a round stone, held in great veneration by the Persians. Over it is a great square balcony with the roof nobly gilt and painted, and supported by twenty wooden pillars adorn'd after the same manner. About it hang several pictures of Europeans with dishes in their hands, to flatter the prince's humour. In the middle of it

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Vol. I

is a delicate fountain, to which the water is convey'd with much labour and expence. This place is open on three sides, and on the fourth is the royal throne; because he uses to come thither to see all the publick rejoycings or sports in the great square. The most diverting is that of the arrow, the king causing a gold cup to be hung to a tree, which is given as a reward to him, who riding a full speed, when he is past the trees, turns about and shoots it down with an arrow.

The gate of *Daulet-Cuna*, that is, the gate of justice, which is most us'd, is guarded by several companies of foot, and troops of horse. Along before these two gates there are one hundred and ten pieces of cannon brought from *Ormuz*, when it was taken from the *Portuguese*; but they are all falconets, except nine middling pieces. Beyond this useless front of cannon is a portico, which leads to the back door of the palace, call'd *Der-mod-back*, or the gate of the kitchen, through which all provisions are brought in. Near it is the great treasurer's apartment, who was then a white eunuch, who has the keys of the great treasure, which is never touch'd but when the crown is in the utmost want, there being another apartment for the soldiers pay. Only the revenues of gardens, caravanferas, and other structures belonging to the king are put into the great treasury. And it is here to be observ'd, that taxes and impositions being forbidden by their false prophet, the *Mahometan* princes think the money rais'd by them wrongfully got, and therefore do not lay out a farthing of it for their table, but make use of the revenues of their gardens and houses. The great *Mogul* now reigning is so scrupulous in this point, that he will not maintain himself upon his revenue; but tho' he is above eighty years of age makes caps himself, and presents them to the *Chams*, who whether they will or no must pay twenty or thirty thousand crowns a piece for them. Opposite to this gate of *Der-mod-back* is a building enclos'd, where there are several forts of artificers, and particularly *Franks*, who work for the king. There are several other gates about it, and especially a private one, through which the king uses to go to the *Mosque* of *Masjit-Scia*.

On the north-side hangs, to no purpose, the bell belonging to the clock of *Ormuz*, given by the *Augustinians* to *Scia-Abas* the great. On the east is the *Mosque* of *Scieb-loft-alla*, consisting of only one cupola, cover'd with small tiles of several colours.

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On the south is the king's *Mosque* call'd *Masjit-Scia*. It has a beautiful front of the same workmanship, with two towers on the sides, ending at the top like turbanets. The first gate leads into a court or cloister of an irregular sort of figure, whose arches are adorn'd with the same bricks or tiles. The second gate which is cover'd with plates of silver is the way into the *Mosque*, which is all over painted within after the *Arabian* manner and gilt, so that the arches seem to vie in beauty with the pavement, which is cover'd with the richest carpets the country affords.

In the middle of the square or market-place, from the tree of the arrow to this *Mosque*, they sell wood and coals; from the *Mosque* to the bell, old iron, horse-furnitures, carpets and other things, but all of them at second hand; thence to the *Mosque* of *Scieb-loft-alla*, they sell fowls, pigeons, meat ready drest. The rest of the square towards the palace is quite clear and without shops, because the king comes thither sometimes to see bulls and other wild beasts baited. But there are mountebanks and merry-andrews that repair thither to impose their nonsense upon the ignorant multitude, and divert them with their fopperies; and the peasants on *Friday*, which is their festival, come to sell their fruit, and the labour of the rest of the week. On the inside along the *Bazar* there are shops where they sell red leather, skins to carry water under the camels bellies, and other things made of leather. Hard by there are shops that sell bows and arrows, and others of drugs and spice. Then in the caravanferas there are in this great square, on the south-side, that is from the *Mosque* to the east angle, they sell saddles, bridles, and all horse-furniture; from the *Mosque* to the west angle, are book-sellers and book-binders. The west side, from the north angle to the palace, is taken up with people that sell glass baubles brought from *Nuremberg* and *Venice*. Between the two gates of *Agacapi* and *Daulet-Cuna*, there are wretched *Armenians* who make rings, and cut seals on common stones. From the palace to the south angle, all the arches serve for coffee-houses where they smoke; for besides the noble prospect which is like an amphitheatre, there is a great fountain of water in the middle, where the *Persians* fill the bottle they have to their pipes, that the smoke may come the cooler to their mouths. This place being very much frequented, the *Devices* repair to it morning and evening.

GEMELLI
1694.
The king's
Mosque.

Scieb-loft-
alla
Mosque.

GENELLI evening to chatter till they foam at the mouth, for some small reward they afterwards receive from the hearers.

1694.
Caravan-
serai.

The Armenians have the shops in their little caravansera near the *Meidan*, not far from the famous caravansera founded by the mother of *Scia-Abas* the second. This has two floors, a great pond in the middle, and gates at the four angles, which formerly led to four other caravanseras, but at present there are only two.

It is to be observ'd that tho' people are not receiv'd gratis in these caravanseras, of royal foundation, yet they are preferable to the others for the security of the goods; for if any thing happens to be lost, the keeper of them is accountable for it; as also for all commodities trusted out and enter'd in his book, with the names of the buyers and sellers. On this account the sellers pay two in the hundred, and the keeper is oblig'd to recover the full price. Besides the *Meidan* is well guarded at night (as are all the other *Bazars*) by persons kept in pay for that purpose; for tho' the traders shops and chests be well lock'd, yet the things of small value and great bulk are left in the open market-place, cover'd with a tent.

From the angle form'd by the north and west sides there is a passage into a great *Bazar*, where they sell linnen and shoes. Thence is a way into a greater, where they sell all manner of braziers ware, and saws, and there live the dyers; at the end of it is an excellent caravansera where they sell musk and red leather.

On the north side there are scimitars, tongs, and other instruments of iron and brass, and before the gate several sorts of precious stones. Over these shops is a long gallery supported by pillars, where every night there is a displeasing concert of fifes, drums, and other instruments, as has been said of other cities; within it there are rooms for the chief of the musick. Opposite to it, in this place, there are two pillars seven spans high, and the same distance from one another, to play at mall a horse-back, which is done striking the ball a gallop to drive it between the two pillars.

The gate before mention'd leads to some arches where they sell rich cloth of gold and silver, silks, and *Indian* stuffs. The east side of the *Mosque* to the north angle, is taken up with shops of all sorts of small works in silk. From thence to the south angle there are turners, and people that beat cotten, and in the porticos there are smiths,

who make nails, horse-shoes and the like.

Going home I pass'd by the castle, ^{The castle,} which is near the house of the *French Capuchins*, and adjoining to the south wall of the town. It is two miles in compass; for within it there are *Bazars*, and the dwellings of the king's slaves, who are voluntary renegadoes, only for this honour, and their maintenance. It is twice as long as broad, and altogether defenceless; its scurvy towers being of earth, as is all the wall. Here the king keeps all the rarities he buys, or are sent him as presents by the governours of provinces and strangers.

Sunday the 18th, I went to hear mass at the church of the bare foot *Carmelites*, to repay the visit to *F. Elias*, bishop-elect of *Ispahan*. Monday the 19th, I went again to the *Meidan*, to see the *Divan-Begs Sciatter*, or foot-man run, in order to be admitted to serve the king. He had on a pair of short open breeches, as our foot-men wear, with three horse-bells hanging down from his waste. His thighs and legs were naked, and anointed with a sort of grease to prevent weariness; as formerly those that exercis'd in the *Gymnasia*, anointed themselves with oil. He run from the gate of *Ala-Capi*, to a stone on the mountain three miles from the city. He was to run it seven times without eating, but only drinking; every time taking up a little flag plac'd by the goal, and then, if found fit to be the king's *Sciatter*, he was admitted. The *Persian* nobility generally keep many of them for grandeur.

In the mean while, *Stephen* the *Vert-^{Difference between the Armenians.} abiet*, who was independent of the patriarch, with four other bishops, not ceasing to contrive against the remainder of the catholick missionaries at *Zulfa*; it pleas'd God that another *Vert-abiet*, whose name was *John*, rais'd a furious persecution against him. This man had been arch-bishop of *Zulfa*, but being depriv'd of his dignity by *Stephen*, he became a catholick; and retiring to *Ala-Capi*, with one of his religious men (relying on the protection of the former *Kalantar* of *Zulfa*, who was become a *Mabometan*) accus'd him of having books against *Mabomet*. His house being search'd, two books were found, one of them printed fifty years before in the *Armenian* language by another *Stephen* a *Vert-abiet*, containing many reproaches against the *Mabometan* religion. The matter being examin'd, and the book interpreted by a renegado *Armenian*, in the presence of the *Nabab*, and the *Seik-Iesson*, or *Axond*, two persons

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fons transcribing it into the *Persian* tongue; *Stephen* was condemn'd to be burn'd alive; notwithstanding he urg'd before the court, that the book was compos'd by another *Stephen*, a *Polish Vert-abiet* at *Ismaiz-n*, and that the other manuscript was falsify'd by the informers. The king, who had no good opinion of those ecclesiastical judges, would not suffer the sentence to be executed; all the city being in expectation to see that criminal put to death. Knowing how rich the archbishop was, it was always my opinion, That by the help of his powerful friends he would save his life, which did not only prove true, but moreover instead of being punish'd, he receiv'd from the queen-mother, the *Calant*, or vest of honour; with orders to his accusers to return to *Zulfa*, under his jurisdiction, or to live with the *Franks*, if they were catholicks.

Tuesday the 20th, in the evening I saw

the nuptial ceremonies us'd in *Persia*, a ^{GEMIII} man and woman both slaves, that liv'd ³⁶⁹⁴ near our house being marry'd. When ^{a wed.} they had eaten their bellies full of pilauding, at the bridegroom's house, a great company of men and women, most of them with lighted candles in their hands, it being then night, went to receive the bride. Half an hour after, she was conducted between two women, cover'd with a white linnen cloth from head to foot, which made them look like ghosts. After them follow'd many other women, and then men, one of whom carry'd a great wax candle worth ten crowns. The bridegroom very unmannerly, went out but four steps from his house to meet the bride. This is the custom among the poor people; but among the better sort these ceremonies are perform'd a horseback in great state, and abundance of lights set up in the streets they are to pass through.

CHAP. VII.

The Funeral of Scia-Selemon, King of Persia; the Sacrifice of the Camel; the Original, Marriages, Funerals, Religion, and Habit of the Goris.

^{Sickness of the king of Persia, and his charity} **W** *Eduesday* the 21st, it was known abroad that the king was fallen sick, or rather grown worse of his continual apoplectick fits, occasion'd by too much wine. Being with good reason apprehensive of his life, on *Thursday* the 22d, he order'd 3700 tomans to be distributed among the poor; and orders to be sent to all the governors of provinces to release all the prisoners in the kingdom.

Friday the 23d, I din'd with the director of the *Dutch* company, who was extraordinary civil to me; and *Saturday* the 24th, I went out a shooting, and kill'd abundance of doves, whereof there are vast numbers about the country. *Sunday* the 25th, going to hear mass at the barefoot *Carmelites*, I was inform'd by father *Elias*, That the *Vert-abiet*, by his great power, had disappointed all the endeavours of the catholicks, for re-establishing their mission in *Zulfa*. *Monday* the 26th, having nothing to do, I went out to divert me with the prior, and other fathers of our house. *Tuesday* the 27th, the news was spread abroad that the king was in his agony. *Wednesday* the 28th, father *Elias* came to visit me, and to tell me, that there being no hopes of redress in their affair, they must have all that had happen'd authentically attest'd, in order to obtain letters of recom-

mendation from all the christian princes in *Europe*, to the court of *Persia*.

Thursday the 29th, the king's death was ^{The king} made publick about noon, the eunuchs ^{dies} and *Kilar-Agasi*, or chief of the slaves appearing with their garments rent, which is the mourning us'd among the *Persians*; upon which news the *Saper-Selar* ran so hastily to the palace, that his horse fall'd him, and he broke his leg. The body was remov'd the same day to the garden call'd *Baz-se-keel-Sultan*; where it was wash'd in a fountain by the *Casul-Baschi*. This man is the chief of the washers of the dead, who never exercises his office, but when the king dies, and has for his reward fifty tomans, and the cloaths, with all that is found upon the king, even to the carpet that covers him. After he was wash'd after the *Mabometan* fashion, he was laid in a room stretch'd out on a carpet, to be carry'd thence to *Kom*, to the tombs of his ancestors. The physician that attended him in his sickness, was apprehended to be put to death, or banish'd, according to the custom of the *Persian* court, to keep the *Mabometan* physicians in awe. But it was reported this man would be kept a prisoner for life. It was also reported, that as the king was breathing his last, being exhorted to make a good end by the *Axond*, who

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GENELEE 1694. is the second judge in religious affairs; he sent to the *Nabab* their high priest for a cloth to wrap his body in, saying, *He would carry nothing that belong'd to this world.*

Alms. All the while till the coronation of the new king, a thousand *Cangaris*, or great dishes of pilau were distributed out of the king's kitchen, with as many of sweet-meats to *Mullab's*, and poor people, for the good of the dead man's soul.

Why this king changed his name. *Scia-Selemon* dy'd at the age of fifty three, when he had reign'd thirty years. He was exalted to the throne by the name of *Scia-Sofi* the second, but afterwards falling desperately sick, he chang'd his name as follows. It is the custom of *Persia*, that when the king falls sick, all the prime men, and governours of provinces send a great quantity of gold coin in a bason of the same metal, set with jewels. This is wav'd over the king's head three times, saying these words, *Patsia basena carbon olson*; that is, *This money is sacrific'd for the health of the king's head.* If the king recovers, it is given to the poor, with other gifts of his servants; if he dies, it is put into the treasury. The *Armenians* also send their money, but the same words are not spoke, only, *Barasad-duk*; that is, *Design'd for alms.* The king being nothing the better for all these presents, the three physicians that attended him were ill us'd; as if it had been in their power to cure him immediately. The others therefore fearing they should fare worse, perswaded the king, that the cause of his sickness, was the astrologers not knowing how to chuse a lucky hour for his exaltation to the throne, and therefore it was requisite he should again take possession in a more favourable minute, and change his name. The *Persians* having much faith in such fopperies, the king easily give ear to their advice; and the astrologers and physicians having chosen a fortunate hour, a day was appointed for the new coronation. But it being unlawful for the king, according to the *Mabometan* superstition to perform this action, without he had first overthrown and expell'd some wrongful pretender, or usurper of the crown; he caus'd a *Gori* to be apprehended, who said he was descended from the antient stock of the *Russians*, who were sovereigns of *Persia* and *Partbia*, and to be plac'd on the throne on his back against a wooden image. Then he caus'd all the great men to come to honour him as their lawful king, till the fortunate hour

was come, and as soon as it did, that very moment an officer with his scimitar cut off the head of the wooden image, and the *Gori* ran away; after which the king ascended the throne, was saluted by the nobility, girt on his scimitar, and put the *Sofi's* cap on his head, which are the ceremonies of taking possession of the crown among the *Persians*, changing his name of *Sofi* for that of *Selemon*. From that time the astrologers lost the king's favour, and the physicians regain'd it.

Scia-Selemon was born of a Georgian woman, and having led his life before he came to the crown, either among women, or black eunuchs, he could learn nothing but cruelty or lasciviousness. Giving way to his bloody genius, he at first govern'd with too much rigour and severity, whereof what he did by one of his concubines is no small example. It being the custom, tho' unfit and barbarous, for the kings of *Persia* to marry their concubines to mean persons, contrary to the practice of the *Ottomans*, who bestow them on the prime *Bassa's*, *Scia-Selemon* gave her the lov'd best to a *Gozor*, or washer; but the great love he bore her prevailing, he took her away again into the *Aram*, sending her husband, by whom she then had six children, away upon some honourable employment. The king one day out of curiosity, or rather jealousy, ask'd her, which of the two she lov'd best; and she answering boldly, her husband, because with him she liv'd in God's grace; the king in a rage, order'd her to be cast into the river. Love prevail'd over his barbarous inclination, so that execution being delay'd, he inclin'd to forgive her, as it did some months after, when he order'd her to be burn'd alive; so that she is still living in the *Aram*.

He continu'd this severity for several years, putting to death many great men of his court upon very slight occasions; but afterwards addicting himself altogether to drunkenness, and the pleasures of the *Aram*, he so absolutely lost his authority, that he had nothing left but the bare name of a king; leaving the whole charge of the government to *Mirza-Taber*, the prime *Vizier*, who had gain'd the first place in his favour. This man was the greatest thief in the world, and not regarding his great age of eighty years, because he found himself strong in body, he minded nothing but who bid most, and sometimes would stoop so low as to take a crown. They said, that being one day ask'd by the king how

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how many children he had, he answer'd, he did not remember their number; but that he would go home and write them down. He rose to this high pitch of preternatural by the king's liking some verses he made.

His drunkenness.

Among other extravagancies committed by this king through excessive drinking, it is reported, that *Acbar*, the son of the *Great Mogul* (who fled under his protection from his father) being in presence among many *Persian* noble men, he laid his hand to his sword to wound those great men, and had done it, but that they sav'd themselves by flight. Some time after he ask'd *Acbar*, what he thought of that action; who wisely answer'd, That he was very absolute in his throne. He allow'd this prince twelve *mans* a day, besides his house, and all necessaries for his stable.

Sr. pity.

When he was sometimes press'd to make war upon the *Turk*, the opportunity being so favourable, that a better could never be had; he answer'd, That having once consented to make a peace, he was not to break his faith. His friends still urging that, nevertheless the *Turk*, when he had ended the war with the christians, would begin again with him; he inconsiderately answer'd, he should be satisfy'd, as long as he had *Spaban* left him. These thoughts were infus'd into him by his prime minister: who was look'd upon to be of the *4th* sect, and by some counsellors, who were of opinion, that when the christian princes had destroy'd the *Turks*, they would not forbear falling upon others.

Fraud.

Yet he was at war with *Suban Colican*, king of the *Usbecks*, and to his great loss, for the following reason. That king's brother being to go to *Mecca* with the queen, and a retinue of 3000 *Tartars*; *Scia-Selimon* in the first place, would not allow above 200 of them to come into *Spaban*; and afterwards having a casket of jewels left in his custody, to be restor'd when those princes return'd; knowing the queen came without her kinsman, who dy'd by the way, he made her go by the way of *Sciras*, and not through *Spaban*, without ever restoring her jewels.

Friday the 30th, I return'd to the *Maidan*, to see the preparations for the funeral, and found a great multitude of poor in the king's *Mosque*, to devour the pilau given them for the good of the dead man's soul. I din'd with the *Polish* ambassador, who invited me to be one of his company, when he attended the new king, which was very acceptable to me, that I might see the palace. That night

being chosen as fortunate by the astrologers, at seven of the clock the cloth was to be cut for the king's coronation robes.

General.

1694.

Saturday the last day of the month, all persons were forbid departing the city till the king was proclaim'd. The ambassadors were confin'd to their houses, and the *Mogul's* son had guards set upon him. *Sunday* the 1st of *August*, after noon, the obsequies were perform'd. An hundred camels and mules led the way, loaded with sweetmeats, and other provisions, to be given on the road to a thousand persons that accompany'd the body. Then came the body in a large litter, cover'd with cloth of gold, and carry'd by two camels, led by the *Nazar*, or king's steward. On the sides went two servants burning the most precious sweets in two fire-pans of gold, and a multitude of *Mullah's*, saying their prayers in a very noisy manner. Next follow'd another horse-litter cover'd with red and green cloth, to serve in case the first should break, and then all the great men of the court with their garments rent, and a-foot, except the *Atmat-Dulet*, who was permitted to ride, because of his great age. Whereforever he went there were heard lamentations, and a dismal noise of the subjects: the company still increasing, till they came to be ten thousand. He was carry'd a mile from the city to the garden of *Bax-Sofi-Mirza*, whither I went to see him. I found him in the same litter encompass'd by *Mullah's*, under a great arch. Not long after the *Kilar-Agasi* came to distribute pilau to those that were to attend the body; which, when they had eaten, they set out about half an hour after night, to carry it to *Kom*, without any order, but in confusion; having taken off the camels usual trappings, and dock'd the horses tails. They said, that as they pass'd through the villages, the peasants would come out to meet them, and would cut their flesh in a barbarous manner, in token of grief.

Monday the 2d of *August*, being the feast of the *Portiuncular*, I perform'd my devotions. The sacrifice of the camel being to be perform'd on *Tuesday* the 3d, I mounted betimes to go see it; and passing by the *Deroga's* house, saw abundance of people waiting to see the wretched beast that was condemn'd to death, come out. In short, within an hour we saw it led in a collar by two executioners, and the *Deroga* after them. Following the crowd out of the city, I took notice of the stately bridge, call'd *Sciras*, over the river *Sanderu*. It has thirty three

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good arches, and on them high walls of colour'd bricks, leaving a great space in the middle, with a cover'd gallery, and narrow paths on the sides towards the river. At last we came to a great field call'd *Musfilla*, where there were abundance of tombs of *Turks*, built after several manners. Here tying the camel's legs, he was stretch'd out on the ground; and the *Derega* putting on a *Sofi's* cap (which is round above, with a horn in the middle, and a little label hanging behind like that of a bishop's mitre) struck him with a spear; then an executioner cut off his head with an ax, to present it to the king. The four quarters were divided among great men, and the rest to the multitude, who almost kill'd one another to get a bit. The solemnity had been greater, but for the king's death. I saw this same camel pals by three days before with three children on his back, and two things like falvers beating before him, a great company of vagabonds following, some arm'd with hatchets, and some with lancets, who led him from house to house to get money. This ceremony is perform'd every year by the *Perfians*, in memory of the sacrifice *Abraham* would have offer'd, which they say was of *Ismael*, and not of *Isaac*, and that God sent him a camel instead of his son, and not a ram. Every one that can get it, eats that day of the camel's flesh with much devotion; killing in their own houses sheep, lambs, and abundance of fowl, to solemnize the festival, the christians eat not of these creatures, because of the superstitious words they utter when they kill them.

Then I went to *Zulfa*, to see the house of the *Jesuits*, and by the way in a field, saw the tombs of the *Armenians*, well enough built. The *Jesuits* church was well contriv'd, small and curiously painted after the fashion of the country. They have an excellent garden and vineyard, and will in time be very well to pals, if the *Vers-abiet* will let them go on.

Village of
the *Goris*.

A *French Jesuit* conducted me hence to see the village of the *Goris*, by some writers reckoned among the suburbs of *Spabam*. It is one long street about a mile long, without any way into it but at the ends, and one in the middle. It is adorn'd with two rows of green *Cinnar-trees*, and two trenches of water.

Their
temple
and fire.

Some of the *Goris* led me to their temple built in the form of a cross, and arch'd, with windows in the lower part of the wall, cover'd with lattices. There was no altar in it, and but one lamp

hanging in the middle; ascending six steps, they shew'd me in a room adjoining to the temple, their fire, which they feed with wood, and sometimes burn on it the fat of the sheep's tail. If any of them happen to let the fire go out in their houses, they must go to light it at the temple, and therefore they are very careful to keep it in.

These *Goris* live upon tillage. Tho' ignorant, they believe in one only God, the creator of all things. They honour, but do not adore the fire, as some write, in honour of the fire, from which *Abraham* escap'd unhurt, when he was cast into it by order of a king of the *Caldees* (these people boasting that they are descended from *Abraham*, and the ancient kings of *Persia*) according to those words of the scripture, *Gen. xv. v. 7. I am the Ur is his lord thy god, who brought thee out of Ur of the Caldees*. So that *Tavernier* is much mistaken, when he says, that this is to be understood of *Abraham-Ebraimzer-Aleuch* their prophet, who was preserv'd from fire.

Their marriages are after this manner. The couple being come before the priest, he before witnesses receives the consent of both parties; then he washes their foreheads, muttering certain words, after which they may not be divorc'd without a lawful cause. They wash the children that are born a few days after in water, in which abundance of flowers have been boil'd, their ignorant priests praying over it.

They are very careful to kill all unclean creatures, there being a day in the year appointed, on which men and women go about the fields killing the frogs. They drink wine, and eat swines flesh, but it must be bred by themselves, and not have eaten any thing unclean. They abstain but five days in the year from eating flesh, fish, butter and eggs; and three other days they eat nothing till night. Besides they have thirty festivals of their faints.

When any of them dies, they carry him out of the town or village, to a place wall'd in near the mountain. There they tie the dead body standing upright to a pillar, (there being many for the purpose) seven spans high; and going to prayers for the soul of the person departed, they stand till the crows come to eat the body; if they begin with the right eye, they bury the body, and return home joyfully, looking on it as a good omen; if they fall upon the left eye, they go away disconsolate, leaving the body unbury'd.

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Their habit does not differ from that of the other *Persian* peasants. The women is very modest, they wearing a petticoat after the *Italian* manner, and under it breeches and shoes after the *Persian* fashion. About their heads they wrap a piece of stuff made of silk and linnen; and on their back hangs another very large one, which does not only cover all behind, but the breast too, being ty'd under the chin. Their noses are

bored to wear a gold or silver ring in them, somewhat smaller than that the *Arabs* use.

As I return'd to *Zulfa*, an *Armenian* shew'd me a clock of a new invention. It consisted of a wheel hanging by two threads fastned to the spring, and moving regularly between two pieces of wood, by means of some contrivance within, shew'd the hour.

CHAP. VIII.

The Description of the Colony of Zulfa, and of the Religious Rites of the Armenians.

Zulfa, *Sulfa*, or *Giolfa*, is near the village of *Gori*, and two miles and half from *Spaban*, the river *Sanderu* running betwixt them. It is a new colony of *Armenians*, who abandoning the old one of the same name, settled here by command of *Scia-Abas the Great*, when the war was hottest between the *Turks* and *Persians*. It is three miles in length, and nine in compass, by reason of the great gardens in it; so that it looks more like a wood than a city.

The houses are handsome within, tho' of mud without, the streets neater and straiter than those of *Spaban*, with long rows of high *Cinar*-trees on the sides, and a trench of water in the middle full of good crabs. Here I must not omit the notable jest some *Frenchmen*, inhabitants of *Zulfa*, told me, had been put upon *Tavernier*, in relation to these crabs. He being at dinner about forty years since, with monsieur *l'Esfoile*, highly commended the crabs; and the other being a pleasant facetious man, said to him, *They are better now than at any other time, because they feed upon white mulberries*. And perceiving the silly *Tavernier* was curious to know further, how they came to eat mulberries, that he might write it down; he added, that those crabs about sun-set came out of their holes near the trees, and climbing them, fed upon white mulberries all night, and then at break of day return'd to the water; and therefore the gardeners in the night shook the trees, and gathering a good quantity of them, carry'd them to sell in the market. This story told as a jest, was swallow'd by *Tavernier*, and writ down as truth, which is an imposition upon others as silly as himself. All this was told me by the said monsieur *l'Esfoile's* son, by an old *Armenian*, and by three *Frenchmen*, who knew him at *Zulfa*. By this we may judge of the

truth of the rest of his stories, since he was so credulous in a thing, so improbable. The *Persians* are so far from eating, that they have an extraordinary aversion to them.

As for the government of the *Armenians* at *Zulfa*, the king causes justice to be rigorously administred among them in criminal cases; and for the civil, appoints a *Kalender*, or judge of that nation, who rates what they are to pay to the exchequer. There are at present the richest subjects of the nation, become so by the money lent them at first by *Scia-Abas* the first, and by the great trade they have throughout the world, but more especially in silk; besides they are so frugal both in their houses and travelling, that the money hourly increases in their purses.

In spiritual matters they are govern'd by an archbishop, who is independent of the patriarch, and has four suffragan bishops. That *Stephen* we have before made mention of, relying upon this his independency, made a trade of selling the sacraments and burials, openly without any shame, by that means heaping together some hundred thousands of pieces of eight.

Besides their own, the *Armenians* speak the *Persian* and *Turkish* languages. And there are two sorts of the *Armenian* writ with different characters; that is the learned for the clergy and religious worship, and the vulgar for the other people.

Not to speak of the barefoot *Carmites*, expell'd, as was said before, there were *Jesuits* and *Dominicans* in *Zulfa*; but a very small number of two or three in a house, being scarce enough to say the divine office. As for catholicks there are very few, and fewer children instructed in the catholick religion, for as soon as the *Vert-abies* hears of any, he

A trick put upon Tavernier.

Tom. 1. L. 4. p. 423.

Gambrell 1694.

Civil government.

The spiritual.

Language.

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GEMELLI 1694. excommunicates the parents; who rather than be expos'd to the fury of the multitude, are forc'd to take away their children.

Women. The *Armenian* women are very beautiful without any help from art. They cover their heads with a fine white cloth ty'd under the chin. All their hair is made into one tress, which hangs on their back in a velvet bag; the richer sort wear gold, and jewels like the rest of the world.

Armenian mafs. *Wednesday* the 4th, I stay'd in the city, and going to hear mafs in an *Armenian* church, found but one altar. The choir was five steps higher than the *Isle*, and both parts cover'd with good carpets. The mafs was said by the archbishop, serv'd by two bishops, as deacon and sub-deacon, and during it there was a great number of candles lighted on the right side of the altar. After reading the gospel, the clergy began to ring some small bells fastned to the ends of staves five spans long, and both lay-men and church men sung to that noise. When the bread was consecrated, one of the bishops took the chalice out of a little window, and carrying it about the altar, plac'd it thereon, saying some prayers. Then the priest taking it up, with the bread on it, turn'd to the people (who prostrating themselves on the ground began to beat their breasts) saying, *This is the Lord that gave his body and blood for us*. Then turning again to the altar, he receiv'd the bread alone, dipp'd in the wine; and going down to the bottom of the choir with the bread and chalice in his hands, said three times, the people as often repeating it. *I confess, I believe that this is the body and blood of the Son of God, who takes away the sins of the world, and who is not only our salvation, but all mankind's*. This done, he communicated with bread, dipp'd in the wine, the very children of two or three years old; not considering they might cast it out. They put no water into the chalice, giving for their reason, That our lord when he constituted the sacrament, drank it pure. The bread is unleaven'd, and the priest makes it the day before, of the bigness of our wafers.

Lent. In *Lent*, they do not receive, and they say only one mafs upon *Sundays* in a low voice, the priest not to be seen, and only the gospel and creed are read aloud. They do it in the same manner on *Maundy-Thurs*day, and then all that will may communicate; but most of them use to do it at the mafs which is said on *Holy-Saturday*, before sun-setting;

after which they may eat oil, butter and eggs.

On *Easter-Sunday* another mafs is said, *Easter*, still in a low voice, at which they give the communion, and then all are allow'd to eat flesh, so it be kill'd that same day. Before all their four principal feasts, which are *Christmas*, the *Ascension* of our lord, the *Annunciation* of the blessed virgin, and *St. George*, they have eight days fast, during which they are not to taste flesh, eggs, fish, butter, or oil. They have to great a devotion for *St. George*, that some of them will be three, and others five days, without eating any thing.

When any one has a mind to make his *Priest*, son a churchman, he carries him to the priest, who, saying some prayers, puts the cope upon him. This ceremony is to be perform'd several times in several years; after the fourth, if the youth will not become a monk, he may marry, and if she happens to die, and he will take another, he may not be made a priest. When he is eighteen years of age, the ceremony is perform'd the seventh time, and he is conducted in all the priestly vestments by a bishop, or the archbishop himself to the church, where he must have serv'd a year before. Priests may not eat or drink with their wives five days before saying mafs, and five days after; and both they and monks are to spend the first five in the church, without touching any food with their hands, and for the other five they must eat nothing but eggs, and rice boil'd in water and salt.

The archbishop's life is very austere, *Archbishops* for some of them eat fish, and flesh but four times a year, and all the rest roots and herbs. They, and all other churchmen and laymen have six months and three days fast in the year, during which time they eat nothing but bread, and some raw herbs; the labouring people at best, feeding on garden-stuff boil'd with salt, and with nut-oil if they will; as for flesh they eat none in the most dangerous distempers.

The sacrament of baptism is administer'd on *Sunday*, unless there be imminent danger of death before, and is done in this manner. The infant is carry'd to church by the midwife, where after the priest has said some prayers, he is dipp'd naked into the water, and deliver'd to the godfather. Then the priest putting together two cords, one of red silk, the other of cotton (to signify the blood and water that came from our saviour's side) ties them about his neck, and then anointing his forehead

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head with holy oil, says, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; anointing all the extrem parts of the body, still repeating the same words. When the baptism is over, the god-father goes out of the church with two lighted candles in his hands, and the infant on his arms, and carries it to the mother's house, attended by several musical instruments; where having receiv'd her thanks, he kisses the top of her head. As for the name, they give the child that which falls out on the day in the calendar, or else the next to come. Then they make a plentiful entertainment, according to the peoples quality, to which all the kindred and friends, and all the priests and monks of the parish are invited. They that will save this charge, which is very great, pretend the child is like to die, and baptize it on a week-day. The trouble is greater when women are deliver'd within the fortnight before *Christmas*, for then the christning must be put off till that which is our third of *January*, they following the old account, without the alteration of the ten days. Then they erect three scaffolds cover'd on the river *Sanderu*, and a sort of altar on the middlemost of them; and on *Christmas*-day in the morning before sun rising, all the *Armenian* clergy of *Zulfa* being there with their vestments, crosses and banners; the cross is thrice dipp'd in the river, throwing in holy oil every time; then having said the baptismal prayer, the priest plunges the infant into the cold river-water, with the usual sort of words and other ceremonies.

Holy oils. The holy oil they use is not of olives, but of several flowers, (especially of the flower of paradise, by them call'd *Belesan-Tagbe*) and other sweets. It is blest'd on the eve of the nativity of our blessed Lady, and then the patriarch distributes it throughout *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africk*.

Marriages. Being invited to a wedding that was to be at *Zulfa* on *Thursday* the 5th, I went thither betimes, and stay'd to dinner with the rector of the *Jesuits*. Then being sent for, we went to the bridegroom's house, where there was a great number of his kindred and friends. He mounting a horseback with a great attendance, went to receive the bride, who being also mounted on a horse richly set out with jewels; they went together to the church, follow'd by abundance of kindred a horse-back with lighted flamboys in their hands. They alighted before the church and went up straight to

the altar, where standing close face to face, the bishop read in a book that rested on their heads, and having receiv'd their consent, gave them his blessing with the noise of drums and other barbarous instruments. Then having heard mass, they return'd in the same order.

It is to be observ'd, that the *Armenians* marry their daughters very young and almost in their infancy, for fear the king should take them into the *Aram*. The mothers generally make the contract, and then acquaint the fathers with it.

When it is concluded, the bridegroom's mother goes with two aged women and a priest to the bride's mothers, and gives the ring from her son; soon after he comes, and is blest'd by the priest together with the girl; and then they all drink merrily. After this betrothing, the bridegroom is oblig'd every year at *Easter*, to send the bride a garment suitable to her quality. When they are to celebrate the nuptials, the husband's father sends a meal three days before to the mother-in-law's house; where the kindred on both sides meet, the men in one room and the women in another. The next day the bridegroom sends the bride a garment, and then goes to receive that the mother-in-law gives him, or the eldest kinswoman, who is also to put it on the first time.

When an *Armenian* dies, the *Mordi*-Funerals.

firi, or washer of the dead takes a vessel of holy water out of the church, and pours it into the pool where the body is to be wash'd, which done, he takes all he had on, and puts him on a white shirt and other linnen, all new, fowing him up besides in a new sack. Then the priests accompany'd by all the kindred with lighted candles in their hands, convey the body to the church, before the altar, and a priest having said some prayers, they place the candles about it, and leave it so all night. In the morning, after saying mass it is carry'd before the archbishop's, or bishop's door, that he may say the Lord's prayer for the soul departed. This done it is carry'd to the church-yard, the bishop and priests singing several prayers by the way, till it is laid in the grave. Then the bishop, taking up a handful of earth throws it on the corps, saying thrice: *From Earth thou camest, and to Earth thou shalt return; remain there till the coming of our Lord*. Then they fill up the grave. When the kindred and friends return home they find a good dinner, made ready, and among the richer sort they treat the priests and monks for seven days.

GEMELLI 1694. When a bishop dies, besides the afore-
said ceremonies, after mass they put a
paper into his hands, with these words
writ on it, *Remember that thou comest
from Earth, and shalt return to earth.* If
a slave dies, his master writes on such a
piece of paper, that he is not displeas'd
he should have his freedom, and that
he gives him his liberty. If any one
kills himself, they do not carry him out
at the door of the house, but break down
the wall and bury him without any ce-
remony.

On the eve of the feast of the holy
cross, both men and women go to the
church-yard with good provisions, and

spend all the night there, lamenting a
while, and then eating and drinking mer-
rily; and there is no poor body in the
city that omits doing this.

To conclude this chapter, I say, the
Armenians firmly adhere to their antient
customs and the christian faith, notwith-
standing the infinite persecutions rais'd
against them by the *Mahometans*. Ve-
ry few of them have embrac'd the *Ma-
hometan* religion, blinded by interest;
for the renegado is put into possession
of all his kindreds goods, and even of
his fathers, who must afterwards live up-
his son's courtesie.

CHAP. IX.

*The Coronation of Scia-Ofien, and the Mangeles, or Audience afterwards given
to the Ambassadors and Nobility.*

Prepara-
tion for
the king's
coronati-
on.

THE hour the astrologers thought
fortunate for the crowning of the
new king drawing near, on Friday the
6th, he put out an order that all who
had any shops in the *Bazars* should
set up lights before them, and stay
there till midnight, upon forfeiture of
twelve toman. I had the curiosity to
go about at night to see these lights
with a *Persian* lord; and having walk'd
about several streets found nothing ex-
traordinary, there being only tallow
candles burning in the shops, without
any fire-works, or wax-flamboys. The
Bazars show'd well, rather for their
length than the number of lights. This
I suppos'd to be because the *Persians*
rather fear than love their king, and
therefore it is not strange that the same
day *Scia-Selemon* dy'd there were publick
weddings kept in *Ispahan*. I thought
I should have seen something great in
the *Meidan*, the place being so proper
for it, but was disappointed.

Whilst they expected the happy hour,
we went in at the gate of *Ala-Capi*.
Within it are two large arches, which
support a great structure several stories
high; especially the second of them, o-
ver which on the left hand is the hall
whither the *Vizier*, the *Nabab*, and the
Axand came to administer justice on the
days appointed.

Going further in along an uncover'd
way but wall'd on both sides, with
arches along them, is a pond of wa-
ter; on the left is the door that leads
to the garden, where the dead king's
body was wash'd, and on the right
the rooms of those that have taken
sanctuary, and both these doors were

guarded by *Sofis*, who pray'd for the
king.

Taking the opportunity of the night
I went to see the king's great *Mosque*, it
being forbid to go into it in the day. A
great gate cover'd with plates of silver
leads into the first arch, which has o-
thers on the sides making a semicircle,
and all of them make the way into the
cloister. There is a curious basin or
fountain of stone, and a double rank of
pillars about, with rooms on the first
floor for the *Mullabs* and other inferior
officers to live in. Opposite to the a-
foresaid gate, there are three beautiful
doors to go into the *Mosque*. All the
outside of the structure hitherto de-
scrib'd of the two towers without, and
of the two joyning to the *Mosque*, is a-
dorn'd with bricks, or tiles artificially
colour'd, as is us'd in *Persia*. The five
isles the *Mosque* is compos'd of, are a-
dorn'd with gold and azure. In the mid-
dlemost, which is the largest, is the cupo-
la supported by four very great square
pillars. Those on the sides which are
lower, rest on thick columns of free
stone. Two great windows give light
to the *Mosque*; they are plac'd in that
part of the wall of the middle isle,
which is higher than the side arches.
At the end of the *Mosque* is a good jas-
per stone fix'd in the wall, eight spans
high and four in breadth. There were no
lamps hanging, as is us'd by the *Turks*;
but there were good carpets on the
ground, and on the left of the nich the
pulpit, with curious stone-steps up to it.

Being weary of walking through so
many *Bazars*, we went under the bell,
on the north side of the *Meidan*, into

The king's
inaugura-
tion.

The king's
Mosque.

Wine-for-
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a coffee-house, diverting our selves with smocking till the fortunate hour was come. In the mean while a foolish *Mullab* sitting down without an upper vest and turbant, very gravely began a speech in commendation of *Scia-Abas the Great*, and of *Scia-Sofi*, extolling their actions and conquests. He grew so hot in his panegyrick, that he cry'd out like a madman, and roar'd like a bull, foaming at the mouth, especially when he mention'd any particular exploit, the hearers applauding him by clapping their hands, and pipes. This confusion lasted two hours, after which the *Mullab* went about gathering an alms of one or two *Cafis* a head, and carry'd off two *Abassis*.

The king's
inauguration.

The hour the astrologers thought auspicious being come, which yet was unlucky by reason of the rain, about half an hour after midnight, there was heard an ungrateful sound of drums and trumpets, playing to *Scia-Offen*, then seated on the throne; and in this mean manner was the coronation of so great a king solemniz'd. It is, to say the truth, improper to call it a coronation of *Mahometan* kings, because they use no crown, and this ceremony is only receiving the homage of the nobility.

They said that the king being advis'd to take the name of *Scia-Ismael*, answer'd, *Why, have not I a name of my own?* At the perswasion of the *Axond* he confirm'd the donative of 14000 tomans granted by his father to the subjects, but never paid.

Wine forbidden.

Saturday the 7th, the new king prohibited the use of wine upon pain of death, beginning by his own house, where he broke all the vessels his father had kept it in. I believe this severity did not last long, those princes being too much given to wine; and drunkenness is a vice they transfer to their successors with the crown.

A rich present.

Sunday the 8th, the son of the *Great Mogul* sent the king a *Pisces*, or present of 20000 tomans value, consisting of an elephant, a silver cistern, and a great gold basket set with jewels, made like those the *Persians* carry fruit in.

The king his generosity.

At length the king appear'd in publick on *Monday* the 9th, clad in red, having first generously distributed 2000 rich garments among the nobility and courtiers, according to their several qualities.

Punishment.

Tuesday the 10th, two wretches were taken drinking of wine, and tho' they pleaded ignorance of the edict, they were dreadfully beaten in the *Meidan*, till the nails of their toes dropt off, and they lost much blood; and yet they said it was a

merciful punishment, in regard of the fel-
lows ignorance, and simplicity.

Understanding on *Wednesday* the 11th, that the king made the *Mangeles*, that is, of audience, and an entertainment.

I went to the *Polisb* ambassador, and with him to the palace. We entered at the gate of *Ali-Capi*, with the usual displeasing harmony, and ascending four steps, found the room of audience was longish, with the roof well painted and gilt, supported by forty pillars. The length of this hall is divided into three parts, each a step higher than the other, for the nobility to stand according to their rank and quality. On the third ascent stands the royal throne rais'd but two spans above the floor, and eight foot square. We found the king sitting on a brocard cushion, and leaning his back against such another. On his sides stood ten eunuchs, holding his pipe, scimitar, and several other things. In this same part of the room, ten spans from the king, stood the *Atmatb-Dulet*, the *Kilar-Agasi*, the *Cursi-Bajsi*, the *Saper-selar*, and other great men. In the middle part of the room stood the *Chams* or governours of provinces, and the *Kisil-Bajsi*, or military officers. In the lower part were those that play'd on several barbarous instruments.

When the Pope's and *Polisb* ambassadors came in, the *Memunder*, or master of the ceremonies made them bow their foreheads to the ground, and the same when they were before the throne. Then the king made a sign for them to sit, and they were plac'd among the *Chams*, as were we of their retinue. Whilst the dinner was getting ready, the king was inform'd by the *Atmatb-Dulet*, who they were, and what brought them into *Persia*.

About an hour after the table was The dinner cover'd after the manner of the country; that is, every body sitting cross-leg'd,

each had a piece of silk laid before him, with a skin over it. First came several sorts of fruit, and sweet-meats in gold dishes. Then three great basons of pilau, red, white, and yellow, cover'd with pullets and other flesh, which was distributed in gold plates. I being at the ambassadors table, eat no pilau, because I cannot endure butter, and therefore tasted only some fruit season'd with sugar or vinegar. The king had the same diet on a table cover'd with cloth of gold. All persons eat their meat in haste, because the feast was but short, after the manner of the *Levant*. They drink a great deal of lemonade, and rose-water with sugar-candy.

After

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The king. After dinner about noon, the audience was dismiss'd, and every one went his way. When the king stood up, I observed, he wore a long garment of a gold colour, with a girdle and turban after the *Perſian* manner with a rich jewel of diamonds in it. He was about twenty five years of age, rather short than tall, his eye-brows thick, his complexion fair, and his beard black.

Stables
and hor-
ſes.

As we went out, the *Polish* ambaffador was pleas'd to ſhow me the king's ſtables and horſes. There were noble creatures, with gold troughs before them, and great pins or nails of the ſame metal about to tie them by the feet, as is the cuſtom of *Perſia*. We did not mind to ſee the reſt becauſe it was then late, but were told there were in all 1500 horſes, as well for the king's ſervice (for whom two are to ſtand ready ſaddled every day) as for the ladies in the *Aram*, the eunuchs, and other courtiers. By the great gate there were alſo lions ſerv'd in gold, like the horſes.

Having waited on the ambaffador to his houſe, as I was returning to the mo- naſtery, I met a great multitude of horſe- men going off. Moſt of them to ſhow they were the king's officers had a little drum hanging to the pummel of the ſad- dle, and the rim of it ſilver, which they beat when they want to be aided and af- fiſted in buſineſs of the king's.

Mint.

Thursday the 12th, I went to ſee the mint of *Iſpahan*, near the houſe of the *Engliſh*. Here they coin *Abaffis*, *Mamu- dſis*, and *Sciays*, after the ſame manner as at *Tauris* and *Erivan*. *Friday* the 13th, I only din'd with father *Elias*; and *Sat- urday* the 14th, went a ſhooting, and brought home abundance of pigeons.

The gar-
den.

Sunday the 15th, the prior and I, with all the fathers, went out of town to ſee the garden of *Bach-Xoſeb-curia*, where the king uſes to divert himſelf when he is to undertake a journey, till the fortu- nate hour appointed by the aſtrogers

for him to ſet out. Short of it I ſaw a good *Moſque*, with the uſual ornament of colour'd bricks, but the towers threat- ned ruin. In the garden we found great variety of fruit, but not very good, be- cauſe of the thickneſs of the trees, which ſtarve one another. There is a little brook enclos'd within a canal of ſtone, and in the miſt of it a little ſummer- houſe for the king. This ſtructure con- ſiſts of a great ſquare arch, with a foun- tain of good marble in the middle, and four doors on the ſide. Near the four angles at the bottom, there are four little rooms, and eight on the upper- floor. The arches are all gilt and paint- ed with figures drinking, or women ſhewing all their parts naked through transparent veils. On one ſide of the garden is a little *Aram*, enclos'd with high walls, and a ſmall garden in it. All the houſe conſiſts of one large hall, four little rooms, and a gallery indifferently furniſh'd, as is all the reſt.

Monday the 16th, at night, father *Ema- nuel*, an *Auguſtinian*, made his eſcape pri- vately, in order to go to *Rome* to do penance for his offence. He being vic- ar of the monaſtery four years before, had ſquander'd a great deal of money idly, and therefore fearing the anger of his ſuperior, turn'd *Mabometan*, to the great trouble of all the *Portugueſe*, taking the name of *Aſſan-Culibech*.

The king having been ſhut up in the *Aram* from his infancy, it was known on *Tueſday* the 17th, that they taught him to ride in the garden, that he might ap- pear in publick. This is the policy of the *Perſian* court, contrary to the pra- ctice of the reſt of the world; for even the greateſt men are kept ignorant, whether there is a ſucceſſor to the crown or not; the eunuchs keeping the ſecret inviolably, and having the care of the king's children in the womens apart- ment.

CHAP. X.

Of the Royal Garden of Sarafaber, and the Audience of Leave given the Pope's and King of Poland's Ambaffadors.

Sarafaber
gardens.

W*edneſday* the 18th, I went to *Zulfa*, and as I return'd ſaw the garden of *Sarafaber*, which is on one ſide of the way. The king goes to it from the gardens of *Iſpahan* over a bridge of four- teen ſtone-arches, (upon the river *San- deru*) oppoſite to which, on *Zulfa* ſide, is a gallery, whoſe roof is ſupported by twenty wooden pillars gilt; where the

king, when he is taking his pleaſure, re- ceives ambaffadors. In it are the ſame diviſions as in the hall at *Iſpahan*, a fine fountain, and three rooms behind the royal throne. It has alſo communica- tion with another gallery towards the garden.

In this garden there is a thick wood of fruit-trees of ſeveral ſorts; a ſtone canal,

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with little fountains in the middle, and two great ones at the ends; and a little house built after the same model as that in the garden of *Bach-Xofeb-Cuna*. The *Aram* is close by the river with small rooms, without any thing valuable about them.

Having no more to see after dining, on *Thursday* the 19th, with the director of the *Dutch* company, I went on *Friday* the 20th, to visit the superior of the *French Coqueris*. *Saturday* the 21st, the *Polish* ambassador sent betimes, to know whether I would go with him to his audience. Knowing it was to take his leave, and being curious to see the custom us'd there, I dress'd my self immediately, and mounting a horseback, went to the ambassadors, with my own and the prior's servant. We stay'd an hour for the master of the ceremonies, and five horses the king us'd to send, and then we mounted, the ambassador honour'd me with the next place to himself. The train consisted of nineteen persons afoot, armed with muskets, of twenty a horseback, and others, in all to the number of sixty. We alighted at the gate of *Ala-Capi*, where we found four tygers, several lions, and four elephants, two great and two small ones, cover'd with cloth of gold, all in a row. The elephant presented by *Hebar* the *Great Mogul's* son, which had been first given him by *Scia-Seimon*, had a great silver seat on his back, as is usual for those creatures to carry. Having pass'd through the first and second arches, a place was appointed us to stay till the time of the audience. This place was two spans higher than the other floors, and cover'd with good carpets. In the inner part sat the ambassador of the king of the *Imans*, an *Arab*, whose kingdom is near *Mecca*, and came to persuade the *Persians* to make war with the *Iman* of *Mafcate* in *Arabia Felix*. On the opposite side was the *Armenian* the *Pope's* ambassador, and the provincial of the *Dominicans*, with another friar. In another arch on the right, sat, after a barbarous manner, the ambassador of the king of the *Usbecks*, with his retinue. Whilst we were here, the family of *Hebar* pass'd by, being about forty persons clad in silk and gold, with their little turbans, after the *Indian* fashion, made of the finest silk, the king having sent for them.

The kings of *Persia* use to give ambassadors four *Calates*, or rich long gowns at their first and last audiences, whereas the *Turk* gives them only at the first; but the *Polish* ambassador had but one that morning, because he had receiv'd the

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four in the reign of *Scia-Seimon*, when he was dismiss'd by the *Atmatb-Dulet*. Now that dismissing having taken no effect, by reason of the king's death, and other causes already mentioned, I thought it not consonant to the generosity of so great a king, to reckon upon those he had given before. That he had was of cloth of gold, after the *Persian* manner; an upper vest of pearl-colour silk, with gold stripes, made like a cope, and a turban, and fash of silk and gold, and long sleeves. The king had sent *Hebar* a present worth 3000 tomans; that is 2000 in gold and silver, and 1000 in silks, with twelve garments; but that prince excus'd himself from going to the audience, till forty days after the late king's death, and that his beard was grown, which he had cut a little in token of grief.

The *Pope's* ambassador had three garments; that he wore was of cloth of silver, the upper vest of cloth of gold, and the fash and turban of silk and gold. The other two the *Dominicans* wore were as rich, but of other colours. The *Usbeck* ambassador had his gown or cassack of cloth of gold flower'd, and the upper vest, call'd by the *Persians* *Balapuse*, of cloth of silver. Two persons of his retinue wore the other two garments given him, which were of different colours. But his turban was after his country fashion, small and sharp at the top, with a black feather in the middle.

After we had been above an hour in this indecent place, hemm'd in with servants and footmen, at length the audience began by the ambassador of the king of the *Imans*, who was clad in his own cloaths after the *Turkish* fashion, having had no *Calate* or garment given him. After him we went into the garden, about fifty paces from the arch where the audience was, but were fain to stay a while by a fountain, before we were introduc'd to the king. This garden is about fifty yards square, and has four allies making a cross, adorn'd with tall *Cinar*-trees. On the side adjoining to the *Talar-Tevile*, or hall of audience, is a curious fountain, about twenty spans in length, with a little rais'd place in the middle for the king and great ones to stand cool. At the end of the fountain which reaches to the hall, there were two great silver vessels. In the adjoining alley two hundred *Tapcis* or musketers of the kings were drawn up in a rank; some *Giarci* or executioners with clubs on their shoulders; at the end whereof was a globe cover'd with silver,

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call'd

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GEMELLI
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call'd *Topus*; and then some *Safis*, who had the same fashion'd caps as the *Giar-cis*, but differing from them in that they were cover'd with silk. Under the wall of the hall stood twenty hories with all their furniture adorn'd with great diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other stones of great value. The stirrups were of massive gold, and the worst saddles cover'd with cloth of gold, with nails of the same metal.

The audience-chamber was not the same we were in before, being a great room joyning to the garden, as has been said, the walls of it painted and gilt, and adorn'd with looking-glasses, as were the four wooden pillars which supported a small scaffold. In the midst was a fountain, and at the end as it were a great niche or closet, containing the royal throne fourteen spans square. On that side next the garden several musicians sat on carpets playing upon variety of instruments, whilst others sang after a barbarous manner. We ascended from the first part of the room where these people were, to the second, as was describ'd in the other hall, where leaving us, the ambassador was led by the right arm by the *Memondar*, and by the left by the *Eficagasi-Baschi*, who is great porter, or master of the ceremonies, up to the king. His majesty sat on a cushion upon good carpets, and had two other brocard cushions at his back. About him stood many eunuchs, as was mention'd in the other hall. When the ambassador came within six paces of the king, he set his hands on the ground, bowing down his forehead almost to the pavement. When he stood up again the *Aimatb-Dulet* came before him, and taking a letter out of a gold basin that was at the king's feet with other letters

and abundance of flowers, deliver'd it to the ambassador, who with great submission laid it on his head. Then the *Memondar* and master of the ceremonies took it and plac'd it on his turban, that it might be well seen by all people. The letter was cover'd with cloth of gold as is us'd among the eastern nations, two spans in length, and proportionable in breadth. Having receiv'd the letter, and compliment of leave by the mouth of the *Aimatb-Dulet*, he made such another obeisance as he had done before, and was by the same officers reconducted down to the garden.

The pope's ambassador went in next, and we stay'd in the garden till he came out, that we might all go away together; since being dismiss'd, we were not to stay to the king's *Mangeles* or dinner. Besides the great letter for the pope, his ambassador had a small one for the republick of *Venice*.

Returning home, with the admiration of the *Europeans*, who saw those letters on the turbans, the *Polish* ambassador honour'd me with his table, which was much better, than the ill-dress'd pilau the others were eating at court, tho' in gold dishes. At this second audience I took better notice of the king. He was tender, and of a puny constitution, had a little face, beautiful eye-brows, black eyes, and a black but short beard. He had on a gown of red cloth of gold, with a short vest over it of a gold colour, without sleeves, call'd in the *Persian* language *Curdis*; on the right side of his turban he wore a heron's feather upon a jewel of rich diamonds.

Sunday the 22d, I heard mass at the barefoot *Carmelites*, which was all I did that day worth remembring.

The End of the First BOOK.

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A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part II.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
P E R S I A.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The doleful Festival, kept by the Persians, for the Death of Hassan, and Hossen.

Doleful
festival.

MOnday the 23d, the new moon of *August* appearing, began the much spoken of, and lamentable festival the *Persians* keep for the death of *Hassan* and *Hossen*, the sons of *Hali*, who were kill'd by *Omar* near *Bagdat*. During the ten days it lasts, every square is set out with lights, and a long black banner is flying abroad, near which a *Mullah* gets into a high pulpit to preach, making the hideouslest noise in the world. All the inhabitants of that quarter go to hear him, clad in silk red and blue gowns, in token of sorrow; after filling their bellies with all sorts of fruit the season affords. The women, who in all countries are of the same temper, yield the *Mullah's* great profit, giving them money, sweet-meats, and rose-water to cool them when they are heated with preaching.

Till the last day of the doleful festival, by the *Persians*, call'd *Asiur*, or mourning is over, no *Turk* can appear in publick, without great danger of his life. I my self saw one on *Tuesday* the 24th, who had been bastonado'd to death, were it not for his nimbleness in shutting himself up. What they did on *Wednesday* the 25th, was ridiculous. They made a figure of straw, round about with cords, set it on an ass, and carry'd it all about the town, beating it; sometimes calling it *Omar*, and sometimes *Abumurgian*, his companion. At last in a hellish rage they kill'd the poor ass, and in that one maukin of straw burn'd both the murderers of their two holy youths; which found me something to laugh at on *Thursday* the 26th, with the ambassador, and father *Elias*.

Friday the 27th, after dinner I went to

Zulfa, to visit father *Bouchier*, superior of the *Jesuits* mission. Returning home through *Sciarbach* road, or street, I met the king riding to *Sarajabel* garden on a bay horse, with furniture of a vast value in gold and jewels. He was clad in a violet-colour silk, and was attended by at least a thousand horse between gentlemen and soldiers, besides a hundred foot, as may appear in the adjoining cut.

Whenever the king goes abroad, ten horse go half a mile before to clear the way; but when he is to carry his women with him, they riding a horseback, and bare-fac'd, proclamation is made two days before, for all men to be out of the way, and not presume to be seen in that street upon pain of death, which is executed without mercy.

To this purpose, they tell the good fortune of a country-man, and the generous goodness of *Scia-Selemon*. The peasant was coming out of the country with his ass loaded with peaches, and meeting unexpectedly in the street, or road of *Sciarbach*, with the king, and having no place to retire to, he fell flat on his face upon the ground, with his eyes shut. *Scia-Selemon* perceiving the poor man's simplicity, and being well pleas'd with it, commanded him to rise. His fear was so great, that he scarce could be persuaded to obey the third command, and the king turning to his women, bid every one of them take some of the peaches, and give the peasant a zecchine. This done, he order'd him to take which soever of those women he lik'd for his wife; and thus, tho' at first he was shie, he went home with the finest woman in *Persia*, and his purse full, to his cottage, whence he came out alone, and poor.

GEMELLI
1694.
The king's
retinue.

A pleasant
passage.

Saturday

GEMELLI 1694. *Saturday the 28th, the Portuguese fathers where I lodg'd, celebrated the festival of St. Augustin, at which the Polish ambassador, father Elias, and several religious, and Frenchmen were present, and were treated at a plentiful dinner. Sunday the 29th, I went to see father Raphael, superior of the Capuchins of Ispahan, who ever since the reign of Scia-Abas the second, serv'd as interpreter for the letters, and to the ambassadors of European princes. He was about eighty years of age, and had resided forty seven at Ispahan, which made me spend several hours with him, to be inform'd in the affairs of the Persian empire; as knowing no man could give a better, or truer account. Tavernier in his travels through Persia, often speaks of this religious man. Monday the 30th, I visited James Norgbcamer, director of the Dutch company, and din'd with him, the time of my departure now drawing near. Tuesday the 31st, I din'd with the ambassador, to whom I was much oblig'd.*

Wednesday the 1st of September, being the festival of Hassan, and Hossen, call'd by the Persians Cail, that is, murder; the king made a Mangeles, or entertainment over the gate of Ala-Capi, at which all the nobility and ambassadors were present. The horses and wild beasts were rang'd in order before the palace, as they had been the time before; and all the Meidan was clear'd from shops, to make room for above a thousand horses belonging to those great

Hassan's Festival.

men that were come to the feast. Several processions from all parts of the town began to enter the Meidan betimes. They carry'd pikes of a vast length, with banners fastned to them, and horses loaded with the arms and turbans of their suppos'd martyrs, singing doleful verses to the noise of two basons beaten at the same time, and dancing in a very ridiculous manner. Some carry'd the images of those very martyrs on beers, dancing about them; others carry'd two children ty'd on a camel, as if they were dead, with two saddled horses led by, on which were the arms or weapons us'd, as they thought, by those children, who dy'd at nine, or ten years of age. All these processions pass'd before the gallery where the king was, those blind people beating themselves severely, to represent the murder the more lively. Many of them made nothing of going home with their heads broke, or even of death it self; because they are fully perswaded that whosoever dies in that confusion, goes directly to heaven; the gates thereof being open all those ten days for *Mabometans*. Many of the loose people imitating the superstitious companies, beat one another, and cut their flesh cruelly. The owners of the shops had cool water ready to give to those that were thirsty, in memory of the thirst *Hassan* and *Hossen* endur'd, after their father *Hali* was wounded.

CHAP. II.

Of the Religion, Marriages, and Habit of the Persians.

IN the Persian dominions there are *Mabometans*, *Pagans*, or *Goris*, *Jews*, *Christians*, *Armenians* that follow *Nestorius*, *Melchites*, *Manichees*, *Franks*, and catholick *Armenians*; but the prevailing religion is the *Mabometan*, tho' differing from the *Turks* concerning the true successors of *Mabomet*. The *Sunnis*, or *Osmalis* say, that *Abubaker* was immediate successor to *Mabomet*, as his vicar; he was succeeded by *Omar*, *Omar* by *Osman-Mortuz-Hali*; nephew and son-in-law to *Mabomet*, whose successors have propagated their religion by the sword more than by reason, and therefore the followers of this sect are not allow'd to dispute, but to maintain it by force of arms, as was said before.

The *Sciays*, or *Halis*, which are the *Persians*, call the *Turks* *Refesis*, or heretics, and abhor the names of *Abuba-*

ker, *Omar*, and *Osman*, saying they usurp'd the inheritance due to *Hali*, *Mabomet's* nephew and son-in-law. They count after him twelve prophets, or high priests, and beginning at *Hali*, the son of *Abusaleb*, they give the second place to *Hassan*, eldest son of *Hali*; the third to *Hossen* his second son, who dy'd at *Babylon* in the place call'd *Herbela*, kill'd by the *Sunnis* in defence of his father's inheritance, and therefore the *Persians* keep his anniversary. The fourth they say was *Imonzin-el-Abedin*; the fifth *Mabomet el-Baker*; the sixth *Jasor-el-Scadek*, who brought up the barbarous custom in *Persia*, that whosoever turns a *Mabometan* becomes heir not only to his own family, as was said above, but even to his grand-father; which is the reason that some covetous *Armenians* embrace *Mabometanism*, and so their brethren

The Nabab.

The Pisch-namaz.

Mahab.

Persian society.

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threen follow their example rather than lose their inheritance. The seventh successor was *Mussa-Katim*, the eighth *Ali-el-Rezza*, whose tomb is at *Majud*, and honour'd as much as *Mabomet's*; the ninth *Mabomet-el-Jued*; the tenth *Hali-el-Hadi*; the eleventh *Hozen-el-Askeri*; and the twelfth *Mubemanet-el-Mobadi-Sabel-Zaman*, concerning whom the *Persians* believe as we do of *Enoch* and *Elias*, and therefore they leave in their wills, houses ready furnish'd, and stables full of horses, for him to make use of them when *Saeb-el-Zaman*, that is, the lord of time shall call him. These horses are kept without doing any service, upon the revenues left to that purpose, and the houses shut up.

The Nabab.

The *Nabab* is head of their religion; which dignity is worth 14000 tomans a year. In publick he takes place next to the *Aimab-Dulet* or prime minister, and disposes as he pleases of the legacies left to *Mosques*, which always turn to his profit. There is no difference betwixt the *Persian Nabab* and *Turkish* great *Muphti*, but that the former may pass from religious to civil employments, which the latter may not; and therefore it has often been seen that the *Nabab* or *Sedre* has been made *Aimab-Dulet*. He has two judges under him, call'd the *Seik* or *Axond*, and the *Casi*, who decide all religious matters, grant divorces, and are present at contracts and publick acts; appointing their deputies in all the cities of the kingdom.

The Pistb-namaz.

He that calls to prayers is call'd *Pistb-namaz*, whom the *Turks* call *Iman*; but the *Persians* do not cry out to call to prayers from the top of the towers, but from the cupola or roof of the *Mosque*.

Mullabs.

The doctors who are every Friday to expound the *Alcoran*, are call'd *Mullabs*, and by the *Turks* *Hodgrias*. These are most compleat hypocrites, for they always walk gravely, talk seriously, and when they meet any body, seem to pray; laying a cloth on the ground, and upon that a stone or clod of earth brought from *Mecca*, which they kiss now and then. This superstitious relic is us'd by all the *Persians*, as are also certain little silver pipes ty'd to their arms with some sentence of the *Alcoran* in them, or such like trifle.

Persian belief.

The *Persians* like the *Turks* believe, that after they are bury'd, two angels, the one call'd *Anachir*, and the other *Monchir*, come and raise them to life as far as the waist, to examine them what good and evil they have done; and use them well or ill accordingly, till *Saeb-el-Zaman*, or the lord of time comes,

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who will kill *Dedgar*, or antichrist, whose followers shall go to hell, and if repenting they turn back, two horns shall grow out of their heads; after this immediately will follow the resurrection of the flesh, which they call *Maavedet-Hurbe*, the souls and bodies uniting to go before the great judge. But they say all men must pass the bridge of *Poljerat*, which is sharper than a knife; and that the *Mussulmans* will pass as nimble as birds, and the infidels at first step will fall under the bridge: where there is a river of fire and abundance of devils, who have hooks to draw them in; which opinion is so fixt in the hearts of the *Persians*, that if any man denies another what is his due, he presently says, he will meet him at the bridge of *Poljerat*, and laying hold of his garment, will not let him pass till he is paid. They believe the porter of heaven, whom they call *Rufian*, will open the door to them, near the great fountain, call'd *Kofer*; where their prophet will give them to drink of that water, out of a large ladle; and that then they shall have a great number of beautiful women, created purposely for that end, and delicious meat of several tastes; but that the enjoyment of the women shall not proceed beyond imbraces and kisses, and the meat shall digest in odoriferous sweats, without turning to excrements, as it does in this world. These follies were a great diversion to me, when I was in the company of a *Persian* lord, and had these questions put to him.

They say their women shall be in heaven in a place apart from the men, and of women. to this purpose the prior of the monastery told me, that some *Portuguese* being much importun'd by a *Mullab* to become *Mabometans*, he using this argument, that unless they profess'd his faith they would not go to the true heaven, but to that separate place where the *Persian* women were; they answer'd they would be satisfy'd to be there, and so they shak'd off the *Mullab*. He being afterwards reprov'd by the *Cadi* for his folly, defended himself by saying, that another paradise would be made for the women, that they might not be among the christians.

The *Persians* marry their children ve-wifes, ry your. They are allow'd by their law four lawful wives at once, one of which is the true one and chief, and call'd *Zana-Codesi*, the others they call *Motba*. Besides they may have as many concubines as they will and can maintain, taken from the quarter of the *Whores* who are call'd *Caipe*, which is in *Isfahan* known

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by

GENELLI by the name of *Bazarnouche*, which says a duty to the king. They are taken for a certain time, and the contract made before a judge. When the time is expired they are to continue chaff forty days, to see whether they are with child.

They may also make use of their slaves; and the children born of either of them are counted legitimate, as to inherit; but with this difference, that the females have but half the portion of the males.

Love.

The *Persians* are so amorous, that sometimes to show their love, they brand their arms with red hot irons, like beasts; perhaps to express that no torment is so great as that they endure in their mind. A *Persian* lord, my friend, took a pride now and then in showing me several such marks of love he had on his arms, made for the love of a concubine, on whose account he was perpetually at variance with his wife.

Marriages.

Before the wife is carry'd home she has her cloaths sent her, and the husband appoints her portion. On the wedding-day, or rather the night, the bridegroom goes to fetch her, attended by his kindred and friends a horse-back, with lighted flambeaux; and is met by her half way, with the like retinue of women, who carry the bride's apparel, with musick of drums, and trumpets. Being come to the bridegroom's house, a *Mullah* reads the matrimonial contract, and having perform'd the nuptial ceremony, the women divert themselves the rest of the day in one apartment, and the men in another. This puts me in mind of *Tavernier's* mistake, who *Tom. I. Chap. 18. page 719. says, That if the Bridegroom has promis'd an extravagant Portion to gain the Bride, when she comes, he shuts the Door, saying he will not take her at that price, and will not receive her unless an Abatement is made and a new Contract sign'd.* For several *Persians* of quality told me there was no such thing, but that in such cases the bride's parents, or kindred understanding how impossible it is for the husband to make good his promise, moderate it; or else the judge does it that the man may not be begger'd. If in process of time they happen to disagree, the woman demands her dower call'd *Tilac*; and being agreed to part, they go before the *Casi*, or *Efsee-Iflon* who is the doctor of the law, and in his presence they dissolve the matrimonial knot, and remain free. This may be done three times; after which the woman cannot be receiv'd again, unless she has first been taken by another and put away. The husband

may put her away the second day, giving her the *Tilac*; and this is us'd among all the *Mabometans*. Father *Francis of St. Joseph*, once prior of the monastery where I lay, told me a comical passage that happened at *Bassora* whilst he resided there, as the king of *Portugal's* envoy. *An Arabian lord falling out with one of his wives, gave her the Tilac; but love making him soon repent, and there being no having her till she had been with another, he look'd out for the opportunity of some stranger to lie with her. This being told the Turkish Bassa who was very amorous, he caus'd a stranger be lighted on to be richly clad, and sent him to the Arab, as it were about some other affair. He seeing an opportunity offer'd, of bringing about his design, after inquiring into his condition, gave him an account of his amorous distemper, and how he might be cur'd by his means. The place and time being agreed on without any difficulty, upon promise of perpetual fecundity, the stranger got the woman into his hands, and immediately deliver'd her to the Bassa, who put her into the Aram. The stranger was never heard of more, and the deluded Arab could never recover his woman.*

As for the *Persian* habit the *Cobayas*, Habit or vests before-mention'd, reach down below the knee, and have straight sleeves down to the hand-wrist. They do not use buttons, but knot them with ribbands under the left arm, and under the right hip. Persons of quality wear it of silk, or cloth of gold, with a silk sash that has gold flowers at the end of it; and over that another of silk and extraordinary fine woollen, which costs more than if it were cloth of gold. They wear shirts of colour'd silk, or of cotton of several colours; as also breeches which reach down to their ankles, and close, for they wear no drawers. Their turbant is made of very fine silk of several colours, embroider'd with gold and silver at the edges, and stands up like a fan upon the forehead. These turbants are very heavy, and some of them have so much gold about them, that they cost seven or eight hundred crowns of our money. Upon the vest some wear a loose doublet, or waistcoat without sleeves, call'd *Curdi*, in winter lin'd with fables, or little lamb-skins, brought from the province of *Korajon*, curiously curl'd. In the hard winter they add a long woollen robe down to their feet, with long sleeves, wove all in a piece, to keep out the rain the better; but some persons of quality wear them of *English* cloth, or cloth of gold, lin'd with ermins; they being very extravagant in their expences. At their sash hangs a dagger, which

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Murderers

Robbers.

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which they call *Cangiar*, and the nobility sometimes has it set with jewels. Their hose are all of a width; some wear them of cloth of gold, or woollen cloth, better shap'd; but the peasants wrap coarse cloth several times about their legs. Round the edge of their socks, towards the ankle, they sew a piece of leather, that it may not be torn by the shagrine shoes. These are made like our slippers, with a sharp iron four fingers high under the heel.

The *Persian* women differ little in their habit from the men; for their vests are made open before, reaching but half way the leg, and their sleeves come down to the wrist. On their head they wear a little cap, adorn'd with precious stones, if they be people of quality, from which a veil hangs down behind, together with their tresses, their breeches and stockings are like the mens.

GEMELLI
1694.

CHAP. III.

Of the Civil Government, the Manners, and Funerals of the Persians.

IN *Persia* justice is done with brevity and severity, without so many counsellors and solicitors, as are us'd in *Europe*. The *Chams*, or Governours, have the administration of it in the provinces; and they appoint a *Deroga*, or criminal-judge in every city, who has under him an *Atas* to execute his orders. Besides the king appoints a *Divan Begby* and a *Kalantar*, who is to look that the subjects be not oppress'd by the *Cham*.

Murderers Murderers are punish'd speedily and with rigour, for the *Divan Begby* delivers them up to the parties aggriev'd, and they leading the criminal to the place of execution, put him to death with their own hands, as they think fit. It is allow'd to compound for money, but it is so dishonourable to forgive the wrong on that account, that this is seldom or never practis'd.

Robbers. High-way robbers can expect no mercy, and are punish'd several ways. Sometimes they hang them to a camel's saddle, with their head down, and then rip open their belly. Sometimes they immure the criminal up to the neck, and leaving him a pipe in his mouth for his last comfort, let him die in that miserable manner; so that somebody passing by, in compassion cuts off his head. Some are basted with burning bacon, and then their flesh cut in pieces and distributed about the publick places; besides many other torments, horrid even in the relation. 'Tis true these robberies seldom happen on the roads, because of the guard kept by the *Rattars*; but when they do, the *Cham* of the province is oblig'd to pay the value of what was stole, after four months and ten days allow'd him to find the robber. Some *Chams* pay immediately, that the

complaints may not come to the king's ear.

As for thefts in cities, the criminal is ty'd by the feet to a camel's saddle (as was said before) and his belly being ripp'd up, he is so carry'd about the publick places, the cryer proclaiming that the king has punish'd him for such an offence. After this round, if he be not yet dead, they hang him up at the next tree, and when he has expir'd they bury him. There is also particular care taken to punish all insolencies committed in taverns, stews, and other publick places.

As for what concerns provisions, there is a *Motbesheb*, or superintendent of them, with four assistants, who every first day in the week sets the prices of all things, by weight, not measure. If any man be taken selling but a farthing dearer, the common punishment is to put on him the *Taktekolas*, which is a cap with a small bell hanging to it, and lead him about the city, as if he were whip'd; after which he pays a fine, and is bastonado'd on the feet. The weight of gross things, as wood and the like, is call'd *Buttiman*, and is about twenty five pounds of ours. The small weight they call *Muscal*, whereof seventy two make a pound.

Having spoke of the *Persian* government, it will be proper to give an account of all the *Chams* and *Viziers* the king sends into the provinces, that the reader may form some notion of the vast extent of that empire. A *Persian* lord my friend, nobly born, and actually in the king's service, whose behaviour was his greatest recommendation, with much difficulty procur'd me the following list out of the royal archives.

The

The Provinces govern'd by Chams, are

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K Ermum-Sciam
Amadam
Loreffum
Cordeffum
Bastari
Terum
Reicurami
Semnum
Damgum
Baztum
Aferabat
Nafciabur
Sabzavar
Effraim
Masfet
Torfeff
Xaim
Tebez
Tum
Gum-lager

Saraes
Zura-bat
Zemin-dacuf
Agiler
Geraili
Gelaeli
Neffa
Bacarz
Fera
Curium
Kufcum
Bol
Candaar
Siztun
Soltanie
Zangium
Aver
Tauris
Gerum
Sciamaki

Gange
Carabac
Bardac
Ardevil
Tefiu
Cartil
Caxet
Dadeyum
Vafciafcio
Kermaim
Bander-Abaffi
Sarveffum
Lefteffum
Affara
Domdom
Babarem
Tonecabon
Oromi
Alpauz
Derban

Oglige
Damor-cap
Merun
Marufciac
Bola-moreab
Arat
Badcu
Dagffum
Aviver
Baxerz
Badkiz
Cugeluc
Rumus
Bezoum
Sciaster
Avize
Difpul
Dedeft
Sciors
Nimruz
Durak

In all Eighty One Provinces govern'd by Chams.

The Provinces govern'd by Viziers are 37. viz.

Sepbaum
Golpapum
Saru
Tufexu
Nataris
Ardeffum
Naim
Arant
Cupa

Cucbi
Avarku
Tafe
Sigda
Tefid
Gbefcu
Taaman
Cafciam
Kom

Save
Ablazim
Casbin
Afe-ref
Paraavat
Sarij
Amol
Bar-fruff
Mafciad-fer

Sciape-cernu
Com-fee
Scirez
Gearam
Carzerum
Lar
Bander-cong
Refi
Laxpum
Ave

The difference betwixt *Chams* and *Viziers* is this, That the first have the command of the soldiery, besides the civil and criminal government; and the latter a more limited power; so that in some cases they cannot give sentence of death, but must send the criminal to the next *Cham*.

Manners
of the *Per-*
sians.

The manners of the *Persians* differ much, and are quite opposite to those of the *Turks*; for they are civiliz'd, meek, peaceable, modest, grateful, generous, enemies to fraud, and lovers of strangers. They bear no hatred, like the *Turks*, to the christian habit and name, but are courteous and affable to them; so that every man may be clothed as he pleases, and either ride or walk a foot along the streets, without danger of being scoff'd at; nor are they forbid wearing green, as in *Turky*. Among

other usual courteous expressions among them, they commonly say: *I sacrifice or devote my self to your will. I wish the apples of my eyes might oblige you to tread on them*; or, *I am your slave, it is your part to command me*, &c. When persons of equal quality meet, they salute one another shutting their right-hands, and at the same time lifting them up to the crown of their heads, in token of love and esteem; to superiors they lift up their hand to the head, and then lay it on the stomach, bowing. On great festivals they visit, wishing one another many of those happy days; and great men receive these compliments in their houses from their inferiors.

Every man makes his court to gain the favour of the great ones, to obtain some employment of the king; espe-

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especially to carry the *Calaat* to *Chams* of provinces, who they are sure will make them a great present. Every *Cham* when he receives this present from the king, goes six miles out of the city into a garden, to meet the messenger, attended by the chief nobility and officers of the country, with several musical instruments. As soon as ever he sees him at a distance, he bows, and kneels down to pray for the king's health. When he has done praying, the messenger puts the *Calaat* on him, which at most is a garment of silk and gold; and sometimes, in token of greater affection, there is added a sash and turban. Being thus clad, he goes to the king's house, followed by the people, there he kisses the threshold of the door, and prays again, and then goes home, to make a noble entertainment for the prime nobility, for joy of the honour receiv'd.

Persians
revenge-
ful.

The *Persians* wink at injuries, to wait an opportunity of being reveng'd. They are great flatterers, ambitious of honour, and easy to be persuaded; so that the catholic missionaries could with great ease prevail with them to imbrace our faith, were the free exercise of the mission allow'd in *Persia* among the natives. I remember, I several times saw a *Persian* lord, whose house was always open to the *Augustinian* fathers, kneel in the church, to hear the divine office, with more devotion than the catholics themselves; and reprove others who did not make their obeisance to the altar; and yet he was a *Mabometan*.

Diver-
sions.

They seldom play, because *Mabomet* forbid it. They do not usually divert themselves with walking, like the *Europeans*, but sitting after their manner to enjoy the purling of some stream, or the pleasure of a garden. The men never dance, but there are women whose trade it is, that are hir'd on festivals. There are mountebanks, but extraordinary apish, and not at all pleasing. The greatest pastime of youth is to make a hollow past-board case, lapp'd over with some sort of skin, which they toss up into the air with a large rope, when the wind blows, and it sounds like the pipe of an organ; the *Portuguese* call it *Papagayo*, or parrot.

Walking.

They never pray till they have wash'd in running water; or if they cannot come at it in the cistern, every man has it to this purpose in his house. When they have had to do with their women, they go to wash at the bath, which they may do till two hours after sun-rising, the rest of the day being for the women.

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They wear no long beards, like the *Turks*, but those that belong to the law, ^{1694.} now and then clip it with scissers. The courtiers and soldiers shave, leaving long whiskers, and under the lower lip a patch like a swallow's tail hanging, to make their countenance more honourable or dreadful. Old men dye it black, which holds several days. Other youths pull out the hair of their cheeks to have their skin look fine.

They give much credit to superstitious observations; and therefore if two friends should happen by chance to touch feet, they believe they shall fall out, and therefore each of them immediately takes the other lovingly by the hand, and then each lifts his own up to his head. They look upon it as an ill omen to meet with any melancholy persons, when the new moon is. In short they are so much addicted to superstition and divination, that they never go about any thing but at the hour appointed by the astrologers, who are look'd upon as oracles by them. Therefore no man neglects buying the almanack, or *Tacim*, which sets down what time is lucky to put on their cloaths, go to the bath, purge, and do other things; as also whether the year will be scarce or plentiful, diseases and wars.

They use a sort of divination by even and odd numbers, like geomancy. I have seen the very women make judgments of things to come, upon plants on which the planets and fix'd stars of the first magnitude were engrav'd.

They circumcise their sons very young, like the *Turks*; and make barren women swallow that part which is cut off, as an excellent remedy against barrenness.

The *Persians* have no surnames, but Titles. say such a one the son of such a one. They give learned people the honourable title of *Mirza*, and soldiers that of *Bech*; but they often mistake, and call ignorant persons *Mirza*. Those that are descended from *Mabomet* are call'd *Sabet*, which signifies as much as lords among us.

Sports, and particularly hawking is much us'd among them, so that those who are well to pass keep great numbers of those birds, as also dogs and horses. They take tobacco a different way from the *Turks*; for under the bowl it burns in, is a little bottle full of water, which makes the smoke passing through it come cool to the mouth, and this pipe they call *Caliana*.

Besides tobacco, which no person whatsoever forbears, they use

Q9

Opium,
and

GEMELLI and from it borrow that stupidity and
1694. drunkenness they cannot have from wine,
which is forbid them. They take it
even to the quantity of half a dram,
which an *European* could not take at
fifteen times, without danger, which
makes them pale, cold, and worse than
mad. They use much coffee; and an-
other liquor to make them merry, call'd
Koknar. They go to the shops where
it is sold, or *Koknar-kones*, and after
drinking a great deal, do the most ri-
diculous actions in the world, jeering
and abusing one another; when the
strength of the liquor is over, they are
as good friends again, as if nothing had
happened.

Eating
and drink-
ing.

In eating they use no spoons, but
only for liquids. They do not drink
till they have done eating; and for both
uses have vessels of copper and earthen-
ware, because the laws forbid silver.
The king at his table is serv'd in gold.

In other respects they are temperate.
The poor people are satisfy'd at noon
with *Azeri*, which is bread and curds,
fold in skins, and with fruit according to
the season; at night they eat pilau.
The gentry and richer sort, eat roast
meat and pickles; putting a whole sheep
or lamb into a little oven, hanging over
a great dish of pilau, that the fat may
drip into it. The poor people, if they
will, buy it at the taverns, because of the
scarcity of wood there is in *Isfahan*. The
bread would be excellent were it bak'd
after the *European* manner; but the
dough flatt'd like a cake, being put into
a copper vessel made hot, it can never
be good.

Day how
divided.

They divide the day into four equal
parts, beginning at midnight; and at
every one of them except noon, there is
a displeasing noise of drums made from
some eminent place of the city.

Months.

In religious affairs the *Persians* make
use of lunar months, the first whereof
they call *Muferram*, the second *Sefar*,
the third *Rabrah-al-avel*, the fourth *Rabra-
al-axer*, the fifth *Gemad-il-avel*, the sixth
Gemad-il-axer, the seventh *Regeb*, the
eighth *Sciaabon*, the ninth *Ramazan*, the
tenth *Sciaual*, the eleventh *Zikade*, the
twelfth *Zilagge*. But the astrologers count
by solar months two several ways, ours
and the *Egyptian*.

Year.

Their year call'd *Nuries*, begins up-
on the day of the vernal equinox. Then
all the great men go to with the king
a happy new year, and send him some
exquisite curiosity, or at least *Venetian*
gold crowns, which the absent *Chams*
are also oblig'd to do. The nobility
cloath all their servants and slaves, bor-

rowing many if they have it not, that
they may not make an ill omen for all
the year that is to follow; and this con-
ceit is so deeply rooted in their minds,
that there is no wretch but endeavours
that day to be clad all new from head
to foot. There is besides a great ex-
pence in eating and sending presents to
friends.

The *Persians* being lovers of learn-
ing, they have their colleges, or *Medres*,
where the sciences are taught. Here the
students have only their lodging, and the
Medres or masters expound to them
those books they read. They are par-
ticularly addicted to poetry, and have
an excellent genius for it. They have
choice *Arabick* books, some of them
translated into the *Persian* tongue, but
all written, they having no press, and
in a curious character, for they write
well after several manners, either in ci-
pher or otherwise. Some value themselves
upon writing eleven several sorts of
hands, or characters, which they make
use of according to the business in hand,
or court they have to do with. The
first is call'd *Aestalik*, the second *Curicate-
Nesk*, the third *Sciakeste*, the fourth *Ka-
ber*, the fifth *Talik*, the sixth *Rugum*, the
seventh *Sols*, the eighth *Kaler*, the ninth
Serenk, the tenth *Antumi*, the eleventh
Zaterraka; I have copies of them all
made on half a sheet of paper, by that
Persian lord my friend.

As for languages the gentry use four,
viz. the *Persian*, which they call *Belik*
or sweet; the *Turkish* call'd *Scia-fee*, or
haughty; the *Arabian* *Geficub* or elegant;
and the fourth corrupt, us'd by the pea-
sants call'd *Valaat*.

The *Persian* is of itself barren in words,
and therefore borrows many from the
Arabick, which is the language of the
learned, and in use for all sciences. But
at court the king himself always speaks
Turkish, as the *Great Mogul* does *Persian*
at his. The kings of *Vizapor* and *Gol-
conda* used the same language before
they were made prisoners by the *Great
Mogul*.

The best handicrafts in *Isfahan* are the
silk weavers, some of whom ingeniously
stick flowers with gum on their stuffs.
They also work well in steel; because
this metal which formerly went from
Golconda, where the best is, to *Damaj-
cus*, is now carry'd all to *Isfahan*, where
they now temper as well as at *Damaj-
cus*, with vitriol. Their works in sha-
green and earthen-ware, are nothing
worse; the best of which come from
the country about *Kerman*, and are white
both within and without, but do not
grow

Silk.

Women.

Sickness.

Flowers.

Europe.

Melons.

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grow hot so soon. On the other side the silver and goldsmiths do nothing to the purpose; and carpenters worse, having no other tools, but a pitiful saw, an ax, a hammer, a chisel, and rarely a plane.

Silk.

The greatest trade in *Persia* is that of silk of the province of *Ghilon*, and other places. The *Dutch* buy abundance, and what remains they weave, part whereof is also fold out of the kingdom. Besides this the *Pistaches* of *Cashin* and almonds of *Yezd* bring a great deal of money into *Persia*; as does the shagreen, *Turkey* leather, dry fruit, and painted stuffs, the *Dutch* carry to the *Indies*, *Japan* and *Europe*; and the camels, horses, mules, and lambs that go into *Turkey* and other parts.

Women.

The women in *Persia* are extraordinary beautiful, because they are brought from the provinces of *Circassia*, *Mingrelia*, and *Georgia*, and from the frontiers of *Poland*, *Muscovy*, and *Great Tartary*; and this by way of trade, the *Persians* besides their wives, and hir'd women, buying slaves to keep in the *Aram*. White and black eunuchs keep them in their apartments; and go abroad with them to keep off the people. In the streets they go cover'd with a long cloth, so that they look like ghosts.

Sickness.

When any *Persian* is very sick, they light several fires on the top of the house, to give the neighbours notice, that they may pray for his health. When he is dead, they make dreadful cries and howling; especially the women, who now and then report the dead man's good actions and qualities, and then give a shriek by fits, that is hideous to hear. Next they find word to the *Deroga*, that

such a man is dead, for him to seal the license to wash his body. This done, the *Mullabs* come from the *Mosque*, with long poles, to which there are tin or iron plates fastned, or some bit of tafeta, and carry him to the grave, crying all the way *Allab, Allab*. The people that pass by help to carry the beer, at the request of the kindred. At the funerals of great men, several horses fiddled follow, one carrying the turbant, another the scimiter, another the arrows, another the bow, and all those things, that may tend to their honour. The grave is commonly made in the great church-yard, call'd *Carbeston*, two foot wide, and six in length and depth. The body being lain in it, with the face towards *Mecca*, they place two stones on each side the head, that it may not stir, and four more about the grave, which then they fill up with earth. For persons of note they erect a covering, or roof, or little cupola upon four pillars; nor is it true, as *Tavernier* says, That they bury their arms with soldiers; but those that are able to distribute meat to the poor. The *Mullabs* also take care to go eat at the dead man's house, besides the payment given them for the funeral. To conclude, the kindred and friends go for several days to condole with the heir.

Only soldiers are forbid leaving pious legacies (such as we have before spoke of in several places) and so those that have been officers of justice, or manag'd the king's revenues; because he is their universal heir, allowing the dead man's eldest son some small portion of the estate, and raising him to the same degree, if he is capable of it.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Flowers, Fruit, Minerals, living Creatures, Coin, Arms, Climate, and Limits of Persia.

Flowers.

IN *Persia* there are flowers of all sorts, and the untill'd fields are full of most beautiful tulips; but above all, it abounds in roses, from which they distil water, and send it into *India*, and other countries.

Fruit.

The fruit is much better than ours in *Europe*, and there are all sorts of it; but the melons have a most singular taste, and exceed those of *Parabito*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, which are counted the best. There are six several sorts, which ripen at several times. The first of them call'd *Gbermeik*, are yellow, and serve to purge the body, nor do they

any harm, tho' a man eat never so much of them; there being *Persians* that will eat thirty pounds in a day. The second which have a green rind, are better tasted than the first, and call'd *Phost-Sabs*; the third *Fasteri*; the fourth *Anagabati*; the fifth *Belgne*; the last *Carpusa-pais*, or autumn melons, which keep all the year about.

Melons.

The peaches are well tasted, and good, for tho' I eat never so many, I did not find they did me any harm, notwithstanding ancient writers say that they are venomous. The figs are good, but not found in all parts of the kingdom, by reason

Peaches:

GEMELLI 1694. reason of the cold of some countries. Almonds there are of several sorts, such plenty, and so good, that they make a trade of them, as they do of the nuts, all about *Indostan*, and the *Portuguese* carry them as far as *China*, which produces none. The country about *Cashin* and *Sultania* yields good *Pistaches*; and in the provinces of *Gbilan*, and *Mafandran*, there are some few chestnuts, olives, oranges, and lemons.

Grapes. Among the rest, there are three sorts of delicious grapes, which they call *Kisimisci*, without any small seeds in them; tho' all others exceed those of the kingdom of *Naples*, which are the best in *Italy*. There is such great plenty of them, that besides what they eat all the year, the wine made of them serves the *Persians*, who from the highest to the lowest are great drinkers, and supplies all *Indostan*, *China*, and other countries. The best and most delicious is that of *Sciras* and *Ted*. In which countries the wine is not kept in cask, as is us'd throughout *Europe*, but in earthen vessels glaz'd within, or else anointed with the grease of sheeps tails. The cellars are not deep, but handsomely contriv'd to carry friends down to drink. To this purpose there is commonly a cistern of water in the middle, carpets on the ground to sit down, and long rows of niches in the wall, with several vessels of different sorts of wine.

Herbs. They have a special method of preserving all the aforesaid sorts of fruit fresh the year about, and particularly a sort of plums call'd *Abuborra*, which are red with some mixture. The best herbs for common use in *Persia*, are lettuce, coleworts, borrag, and spinnage, besides roots.

Mines. As for mines there are some of copper, lead, iron, and steel. In the mountain *Phirusku*, four days journey from *Mesced*, they dig *Turky* stones of great value, of two sorts, the old and new rock. The first sort are kept for the king, being of a more lively and lasting colour. Add to this the excellent fishery of pearls at the island *Babarem*.

Pearls. For serviceable beasts, the *Persians* have excellent horses, good mules, large camels, and two sorts of asses, the *Persian* for burden, and the *Arabian* which are more mettlesome to ride on. For hunting there is store of wild boars, porcupines, red and fallow deer, roes, hares, tigers, lions, bears, and other wild beasts. This is sufficiently demonstrated by *Scia-Abas*, his building a tower in *Ispahan*, with only the bones

of creatures kill'd in one day's hunting, but it must be observ'd that those princes caused the country for forty miles about, or more, to be beset by thirty or forty thousand men to drive all the game to one place. Foxes are counted unclean, and the *Persians* do not only avoid killing or touching them, but will not come near a man that has a garment lin'd in their furs.

There is a prodigious quantity of Fowl. fowls, but particularly of pigeons, wild geese, cranes, ducks, mallards, turtles, crows, herons, and two sorts of partridges; the one no bigger than a quail, and the other like those in *Europe*. The pigeons they keep in towers are taught to decoy the wild pigeons to the dove-cote, or the neighbours; which they often allure by giving them better meat.

They man hawks, and other birds of Hawking prey to kill those birds, and use them also against four-footed creatures, teaching them thus. They use the hawks to feed out of the hollow of the eyes of wild beasts, whose skull and whole skin stuff'd, they preserve to that purpose, that they may look as if they were alive; then they make them move, and by degrees swifter and swifter; so that the bird greedy of food follows them. At last, tying the counterfeit beast on a cart, they make a horse draw it upon a full gallop; and so when the hawk is abroad, expecting to find the same food, he fixes on the living beast's head, and pecking its eyes, gives time to the hunters to overtake, and kill it.

Besides hawks and dogs, they make Onisc. use of a sort of creatures they call *Oniscus*, about the bigness of a fox, very swift, their skins speckled like tigers, and so tame, that they carry them behind them a horseback; but if the hunter through mistake, slips them after their game at too much disadvantage, so that they cannot overtake it, they are so much cast down with shame, that an infant may kill them.

No gold is coin'd in *Persia* (as was Coins. said above) except at the coronation of kings. There are three sorts of silver money; the *Abassi* worth four *Carlines* of *Naples*; the *Mamudi* worth two *Carlines*; and the *Sciae* worth one; there are also pieces of an *Abassi* and a half, and of two, but they are scarce. These pieces have no effigies on them, but only characters, which on the one side import the name of the king then reigning, and on the other the name of the city where they are stamp'd, with the year of the *Mahometan Epoch*.

The

Weapons
and soldiery.

Climate.

Snow.

Tamerlane.

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The brals money is of several forms, and stamps, for in some places they are call'd *Kasbeks*, in others *Gazes*, forty of which make an *Abassi*. The *Gazes* on the one side have a lion, and on the other the name of the city. The *Kasbeks* are round, like the *Gazes*, but there are also some longish.

Weapons
and fol-
diery.

The *Persian* weapons are for the most part bows, arrows, and scimiters; tho' they know how to manage a musket, and have the use of cannon, and mortars. There is no trusting to their infantry, which may be compar'd to our battalions in the kingdom of *Naples*, but their chief strength consists in horse; for the king upon the least call can raise 150000 good men, upon better horses. But they fight in confusion, without any order. For the sea, they have not so much as an arm'd brigantine.

Climate.

The air and climate differs according to the several provinces. *Edzerbagan* is excessive cold, but healthy; *Mazandran* bad by reason of the standing waters; *Isfahan*, which is almost the heart of the kingdom, is more subject to cold than heat, because of the abundance of snow that falls instead of rain, tho' it is seated in 32 degrees, and a few minutes of latitude. The heat is tolerable even in the dog-days, and not attended with the plague of bugs, fleas, gnats, and other troublesome insects.

Snow.

The snow, as I have said, falls in such quantities in winter, that sometimes it ri-

ses above a stone three spans high, a league from the city, towards the mountain; by which the *Persians* judge of the fruitfulness of the year. In the southern provinces, and particularly at the ports of *Bander-Abassi*, and *Bander-Congo*, on the gulph of *Persia*, the heat is excessive, and hurtful; for it breeds in the legs of *Europeans*, a sort of slender worms fifty or sixty spans long, which are afterwards drawn out by little and little, in several days, roll'd on a stick. The great men retire at that time to the cool neighbouring mountains.

Several nations have formerly reign'd *Persian* in *Persia*, and extended their dominion into all the three parts of the world then known. In *Asia* they possess'd *Armenia*, *Hornij*, *Persia*, *India* on this side *Ganges*, *Assyria*, *Syria*, the lesser *Asia*, and the island of *Cyprus*. In *Africk* they had *Egypt*, part of *Ethiopia*, and *Libia*. In *Europe*, *Tbra-* *Proton*, *cia*, and *Macedonia*; besides the islands *Grog*, *lib*, of the *Egean* sea, belonging both to *Eu-* *6*, *rope* and *Asia*. Under the *Partbian* monarchy the *Persian* empire contain'd all that lies between the rivers *Indus*, and *Euphrates*. At present, to come to the matter in hand, that is, to modern affairs, it is bounded on the north by the *Caspian* sea; on the south by the ocean; on the east by the *Mogul's* country, and on the west by the *Turkish* dominions, from which it is parted by the rivers *Ti-* *gri* and *Euphrates*.

CHAP. V.

The Genealogy of the Family now Reigning in Persia.

Tamerlane.

AFTER *Tamerlane* had routed *Baja-* *zeit's* army, and made him and his wife captives; he carry'd his victorious arms into *Persia*, and prescribing laws to those people by the point of his much dreaded sword, he became in a short time the richest, and most powerful prince in the east. His cruel inclination not being satisfy'd with the spoils of nations subdu'd, he drove away many thousands of prisoners out of *Caramania*, with a design to put them to death upon the first opportunity. But it was the good fortune of those wretches, that when he came into the city *Ardevil*, he found a *Sceik*, whose name was *Aidar*, who liv'd with the reputation of sanctity; and growing familiar with him, he not only granted him the lives of all those captives, but the dominion over them. The good *Aidar* having obtain'd this, provided for them

the best he could, and gave them their liberty to return home; in memory of which benefit those people ever continu'd most affectionate to him, and all his race.

The *Persians* finding themselves oppress'd by the *Tartar* yoke from the year 1250, and being consum'd with civil wars, by reason of the divisions in the family of the *Ussum-Cassan's*; *Ismael* the third, son of *Sceik-Aidar*, with the assistance of the *Caramanian's*, taking courage, began to seize the empire; first possessing himself of *Tauris*, which was divided into factions, and afterwards routing *Alamut*, king of *Persia*, or as others will have it *Aluante*, the son of *Tampus*, the son of *Ussum-Cassan*, and killing him with his own hand near that city. This happened about the year of our lord 1499, and from that time forward *Persia* was call'd the kingdom

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of *Sophi*, as being subject to the race of *Ismael*. Some, tho' without any ground, will have it, that this man was *Usun-Cassan's* grandson, as being born of his daughter, and of *Scaidari*, surnam'd *Arduelle*, of a city of that name he was possess'd of: But the truest opinion is, that he was son to *Sciek-Aidar*, as has been said, the great grandson of *Mortuz-Ali*, *Mabomet's* cousin, and son-in-law.

Tamrus. *Tamrus* succeeded his father *Ismael*,
Ismael 2. and *Tamrus* left for his successor *Ismael* the second, who by reason of his cruelty fate but a short time on the throne, his brother *Mabomet-Codabende*, tho' unskill'd in government, being set up by the great ones in his place. Some are of opinion that this man was blind; but the truth of it is, that his eyes were weakned by a red hot iron his brother caus'd to be held to them, the first day he came to the crown; which custom continues to this day among his successors. After *Mabomet*, *Scia-Abas* the first, his son, reign'd, and was call'd the great, for his extraordinary wisdom and valour, with which he extended the limits of the empire, conquering the kingdoms of *Lar*, *Ormuz*, *Candabar*, and other cities and provinces. Of many sons he had only *Sofi-Mirza* liv'd, who having got a son on a slave; the grandfather grew so fond of the grandson, and so averse to his own son, that he order'd a great man about the court to put him to death. Yet afterwards seeing his head he lamented bitterly, seiz'd all the goods of him that executed the cruel command, and gave them to him he had before banish'd for refusing to obey it. From that time forward, the king's sons have always been kept in the *Aram*. *Scia-Abas* dy'd about the end of the year 1628, having reign'd forty years; and order'd, that after his death the crown should devolve to *Scia-Sofi*, his grandson, which was perform'd by the general of the army, and the rest of the great ones.

Scia-Sofi. *Scia-Sofi* coming to the crown, could not at first give any specimen of his valour, as well because he was yet a child, as by reason of much *Opium* given him by his grandfather to stupify him. The first notable action he did was at *Casbin*, where he order'd the head of *Ali-Cutican* (a man that had deserv'd well from the crown, as having in the reign of *Scia-Abas* conquer'd the kingdoms of *Lar*, and *Ormuz*) and of three of his sons to be cut off. Then making his entry into *Ispahan*, he did the same to seven principal ministers of his court,

whom he had drawn to the palace with fair words, and serv'd the queen-mother in the same manner; so absolute is the power of those monarchs, and so ready the obedience of their subjects. Some may perhaps imagine that the people at the sight of those heads would enquire into the cause why they were cut off, and blame their king's cruelty; but the best of it is, That all the people in the *Meidan*, without any further consideration said, *Since the King has order'd these Dogs to be cut to Death, it is a Sign they deserv'd it.* *Scia-Sofi* dy'd in the year 1642. of hard drinking.

His son *Scia-Abas* the second, succeeded him, having been kept at *Casbin*, so that he did not make his solemn entry into *Ispahan*, till the beginning of the ensuing year 1643. He reign'd twenty one years, with the reputation of a valiant, and noble prince; but so addicted to drunkenness, that one day he caus'd three of his women to be burn'd, because they refus'd to drink more wine. He dy'd of an inflammation caus'd by that vice in the city *Telizon*, and the year 1664.

The great men that were then at court immediately sent the general of the musketiers, with the chief of the astrologers to carry the news to his son; who tearing his garments that moment in token of grief, fate him down at the door of the *Aram*. Then a lord appointed for that purpose drawing near, girt on his sword, saying, a slave of his had obtain'd so great an honour. Then the king put on the *Sofi's* cap, which is wide at the top, with twelve gathers in memory of their twelve prophets, and something like a cylinder, half a span long, and cover'd with the same cloth. Then abundance of drums and trumpets sounding, the people ran into the *Meidan*, every one crying out, *Paschia-Sal-Ameleck*; that is, *I salute thee emperor*; which is all the solemnity of the *Mabometan* coronation, as has been said elsewhere. Not long after, falling sick, by the advice of the physicians, he chang'd his name, and took that of *Scia-Selemon*; as we have related at large in the foregoing book. He dy'd on the 29th of July 1694, whilst I was at *Ispahan*; expressly forbidding his son to practice the ancient but cruel custom of their family, of putting out their brother's eyes with red hot irons.

Scia-Offen ascended the throne on the 6th of August, that same year, at the age of twenty five; and tho' hitherto he has fulfill'd his father's command,

yet

Atash-Delt.

Nazar.

Mithr.

Mor-akar-Beyli.

Mirjekar.

Sagun-Baf.

Scia-Beyli.

Kasbi.

Orag.

Armen.

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yet he will be full in time to blind his brothers and sons, according to the ancient custom; if he does not put them to death.

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CHAP. VI.

Of the several Employments in the Persian Court.

Atmab-Dulet.

THE prime post in the Persian court is that of *Atmab-Dulet*, who is like the grand vizier in Turkey. All the affairs of the kingdom run through his hands, and he contrary to the Turk, dispatches more business with the pen, than with the sword; nor is he so subject to go to the war, or to lose his head for the least miscarriage. But he is to take the proper measures to govern well, and not propose any thing to the king that may displease him.

Nazar.

The next great officer is the *Nazar*, who has charge of all that is presented to the king.

Metber.

The next is the *Metber* who is a white eunuch, waiting always in the bed-chamber, and about the king's person, with several handkerchiefs in a purse to supply him when he wants.

Mir-akor-Bafci.

The *Mir-akor-Bafci* has charge of the stables, which are also a place of refuge, and takes care that the king's horses be branded on the left leg, to know them from others; and that none of 40000 soldiers the king keeps be missing.

Mirfikar.

The great master of the game is call'd *Mirfikar*. He looks to the hawks, and has under him all the officers that belong to the hunt.

Segon-Bafci.

The *Segon-Bafci* has charge of the dogs, and other beasts for hunting, and is subordinate to the *Mirfikar*.

Sindar-Bafci.

The *Sindar-Bafci* is head of those that keep the saddles, and hold the stirrup, when the king gets a horseback; he is also call'd *Ozangu-cursfici*.

Kebisi-cursfici.

The *Kebisi-cursfici* carries the king's sword.

Oriage-cursfici.

The *Oriage-cursfici* carries the bow and arrows.

Vakanaviz.

The secretary is call'd *Vakanaviz*.

Kaf-nadar-Bafci.

The *Kaf-nadar-Bafci*, is in the nature of a treasurer, that keeps all the money in the king's coffers.

Agati-Bafci.

The great steward is call'd *Agati-Bafci*.

Kasim-Bafci.

The king's first physician is call'd *Kasim-Bafci*, by whose advice the others are receiv'd.

Mib-mandar-Bafci.

The master of the ceremonies or introducer of ambassadors is call'd *Mib-mandar-Bafci*.

Monagem-Bafci.

Monagem-Bafci, is the chief of the astrologers, by whom, as I said before, the king is rul'd in all his undertakings.

The *Divan-Beg*, is supreme judge both *Divan* in civil and criminal affairs, and has his court in the king's house. He is judge of appeals from all provinces in the kingdom, and receives informations against the *Chams*, and other great men.

The *Deroga* is under the *Divan-Beg*, to whom all appeal that are wrong'd by him. He punishes thieves and such that are guilty of capital crimes.

The *Sofragi-Bafci* is he that lays the *Sofragi* cloth of gold on the carpet before the king.

The *Sciraci-Bafci* is to provide the king's cellar with wine.

The *Mefcaldar-Bafci* is chief of those that carry flamboys. He furnishes the court with wax-candles; and takes care that the gold lamps in the royal hall be supply'd. To him belong all the fines laid on those that play at cards and dice, which are forbid by their law.

The *Kavergi-Bafci* has charge of the coffee and rose-water.

The *Giara-Bafci* is the surgeon, who bleeds and shaves the king's head.

The *Capigi-Bafci* is head porter.

The *Meledegiar-Bafci* keeps the king's cloth, and has care to deliver it out to the taylors to make his cloaths.

The *Gelodar-Bafci* is chief of the foot-men.

The *Mirab* is the overseer of the water-towers, who get considerably by the country people, because it is his business to distribute the water for watering the fields.

The *Zegber-Bafci* has power over all those that work carpets with gold and silver, and cloth for the king's household. This is done in the place call'd *Karkron*, where they also make scimiters, bows and arrows, silver rings, because the *Mabometans* may not say their usual prayers with gold rings on their fingers, and they paint in miniature on a sort of vernish made of gum-mastic, and a mineral oil, found not far from *Sciamaki* on the *Caspian*-sea.

The *Nakkase-Bafci* is head of these painters or limners.

The *Negear-Bafci* is nothing but the chief of the king's carpenters.

The *Ambardar-Bafci* keeps the grain and other provisions for the king's own use.

The

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The
Odunci-
Bafci.

Tufcamal-
Bafci.

Four ge-
nerals.

The *Odunci-Bafci* keeps the wood to burn. All these mechanicks have several assistants under them, who have flesh, butter, rice, and spice allow'd for their daily maintenance.

The *Tufcamal-Bafci* is supervisor of the king's kitchen, and commands those that are to serve at table; whence he always takes the best dish.

In war the king of *Persia* is serv'd by four sorts of soldiers, each of which has its own general. The first is the *Persian* commanded by the *Saper-Salar*, whose commission is worth above 20000 tomans a year. The second is of the *Corseis* or *Kesefbafci*, that is, *Read-head*, because formerly they wore red caps, who make a body of 22000 good soldiers; their general is call'd *Curci-Bafci*, and has about 15000 tomans pay. The inferior officers among these soldiers are the *Mimbafci*, who command a thousand men, the *Jusbafci* a hundred, and the *Ombafci* ten, every foldier has fifteen tomans a year pay. The third sort is of the *Gulams*, or the king's slaves, who for the most part are *Georgian* renegades, or of other nations, who reckon that slavery a great favour, for the allowance of five, or at most eight tomans a year. Their general is call'd *Gular-Agafi*. They are arm'd with scimiters, bows, arrows, coats of mail, and head-pieces. The king sometimes gives them good employments for their lives, and sometimes when they behave themselves well they are continu'd in their sons, so they be men when their fathers die. The *Tufinkgi* compose another body of 50000 men. These are peasants, who fight with musket and scimiter, and have four or five tomans pay. They being generally very ill disciplin'd, the *Chams* of the several provinces make them exercise every three months. Their general is call'd *Tufinkgi-Bafci*.

Guards. The *Efcek-Agafi* is commander of two thousand *Kescekijci*, or the king's peculiar guards, newly brought up, who carry such a heavy musket that it looks more like a falconet.

Artillery. The *Tapigi-Bafci* is general of the artillery, whereof the *Persians* have some small stock, but only in the frontier places; for we said before they have no fighting ships, and those vessels they make use of on the gulph of *Persia* and *Caspian-sea* against the *Uzbeks* and *Kalmuks* are very ill provided.

The *Chams*. The *Chams* or governors of provinces, and all the officers of the king's

household are chosen from among the *Corseis*, or *Gulams*, because they are well shap'd, brave, and of good countenances, which the *Persians* are not, for if they have any of these qualifications it comes to them by the mixture of blood with the *Georgians*, or some other nation dwelling on the *Caspian*, or black-sea; and therefore the king himself, and the great ones endeavour to get children by some renegade *Georgian* woman. This employment of the *Chams* is one of the best a man can wish for, because they are fear'd and honour'd like so many little kings. Their revenues are seven or eight thousand tomans a year, and they continue a long while unless they be found guilty of some heinous crime. 'Tis true at the *Nurus* or beginning of the year they must make the king a considerable present; and every one be at the whole expence of his kitchen for a week. Those provinces where the king has taken away the title of *Chams*, to save the useless expence of his revenue are under governors call'd *Asses*.

Now follows the second rank of those The No. officers, who have the charge of religi- bab. on, administer justice, and inspect accounts, and as in temporals the *Atmaib-Dulet* is the chief, so in spirituals the *Nabab* or *Sedre* sits as supreme with two inferior judges, the one call'd *Sceik*, or *Axond*, and the other *Cafi*, of whom we have said enough in the chapter concerning religion.

The building of every *Mosque* is directed by its *Monteveli*; and every *Mosque* has a *Movazen* to call the people to prayers from the top of it, the words he says when he cries out to them in his language are, *There is but one only God and Mahomet is his prophet*.

In the chamber of accounts call'd *Reveru-Defter-Kone*, the king's patrimony runs through the hands of the *Mosofi* and *Mamalek*. These value the king's farms, most of the land in the kingdom being his, and they let them out yearly, or for lives to private persons; receive all the rents, and enter into their books all the expences on inferior officers. This chamber has its particular *Deroga*, to punish those that defraud the king.

By these several employments and officers, every man may guess how much the *Persian* court exceeds any other of the east, in splendor and magnificence; without my taking the pains to shew it, which would perhaps be offensive to the reader.

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CHAP. VII.

The Author's Journey to Sciras.

FATHER Francis of St. Joseph, had persuaded me several times to travel with him to Rome; but finding me fully resolv'd to go on to *Indostan*, he thought fit to take the same course. He therefore hir'd twelve mules of a *Ciarvattar* of *Sciras*, for us and our baggage, and we set out two hours after night, on *Wednesday* the 1st of September; father Francis, father Constantine of the Holy Ghost, both Portuguese Augustinians, father Severinus of St. Joseph, a barefoot Carmelite of Naples, and my self; all of us taking our leaves of the other fathers with tender affection.

Being out of *Ispahan*, and its neighbourhood, we held on our way by moon-light, and travelling nine miles in four hours, through a plain but barren country, came to the little village of *Spaneca*, where we were forc'd to lodge that night in the mud caravanfera, and to stay all *Thursday* the 2d, for the load of wine left at the dwelling-house of the Dutch, through the carelessness of the *Ciarvattar*. In this village king *Scia-Abas* gave many lands to a Persian nobleman in exchange for the two villages of *Ispahan*, taken from him when he remov'd his court from *Sciras*. They say that lord was so powerful, that the king dismounted when he pass'd before his house; but I will not vouch for the truth of it. I having kill'd a great many pigeons, and the load of wine being come by noon, we sup'd merrily at night.

Then mounting an hour after sun-set, we travell'd twenty four miles in ten hours to the village and caravanfera of *Magar*, suffering much by the cold and wind. Here of our own free-will we gave the *Rattars* four *Abassis*, but would give nothing to two wretches that guard'd the way in the mountains. The caravanfera here mention'd, was half a mile from the village, built twelve years before that time by *Scia-Seleman*, and truly the structure is magnificent, being of good brick, adorn'd with long rows of trees, and the game about it preserv'd for the king.

Having rested all *Friday* the 3d, we set out at the same hour as the day before, and after sixteen miles riding in six hours, through a barren country, came to the little mud city of *Cumucia*, seated in a fruitful plain abounding in ex-

cellent fruit. We staying here all day GEMELLI 1694. the fourth, I diverted my self with shooting of pigeons. The knavery of the *Ciarvattars* was the cause of our travelling by night, because they slept by turns on their asses, as found as if they had been in down-beds, nothing concern'd that we lost our sleep. To remedy this evil, I resolv'd with father Francis, to threaten to beat them, if they ever slept again upon the asses; for then they would certainly travel by day. They taking no notice of the warning given, had good correction that night, being taken in the fact; and from that time, as we had foreseen, they began to travel by day.

Saturday the 4th, therefore we set out two hours before night, and riding sixteen miles in six hours, over a barren country, stopp'd at the caravanfera of *Maffur-Bek*, near which there were two country-houses. *Sunday* the 5th, we took our journey about the same time, after travelling ten miles, pass'd in the night by the little village of *Annabat*, where besides the caravanfera is an earth fort, made by the king. Advancing as many miles further, we took up at the good caravanfera of *Yesacas*, seated on the bank of the river; tho' the other dwellings are seated on the rock, and in such manner, that the place is suppos'd to have been formerly a fort. Here we found better bread than at *Ispahan*, the inhabitants being all well to pass. That night the *Ciarvattars* were allow'd to sleep on their assish-bed, in reward for their expedition the day before.

Monday the 6th, we departed at the same time, and travell'd thirty two miles in twelve hours, through valleys naked of all trees, and expos'd to robbers; for which reason *Scia-Abas* built the fort of *Giambet*, in the mid-way, where there is a garrison still kept. At break of day we came to the caravanfera of the village of *Digbirdu*; but finding it taken up, were forced to lie in a ruin'd house, or rather a stable, with our beasts. Nothing troubl'd us but watching to ride by night, and being disturb'd with flies in the day; for we every where found plenty of provisions at reasonable rates; so that we far'd plentifully for three or four *Carlines* of *Naples* money; and the want of caravanfe-

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1694. ra's was supply'd by a portable kitchen
father Francis had furnish'd with all uten-
sils. Thus in short we wanted for no-
thing but snow to cool our drink.

Tuesday the 7th, we had some distur-
bance, upon occasion of father Francis
breaking the head of an *Armenian*, who
very rudely took the part of his compa-
nion, that had cheated him of forty five
tomans. We rested all day in the vil-
lage, father Severinus of *Naples* dressing
the wound; and the rest of us diverting
our selves in seeing caravans of four or
five hundred mules and camels together
pass by; that being the most frequented
road for the trade of *India*.

We mounted at the usual hour, and
six miles from hence pass'd by the ca-
ravanera of *Chenla*; and sixteen miles
further over the river *Ralcuna*, where the
Georgians that came with us, with
the nets they usually carry about them,
took one hundred and fifty pounds weight
of good large fish. Then advancing six
miles beyond it, we lodg'd in the fa-
mous caravanera of the village of *Cus-
chijac*, which signifies dry poison, a cold
place, by reason of the neighbourhood
of the mountains always cover'd with
snow. The country about is cut a-
cross with trenches; the *Persians* using,
wheresoever they find water, to con-
vey it after that manner to enrich their
fields.

While we rested in the caravanera
on Wednesday the 8th, four ostridges, by
the *Persians* call'd *Citor-morgo*, that is,
Camel-Birds, were brought in, and two
wild cows, which the sultan of *Babe-
ren* (a city on the *Persian* gulph, known
for its pearl-fishery) or governour of
the province was sending to the king.
These cows are as big as one of our
calves, but more fat and tender, tho'
they feed on straw. Their colour is
whitish, except the tail and feet, which
are black; and on the head there are
large black spots; their eyes are spark-
ling; their horns slender, strait, smooth,
round, and two spans long, with sharp
black points.

About sun-setting we proceeded on
our journey on a bad way, being ei-
ther marshy plains, or dreadful barren
mountains; among which we saw the
ruin'd caravanera of *Danbayne*, former-
ly good, but abandon'd because the ca-
ravaneradar, or keeper of it, had been
murder'd by robbers. At length ha-
ving travell'd twenty miles in seven
hours, the last three a steep descent,
we came to the ancient caravanera of
the village of *Aipas*, where the coun-
try peoples houses are little better than
cottages.

Thursday the 9th, we set out again
two hours before night, and rode six-
teen miles in six hours on a plain road
to the caravanera, of a village call'd
Ugiam, consisting of a few mud-houses,
where we alighted. The soil about it
does not want for corn, by reason of
the neighbouring river, over which there
is a bridge of nine stone-arches. Here
I could not make use of some few pic-
ces of brass coin I brought; because,
throughout the kingdom, every province
makes its own, and will not take any
other; nay, in some places they will
not take the silver that is coin'd in an-
other government.

Friday the 10th, setting out at the
same time, we rode eight miles climbing,
and then going down a rugged moun-
tain; then four miles further, we pass'd
by the village and caravanera of *Ma-
musada*; and lastly, twelve miles beyond
that, took up at the good caravanera
of the village of *Mayn*. In this place,
tho' seated among high mountains, we
eat good figs, there being abundance of
several fruit-trees, and good tobacco,
which they carry to *Ispahan*. Father
Severinus fell twice from his mule be-
fore he reach'd this place, the way was
so bad, and being bid to settle the pan-
nel which was come upon the beast's
neck, he answer'd pleasantly, I will
have it suffer for its fault; and left the
mule in that uneasy condition till the
Ciarvattar came up, who was two miles
and a half behind, that is, half a
Persian league. The *Georgians* and *Arme-
nians* our friends, took a prodigious
quantity of fish, and we had our share
of it.

Saturday the 11th, we rode twenty
miles through a plain country, crossing
the river on a noble stone-bridge, a
quarter of a mile long, and lay at the
caravanera of *Abigberme*, five miles
from the bridge, one side whereof which
was like to fall, being then mending.
Near that place was the mountain le-
vell'd by *Alexander*, for his army to
pass.

We set out late on Sunday evening,
to go to a village near *Darius* his pa-
lace. Having lost our way in a marshy
country, the *Catergis* led us in the dark-
ness of the night to pass over a narrow
wooden bridge; but my *Armenian* ser-
vant, who first try'd to pass, falling in-
to the river horse and all, without re-
ceiving any hurt but being well wash'd,
we alter'd our design, following the
common road, and thus having spent
seven hours in riding twenty miles, we
came to the caravanera of *Policor*. Four
miles

Sciras ci-
ty.

Its name.
To Bapt.
N. C. l.
Here par.
3. c. 318.
Sciras.

Lexic.
Geog. Phil.
Errat.
Verb. Sci-
ra'um.

Most va-
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Gardens.

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miles short of it, we pass'd upon a causeway two miles in length, and yet had much trouble to get a horse and slave belonging to father Francis out of the mire.

Two bales of carpets being dry'd, we set out on Monday 13th, an hour af-

ter night-fall, and travelling twelve miles over rugged mountains, pass'd by the caravanera of *Besciaga*, and proceeding as many miles further, came at break of day on Tuesday the 14th, to *Sciras*.

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CHAP. VIII.

A Brief Description of the City of Sciras.

Being come at last to *Sciras*, we were entertain'd in the house of the fathers of *S. Teresa*, father *Amadeus*, a *Piemontese*, the superior receiving us with very courteous expressions.

Sciras city.

Sciras is seated in the latitude of 28 degrees, 44 minutes, and 86 of longitude, in a delightful plain enclos'd with pleasant mountains. Coming from *Ispahan*, there is a way twelve miles long pass'd with flint regularly ascending to the narrow path cut out of the rock, which is the passage into the city. This way is adorn'd by a lofty portico, which can be shut against enemies, and defended by a few men; and for a considerable space the walls of the gardens joining to it, being all built alike, tho' belonging to several owners. Among them is a great pool all of stone, in which formerly there were boats to take the air.

Its name.
To Bapt.
Ni. Col.
Here, par.
3. c. 318.
v. *Sciras*.

Locat.
Geog. Phil.
Rerum.
Pers. Schi.
ratur.

Most valuable things in it.

Gardens.

Some will have it, That *Sciras* took its name from the *Persian* word *Scire*, which signifies must, because of the great quantity of wine made about it. As also that all the plain it stands on was in former times a great lake; and that after the destruction of *Persepolis*, the inhabitants thereof, filling it, settled their habitation there; founding the new city. This they are the more inclin'd to believe, because in some parts of it they have found large iron rings, like those they tie boats to on the shore.

The two most valuable things in *Sciras* are wine, and women, whose beauty is so extraordinary, that it serves instead of a portion. Therefore crafty *Mahomet* had good cause, as some say, not to go into it on any account; for being sensible of his own weakness, he knew it might put a greater stop to his victories, than *Capua* did to *Hannibal's*.

I cannot decide whether the gardens of *Sciras* are more delightful to the taste, by reason of the variety and excellency of their fruit; or to the eye, for their long rows of cypress-trees. Thus the mud houses being hid by their green at a distance, it looks more like a wood

than a city, being fifteen miles about, too great a compass for twenty thousand inhabitants.

There are excellent *Bazars* cover'd with long arches; and better squares, caravaneras, and *Mosques*. Here they make glasses, cut cristal indifferently for several uses, dress leather, and print silks. Abundance of money comes to the city for: dry'd fruit, wine, rose-water, oranges without seeds, and fruit pickled in vinegar, wherewith supplies not only all *Persia*, but *Indagan*, from the ports of *Bander-Abassi*, and *Bander-Condo*.

In the mint of this city they coin brass, Government. but seldom silver. The government of the province whereof *Sciras* is metropolis, is one of the best in *Persia*, its jurisdiction extending towards *Ispahan*, as far as the village of *Alpas*, which is five days journey for a caravan.

Tuesday the 14th, I went to see two gardens fallen to the king by forfeiture.

The first is under the hill call'd *Dilgru-Sci*, from which flows a river that runs through the midst of the garden. I found not only the palace, but the trees were all decay'd, and that the water serv'd the people of *Sciras* for whitening of cloth. On this same mountain is a very antient structure, which appears to have been formerly a fort, to serve which there is a well of a vast depth dug in the rock.

The other garden is on the left of the road, coming from *Ispahan*. This is one of the best about *Sciras*, for it has not only double rows of cypresses all about it, but is a perfect regular wood of roses and fruit-trees, being all cut into squares, like a chess-board. But the wall about it was fallen in many places.

The rest of the king's gardens are in a wretched condition, through the neglect of those that ought to take care of them; as is usual in all parts of the world, where they are not afraid of the prince's eye, and the officers are not call'd to justify their proceedings.

CHAP. IX.

*The Description of Darius's Palace, and other Ruins of Persepolis.*GEMELLI
1694.

THO' many, with reason, are of opinion, there is nothing in the world more wonderful, or to be admir'd by curious persons, than what still remains of the magnificence of the ancient *Rome*; yet there are some that affirm all this is nothing if compar'd with the pyramids of *Egypt*, and the works of *Alexander* the great, that last to this day. But those who have travell'd further do maintain that neither the *Roman* nor *Egyptian* antiquities, nor the structures of *Alexander* the great are to be compar'd to the ruins of *Persepolis*, and among the rest to *Darius's* palace. A justifiable curiosity therefore prevailing upon me, on *Wednesday* the 15th I hir'd two horses, for my self and my servant, for three abassis a day, and setting out rode twenty miles before I came to the river and bridge of *Polixan*. In this place there were *Rattars*, but civil, and not troublesome to travellers like those of *Tauris*. Then leaving the mountains we travell'd a marshy road, and at fifteen miles end an hour before sun set, we alighted at the caravanera of the village of *Mirxascon*, half a league distant from *Darius's* palace.

The caravanfedar, or keeper of the caravanera inquir'd of my servant what brought me thither, and knowing the cause of my coming said to him, if your matter can read an inscription, there is in the palace, he will find a great treasure; but if he cannot, assure him that when he goes into a certain grot he will remain there dead. The *Armenian* being frighted at these words, when I was going on *Thursday* the 16th in the morning to see that antiquity, set himself so positively not to go with me, that I had enough to do to get him at least to stay a mile from the place to look to the horses.

Darius's
palace.

To come to the point, this vast fabrick is at the foot of a high mountain, that overlooks a plain above thirty miles in length, and twenty in breadth, where the famous *Persepolis* is suppos'd to have stood. The front of it looks towards the west, and is five hundred of my paces in length; the north side four hundred, the south two hundred and fifty; on the east it has the mountain instead of a wall. Its shape, as may appear by the dimensions, is irregular, and may be compar'd to a fortress; for tho' it has

no towers, as was us'd when it was built, yet it has on every side several angles at certain distances, uniformly dispos'd, and may be call'd half bastions, according to the true rules of military architecture. The stones it is made of, are of a prodigious magnitude, and it plainly appears they were dug in the neighbouring mountain, as well because of its nearness, as because they make the top of it plain, and equal with the palace. The walls of the first floor still standing, are crufted over with black marble, and in some places ten, in others twenty, and in others thirty foot high.

On the south-side outwards there is an inscription cut on an empty space, fifteen spans long, and seven broad, in such a character, that there is now no understanding-person in the world that can make any thing of it. It is neither *Caldee*, nor *Hebrew*, nor *Arabick*, nor *Greek*, nor any of those languages the learned have knowledge, but only triangles of several forts, severally plac'd, the various placing whereof perhaps formed divers words, and expres'd some thoughts. The most receiv'd opinion is, that they are characters of the ancient *Goris*, who were sovereigns of *Persia*; but this is not easily to be made out, the *Goris* themselves being at present very ignorant as to their antiquities, and unfit to give any judgment of such things.

The great stair-case of the palace is on the west-side, but not just in the middle, being a little towards the north on the side of the village of *Mirxascon*. It parts into two, each of which has the wall on the one side, and a bannister of the same marble on the other. Both of them are of the same workmanship, and in the midst of each is a square landing-place, as broad as the stairs, to rest, and then turning to such another, it leads up to the first floor; so that the stair-case makes three quarters of a circle; and it ascends two opposite ways, that is, on the right and left, circularly up to the first floor, as was said above. I cannot think any words can express its magnificence; for if we regard the breadth, it is of thirty foot, if the easiness of the ascent it is such that there are ninety five steps to rise, twenty two geometrical feet. The stones are thirty and thirty five spans long each, and of a proportionable

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nable depth, so that six or seven steps are cut out of one stone; and if it happened to break in any place, it was so artificially mended, that the sharpest eye can scarce find out the joint; and hence it is that those who are less understanding, think those stairs are either made of one stone, which would be impossible, or else cut out of the rock. Besides, both the stairs and walks, are of a sort of black marble, so hard, that it has withstood the injuries of time for so many ages, and preserves the memory of so wonderful and rare a work.

From the square landing place, where the two stair-cases end, you go into a portico of white marble, twenty foot wide. The architrave is now fallen; but by the pillars still standing, it appears to have been built with such art and mastery, that it will be hard to find the remains of any *Roman* structure to compare with it. On it are carv'd in bas-relieve two beasts, as big as elephants, holding out their heads, as if they look'd at the aforesaid stair-cases. They are either some odd fancy of the workmen, or else some *Hieroglyphick* of the ancients to express the empires of the *Medes* and *Persians*, the bodies being like horses, the feet and tails of oxen, long, and turning up like a lion's.

Twenty spans further upon the same line, are two fluted columns with their capitals and bases, of a whitish stone, but somewhat inclining to red. Their height besides capitals and bases is about seventy foot, and so thick, that three men can scarce fathom them, every one of them having forty flutes, each three inches over. At a like distance streight forward there are two other pilasters, neatly carv'd like the first, only with this difference, that the beasts carv'd on the latter have wings and men's heads looking towards the mountain. Over each of these columns there are three inscriptions in the same character, making in all twelve.

Beyond this portal, or hall, for such the order of the columns and pilasters seem to make it, on the right side is such another double stair-case, leading to the upper-chambers. It is narrower, being but twenty five foot broad, and shorter than the first, but incomparably more beautiful and stately; for on its walls and parapets there is something carv'd in bas-relieve, like a triumph, consisting of a great train of people in several parcels, finely clad, carrying some banners, and others gifts to offer. At last comes a chariot drawn by several horses,

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with a little altar, out of the middle whereof a flame rises. This might upon good grounds be said to be some procession for sacrifice, for we know, and particularly from *Herodotus*, that the ancient *Persians* ador'd the fire; and that the kings carry'd it along with them in a stately chariot when they went to war; and perhaps those I said were offerings, are caskets of perfumes, which the ingenious carver seems to carry'd before it to burn now and then. On the other side are carv'd wild beasts fighting, and among them a lion and a bull are done to the utmost perfection, their fierceness being so lively represented, that it seems to make nature itself blush; and this the more, because the hardness of the stone has preserv'd the most curious workmanship.

At the top of this second stair-case is a square place, encompass'd with columns, whereof only seventeen are now standing, tho' by the pedestals it appears there were an hundred; and some of those left want the capitals. But they are fluted, and of one entire piece of white and red marble, some sixty, others seventy foot high, and twelve of them as thick about as those before mention'd. But that row towards the plain, and the two towards the mountain, are more ordinary than the others. They say these supported the temple of the sun, and not without some show of reason, but nothing can be asserted because of the ignorance of the *Persians*, as to their antiquities.

On the same floor, close by the said columns, is a place fifty foot square, enclos'd with walls six or seven foot thick; where formerly there were many rooms, of a much finer marble than that hitherto describ'd, and so wonderfully carv'd, that I must have spent many days to take a full view of the figures, and whole months to draw them. There are four doors into this place, excellently carv'd, and adorn'd with the most curious and beautiful foliage imaginable, and in some places inscriptions in the same character before-mention'd. Only the walls of these chambers are now standing, being twenty four foot high, all the arches being gone to ruin, and the floor full of the stones fallen down, and of excellent carv'd marble that adorn'd it in some places. The windows look'd into the court, or upon the first floor; and there are several at small distances three foot wide, six foot high, and three foot from the ground.

Which way soever a man turns his eye on this second floor, left standing

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^{1694.} **GEMELLI** in spite of the malice of time, there appear several figures cut in bas and half-relieve. Particularly in a place fifteen spans square, near the aforelaid parcel of columns, which appears to have been in the nature of a hall. I saw men carv'd fighting with lions, or holding unicorns by the horn; or else stood with knives in their hands like the ancient *Roman Gladiators*, ready to kill the wild beasts they held in their strong and brawny arms. In other places there were princes, as it were in triumph, attended by a numerous train. On two opposite sides were two figures of giants on each; in other places princes sitting giving audience to ambassadors, or else moving under large umbrelloes.

On the south-side wall left standing, which is the highest part of that floor, besides several stones lying about the ground, there are still to be seen princes carry'd in chairs, with courtiers by, shading them with umbrelloes. There are other statues with vessels in their hands, and men leading creatures like rams, which doubtless express some procession for sacrifice. Not far off on a pilaster of the same black marble, is an inscription in the same character, and another on such another stone; which I observing, and remembering those I had seen before, began to consider with my self, how easily humane judgment is mistaken, and how different things happen to what man proposes to himself; for whereas the author thought by means of those inscriptions to have eterniz'd his memory with posterity, which the beauty of the work well deserv'd, yet quite the contrary we see is fallen out.

In the inner-part, and exactly in the midst of the palace, is the amphitheater for the shows of wild beasts, and other sports, as plainly appears, if I am not mistaken, by the figures cut in half-relieve in several parts of it, which are of men fighting with wild beasts with knives in their hands, and others wrestling with lions. There are also princes sitting with truncheons in their hands, or walking under umbrelloes. Other figures have vessels in their hands, others spears, and some play on such a pipe as the god *Pan* is painted with, consisting of seven reeds, orderly joyn'd together. It is possible all these figures might be placed there barely for ornament, but the situation and nature of the place, incline me to believe it serv'd for shows, as was said before. This structure is not above fifty paces of mine square, and stands on the east side, as do all those hitherto describ'd.

Before we proceed further, it is to be observ'd, that besides the rare design and workmanship of all those figures here spoken of, they are very remarkable for their variety of habits; for some have long beards down to the waste, and the hair on the other side so short, it scarce touches the neck; others have a flat round cap on their heads, and their garments down to their heels, wide, full of gathers, just like the gowns of the senators of *Venice*, and with such wide sleeves that they hang down to their knees, and on their feet they have something like wooden sandals, or clogs. Other figures differ from these only in the eyes, which they have somewhat higher over the forehead. Others have shorter hair and beards, and taller caps. There are also servants carrying poles with horse-tails fastned to them to drive away the flies. But the most remarkable thing of all is, that among so many hundred figures as are in that great structure, there is not one of a woman; and next, the hardness and brightness of the marble, which stands as if it were newly finish'd, without the least decay, and yet what is merely a miracle in nature, it has continu'd three thousand years, for we cannot allow it less antiquity than that of the *Assyrian* monarchy, or at least of the *Median*; tho' some think those habits much antienter, but without any good ground.

Ascending a musket-shot towards the mountain there is a front thirty foot square, cut in the rock itself, with figures of white marble set in it, but flatter than those already mention'd. On the upper-part is a man standing, with a bow in his hand, looking on an idol that has a human body, and monstrous feet, carry'd in triumph. By him is a fire burning in a sort of a trough, and a globe carv'd; under it are men supporting this mass with their heads and hands lifted up, and below that several creatures. All these figures of men have short hair and long beards; and wear a sort of caps they call *Cauca*, like those the *Turks* wear, but without any border like the turbant. Under this front-piece there is a low arch cut, creeping into which on all four, I found two tombs cut out of the very rock, and cover'd with two stones seven spans long, and three in breadth; but they were full of water which drops from the arch. Here the royal treasure is suppos'd to be bury'd; tho' that particular grot, *Asia* or cave, the *Parvanfedar* spoke of, was made by order of the *Cham* of the province, on account of the people that went thi-

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p. l. 3. p.
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Maillet des
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vers. Tom.
2. p. 172.
Quint.
Curt. l. 5.
Steph. de
Urbibus.
v. Persp.
p. 11.

Gran. Di-
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v. Persp.
p. 11.

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l. 5. c. 13.

thither continually to dig to try their fortune.

Two muskets-shot further southward, on the same line and rock, is another frontispiece like the last, with such figures, and such an arch under it, within which, and instead of one there are three separations, with each of them a tomb cover'd with the same stone, but without any water in them.

An hundred paces without the palace southward, is a column standing, like those before-mentioned, whose base is the rock itself; but it is no easy matter to judge what was the use of it.

The *Persians* call all this wonderful work hitherto describ'd *Celmonar*, or the forty pillars, for *Cel* signifies forty, and *Monar* a pillar; and tho' there are now but twenty standing, it is to be suppos'd there were forty when they gave it the name, and that since then they either fell with age, or were carry'd away for some other structure. Some looking back for fabulous originals, say this was built by *Perseus* the son of *Jupiter* and *Danaë*, from whom the *Persian* nation took its name.

Others are of opinion, these are the ruins of a famous temple built by *Abasueras*, at the foot of a mountain which ran into the antient *Persepolis*; others will have it to be *Darius's* palace, but cannot say which of them, by reason of the antiquity of the tradition; and their opinion being the most probable, we will follow it with the same uncertainty. In short, observing these marble and jasper-stones, with the signs of fire on them, which by reason of the hardness, has only spoil'd the beauty of the face, I call'd to mind what antient historians have left written, that *Alexander* being once drunk, set fire to *Darius's* palace, at the instigation of *Thais* his concubine, who thus thought to revenge the burning of *Aibens*, her country, by *Xerxes* and *Darius*. *Alexander* committed this folly about the year of the world 3724, but the unexcusable natives have done it several times since.

None that have seen such beautiful and stately remains of venerable age, will doubt of the great antiquity and magnificence of the city of *Persepolis*; for tho' holy writ and prophane histories give us only an account of the antient *Ninive* and *Babylon*, yet it is not to be suppos'd there may not be others more antient; besides that the precious and almost everlasting relicks of *Celmonar* and the city *Persepolis* are so far in the east, that they have been little frequented by *Europeans*, and unknown to antient historians, so

that they could not give that account ^{GEMELLI 1694.} which the frequent resort of strangers has since communicated to the learned. A good instance hereof we have in the city *Mempbis*, which was not inferior either to *Ninive* or *Babylon*, either for antiquity or its fame throughout the world, by reason of the long and never interrupted race of its kings; and yet what great account do antient historians make of it? and were it not that *Europeans* now often travel into *Egypt*, and relate wonders of those vast pyramids, which after all are only mighty heaps of stone, and rather show the power and wealth than the ingenuity of the founders, who would conceive so great an idea of them, as now generally we do? Now were *Persepolis* as much frequented by *Europeans*, how would the remains of this truly royal palace be extoll'd, where art seems to have done its utmost to surpass nature, in the delicacy of the carving; and nature in furnishing a proper matter for such noble work? for my part I am opinion it ought not only to be reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world, so much talk'd of by the antients; but that there neither is, nor ever was a wonder in the world to compare to it.

There is no question to be made, but that the antient *Persepolis* stood in this place, considering the fertility of the situation, and the nearness of the river *Araxes*, now call'd *Bendamir*, near which the antients plac'd it. Besides, the authors that write of it say, that four hundred paces from it, in a mountain call'd *Mount Royal*, the sepulchers of their kings are cut out of the rock, which it is plain must be understood of the tombs I have already describ'd, which are cut in the solid rock on the east side; and therefore when they speak of the palace burnt by *Alexander the Great*, at the overthrow of the *Persian* empire, and of the citadel of *Persepolis*, they must needs mean this place. It is a great misfortune that the noble remains of antiquity in *Asia*, should be among such barbarous nations, as endeavour utterly to destroy them; that strangers may want that occasion of resorting thither. There would be no need of so many conjectures, could the unknown characters in several places of the palace be read. All the learned that thought they could have explain'd them, have been disappointed; nor could any man yet be found that could make the least of them. I do not at all admire this; and I am opinion, that when the *Persian* empire was transfer'd to other nations, the new kings, that the natives

Baudouin
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2. p. 172.
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v. Persp.
polis.

Ambassade
de Gar. de
Silva de
Figueroa
v. Persp. p.
160.

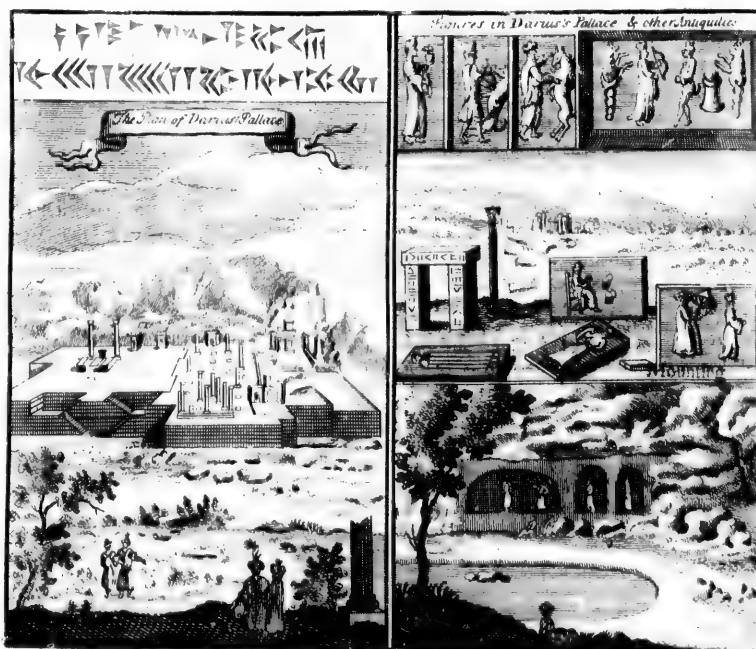
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GEMELLI 1694. tives might not retain the least memory of their former greatness and affection to their lawful sovereigns, forbid the use of the antient characters, introducing new habits, new customs, and a new manner of writing; that so the next generation might better bear the new yoke. This policy is in use now, as well as in past ages. It is little above half an age since *Cbina* was reduced under the grievous *Tartar* yoke; and these tho' ignorant, rude, and of brutal manners, yet endeavour to make that noble nation forget its ancient customs, and the excellent form of its government; tho' they are sensible of the uncontrollable opposition of the *Cbineses*, who with much reason stand up for the preservation of their just laws, and heathen customs. So should we put a writing in the antient character of those islands into the hands of the inhabitants of the *Philippines*, which is like that of *Cbina*, it is most certain none of them would understand it, because they all apply themselves to the *Spanish* tongue. How much more difficult then must it be for the people of *Persia* to read antient inscriptions, some thousands of years after

the subversion of their empire? Such precious remains of antiquity well deserve to be cut in copper for the satisfaction of the ingenious, before they are quite lost, through the fault of the natives; but it is a difficult matter to draw above two thousand bas-reliefs, and a vast charge to print them. The reader therefore will think it enough that I have drawn the plan of the palace, with some of the principal figures; that there may be some knowledge of the several habits of the antient *Persians*; and two lines of twelve there are in the inscription on the pilaster of the first floor; perhaps hereafter, some more fortunate searcher into the oriental languages may employ his wit on it.

Having very well spent all the day in seeing and distinctly observing, the best part of those antiquities, I return'd, and was scarce come to the place where I had left my *Armenian* servant, before I heard him ask me whether I had found the treasure; he believing the inscriptions were in *Portuguese*, and that I had read them and taken the treasure, as the *cavandekar* had told him; which made me laugh heartily all the way.



Mounting a horseback, I return'd to *Mirxascon*. By the way on the lake I kill'd a strange bird, all white, only a little reddish under the wings; it has long legs and feet like a goose; the beak long and slender at the top than bottom, the *Portuguese* call it *Flamengo* or *Fleming*.

Thursday the 16th, at night, I lay in the same caravanfara, and *Friday* the 17th, betimes got a horseback for *Sciras*. By the way I met three robbers taken by the *Cham* of *Sciras*'s soldiers at *Mirxascon*, for having robb'd and murder'd several travellers on the road. They were led with a triangular yoke about their necks, like that we put upon swine; which put me in mind of that the *Romans* laid on their slaves that had committed a fault, which made the poets call them *Furciferi*. Every one had his right hand made fast with a crooked staff to the thick part of the said yoke, so that there was no getting it loose. A little further on, I saw an engine to draw up water into the gardens, quite different from ours; for whereas in ours a horse or mule goes round, there, an ox drew a rope out-right.

Before I conclude this chapter, I must speak of father *Amadeus*. Whilst we stay'd at *Sciras* he would not permit us to be at any expence, lest it should be a breach of the laws of hospitality; but on the other hand he was so frugal, that

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we did not only want the power of filling our bellies at his table, but for the most part, the ill relish of his diet was very ungrateful to our palate. The fowl that were left at noon were dress'd again at night; and if they were not eaten by reason of their ungrateful favour, what was taken away roasted, appear'd the next day boil'd: and thus the good father, who was a great *Peripatetic*, endeavour'd, by the means of fire, to reduce the not-eatable substance into the form of straw, from that of a carcas; and it was still worse, if a fifth-day did not follow. To compleat the entertainment, he gave us to drink a sort of liquor, which it would have been equally false to call either wine, or vinegar. In other respects he had the reputation of a good religious man, and of an exemplary life; but because of his excessive parsimony, he was never thought fit by his superiors to govern formal monasteries, lest the religious should starve under him. To conclude, he exercis'd his zeal for abstinence in the *Hospitium*, upon a poor *Polish* religious man, his companion, seventy years of age, making him fast severely at those years; but father *Amadeus* knew his civility would not pass unrewarded with us; and to say the truth, he had a toman, that is, nineteen crowns of father *Francis*, for five hungry days we did penance at his table, and yet he would not, or could not govern his natural covetousness.

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The End of the Second BOOK.

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A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part II.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
P E R S I A.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The Author continues his Journey to Bander-Congo.

TH O' father Francis was indisposed, either by reason of the ill air of *Sciras*, or some other cause unknown, and not in a condition to travel; yet to get away from father Amadeus, he hir'd other beasts, and on *Saturday* the 18th, having loaded our luggage, we began our journey about an hour after it was night, without any supper.

We travell'd all night, and stay'd on *Sunday* the 19th, at the village of *Bagbun*, which signifies gardner, thirty miles from *Sciras*. The common days journey was to *Babagi*, ten miles short of this, but we advanc'd as far as *Bagbun*, because it was our new *Ciarvattar*'s town.

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of cap-
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Monday the 20th, father Francis relapsing, a black woman was sent for to cup him. The manner how she did it being very odd, I shall not omit to set it down. She plac'd a glass like the head of a limbeck on the patient's back, and moving it up and down, suck'd the air strongly through the pipe, then she scarify'd the flesh, and sucking again, drew the blood into the same vessel. Other women instead of a glass, make use of a horn.

Tuesday the 21st, we set out an hour before night, and travell'd as we had done the day before, over a plain well stor'd with wild boars, and gazelles, whereof I rold fifty in three miles riding. We lost our way near the caravanera, and were conducted to that of *Musferi* by a guide, after travelling twenty miles in seven hours, tho' the common road is twenty five miles from the caravanera of *Babagi*. We met a *Ciaier* or expref, who besides the bells about his wattle, to make him be known for a beast, wore long colour'd feathers in his turbant ty'd one above another like a crest, or plume.

Wednesday the 22d, we travell'd along a base stony road, and going up an ascent of twelve miles, came to the caravanera of *Paerra*, after riding twenty miles in eight hours. *Thursday* the 23d, we travell'd twenty five miles in eight hours on a plain road to the caravanera of *Assumayer*, which is built with lime and stone, a rare thing in *Perfia*. Fifteen miles further we came to another caravanera, call'd of *Gbezi*.

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Before we set out on *Friday* the 24th, a *Dervis* that dwelt in this caravanera, putting on a long shirt, with a sheeps-skin on his back like a rochet, and another on his head for a cap, came to make a ridiculous sermon, for an alms of a few *Gazes*. The road we travell'd was amidst fields of rice, where I saw the first dates, and then barren to the caravanera of *Mokak*, in all twenty five miles, and eight hours riding. Abundance of partridges came tamely to the caravanera door, to feed on the corn the mules dropt. At this place begins the use of cisterns, and continues to *Congo*, because there are few brooks, and the rivers are salt, as running through salt-pits. There are two caravanera's at *Mokak*; the new and the old, which wants but little repair, and yet the *Mabometans* neglect it, they are so inclin'd to new structures.

Saturday the 25th, we set out again about noon, along a good road, and riding thirty miles in ten hours, when we cross'd several small brooks, we came to the city *Gearon*. This city looks more like a wood, because its houses are scatter'd among abundance of palm-trees, which yield a considerable profit with their dates, being the best in *Perfia*. It is seated in a sandy plain, encompass'd with high mountains, and tho' small, has a *Vizier* with ample

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Simple jurisdiction. The gardens are pleasant, being water'd by the neighbouring brooks, and have plenty of good fruit, or oranges, grapes, and melocotoons. The houles are not amiss, many of them being of lime and stone, which is rare in *Persia*, where they are generally of mud. By the way I kill'd abundance of partridges, those plains abounding in two sorts of them; the one like ours in *Italy*; and the other about the bigness of a quail, with the feathers of the colour of a hawk's breast.

Sunday the 26th, we rested in a noble caravansera, well built, near *Gearon*. Here at dinner I found a roasted line of a gazelle very good meat, it being as tender as the veal at *Sorrento*, in the kingdom of *Naples*; and of a very fragrant scent, those creatures feeding on *St. John's-wort*, and other sweet herbs the fields in *Persia* are cover'd with. They have a head like a sheep, with horns half a span long, and the body and hair like a goat; they live on the mountains, which being generally bare of grass, they come down in the night to graze on the plain, as was said in the first part.

Monday the 27th, we proceeded on our journey betimes; and having scarce travel'd five miles on the plain, began to climb steep mountains for twenty miles to the caravansera of *Ciartak*. That day I saw such multitudes of partridges, only of the *European* sort, feeding on the plain and road, that I believe I never beheld the like. I did not go a step but I saw swarms of them, and kill'd about twenty on the ground, without any trouble; and might have had many more, if I would, for they are not much frightened and only fly a little way, and alight again. I also saw abundance of gazelles. Besides I met several *Persian* peasants, who wore a small cap of white felt, cut on the two opposite sides. These tho' poor, are well-manner'd, sincere, honest, and simple; tho' they love money as well as the *Turks*, they are not so false, and such enemies to christians, nor so haughty, being civil to *Franks*, in saluting and visiting them.

We set out late on Tuesday the 28th, and riding twenty miles in seven hours, over hills and plains, came to the caravansera of *Mauser*, close to which was an excellent orchard of palm-trees full of dates, as also of orange and limon-trees, but not well look'd after. The caravansera's continue all this way to be well built, because of the conveniency of timber; and so does the use of cisterns. Travelling twenty five miles in nine hours all along the plain, on Wednesday the 29th, we came to the village of *Benaru*. Five miles short of this place we pass'd by the caravan-

sera of *Dedomba*, near a little village, but did not stay there, because it was not a caravans days journey, or a *Maral* as the *Persians* call it. Two musket-shot from it along the side of the mountain, appeared the ruins of many dwellings, and the wall of a ruin'd fort, which kept the pass through the mountain.

A few miles eastward of *Benaru*, is Mountain of *Daray*, all of black stone, from which distils the precious and much applauded balsam, improperly call'd *Mummy*, which tho' at first liquid, becomes as hard as gum, somewhat blackish, and is good to knit broken bones, apply'd hot. Its effects are wonderful; for if a leg or an arm be broken, there needs only to place the bones right, and anoint the part with the balsam made hot, and liquid, and then bind it; and after twenty four hours the leg or arm will be as well as it was at first. This mountain is guarded by the king's order, and the *Viziers* of *Gearon*, *Sciras*, and *Lar*, meet once a year to take the balsam out of a trough, into which it drops and congeals, and send it to the king. To prevent any fraud it is sent seal'd up by them; because this *Mummy* is well known, and of great value in *Arabia* and *Europe*, and there are but forty ounces gather'd in a year. There are other mountains in *Persia* that distil balsam or *Mummy*, but none so good as this.

Thursday the last of September, we set out late from *Benaru*, and had a bad road, both plain, and up hill and down, all stony; and riding thirty miles in eleven hours, we came to the village, and famous caravansera of *Beli*. There were *Rattars* about the mid-way, to secure the road, but not so insolent as those of *Tanris*; for if they have an abassi given them they take it, and if not they are not troublesome.

Friday the 1st of October, riding twenty miles over barren mountains, in seven hours, we stopp'd at the caravansera of *Pacitel*; leaving the village and caravansera of *Dacu*, five miles short of it.

Saturday the 2d, we travel'd twenty miles in seven hours over mountains and craggy rocks, and then arriv'd at *Lar*, the metropolis of the kingdom of that name. This city is seated in a plain beset with mountains, and at a distance, looks more like a village, it has so many trees, and particularly palms about it. The houses are of mud walls, and built under a hill, on the top whereof is a fort, whereof scarce the walls are left standing, and some small towers at proper distances; so that tho' it has no cannon, this fort

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much resembles that of *Buda*. In *Lar* there is an excellent arch'd *Bazar*, consisting of four rows or walks in the form of a cross, in the midst whereof is a cupola. There is also another good one with shops for several handicrafts and tradesmen, and near it is a spacious square or market-place, all enclos'd with buildings. The city being subject to much heat, they make on the top of the house a work like a chimney, with some funnels for contriv'd, that any little wind gets in underneath, and somewhat cools the room.

The vizier of *Lar*'s jurisdiction is very large, extending as far as *Congo*, whither he sends his deputy. They that will embark at *Lar* have two ways to the sea, the one by *Bander-Congo*, and the other by *Bander-Abassi*.

Sunday the 3d, we rode fifteen miles in the space between two mountains, and came in five hours to the caravanfara and village of *Nimba*.

Monday the 4th, father *Francis* growing worse, we were forced to stay in this place, to send to *Lar*, for a *Caggiaba*, which is a thing like two chairs us'd in the *Levant*, on mules or camels to carry sick persons, or women. *Tuesday* the 5th came the *Catvigi* of the *Caggiaba*, but too late, so that we did not let out till *Wednesday* the 6th. Riding over naked mountains and valleys, we came in seven hours to the little caravanfara of *Kormut*, twenty miles from *Nimba*; there we bought a number of live partridges, for about five pence a-piece.

Thursday the 7th, we travell'd through a plain strew'd with many villages, for fifteen miles; and then proceeding fifteen miles further over a rugged mountain, lodg'd at the village and caravanfara of *Anoe*; a gentle rain held us several hours on the road.

Friday the 8th, we travell'd twenty miles in seven hours through a plain country, and lodg'd at the village and caravanfara of *Seicogi*, always advancing southward, as we had done ever since we left *Ispahan*. The swallows in these parts are of an ash colour.

Saturday the 9th, after nine miles riding over the plain, we had eighteen miles among such dreadful rugged mountains, that in some places there were walls built along the road, that the caravans might not tumble down head-long. Our days journey was nine hours, and we came to lodge at the village and caravanfara of *Bajack*; all the way through a dry barren country, which scarce produces some few dates for the sustenance of the poor near the places inhabited, and barley, whereof

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they make cakes as thin as a wafer. In this caravanfara I receiv'd a letter from the prior of the *Augustinians* at *Ispahan*, in which he gave me an account that the new king had already began to break the severe law he had made against drinking of wine; and that his subjects seeing him often drunk, made no difficulty of following his example. The prior inform'd me, that among other extravagancies he had committed in his cups, he had caus'd several *Armenian* bishops, and priests to be cruelly bastinado'd on the feet, till they were lam'd, for not paying the yearly tribute in time, according to the number they themselves gave in upon the last persecution of the catholicks. In short, he is the son of a good toper, and not like to degenerate.

Sunday the 10th, we rode over a rugged mountain, and at the end of twenty miles, and seven hours riding, set up in the village and caravanfara of *Kuxeri*.

Monday the 11th, advancing ten miles, we cross'd a small river at the foot of a mountain; and then rode along a road of salt, which is made of the salt-water, and becomes so hard, that it looks like a white stone. Then we entred among some hallows of high rocks, and particularly of mount *Bassac*, where the way was so bad, and full of precipices, that we were fain to walk it. I need say no more, but that we spent twelve hours in travelling ten miles over this mount *Bassac*, and as much more on the plain, being forc'd to stay to load the mules and asses of our caravan that fell now and then. At last we came tir'd and weary, particularly father *Francis*, who, tho' sick, walk'd part of the way a-foot, to the caravanfara of *Banicu*, or *Ciarbuke*, or according to others *Sarcova*, a wretched place as being seated among dreadful mountains, without any village near or any person to look to it; so that we were forc'd to carry all our provisions for three days journey there being none to buy.

Tuesday the 12th, we travell'd twenty miles in nine hours over scurvy mountains and valleys, and lay in the field half a mile from the caravanfara of *Tangu*, knowing the cistern there had no water. We might have stay'd half way at the caravanfara of *Hodundin*, where there was water, but then should not have made a days journey, and we had not so much time to lose.

The road was no better on *Wednesday* the 13th, for we climb'd the high and rugged mountain of *Cianspa*, at the top whereof we found the caravanfara of *Sorku*, newly built. Two miles further

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GEMELLI

1694.

GIMELLI we began to discover the *Persian* gulph, and *Bander-Congo*. Then we went down to the plain along a steep dangerous way, where they shew'd me several heaps or hillocks of earth for dying, especially red and green. There were also pieces of both white, and red marble, almost calcin'd by the sun, which they make use of instead of *Bole-Armoniack*, and it answers. Two miles further we came to the caravanfera of *Ciampa*. Here we found an *Augustinian* father, vicar of *Congo*, who gave us our supper that night. At table I admir'd an old *Armenian*, seventy years of age, who after filling his belly with several sorts of meat, eat a great pyramid of *Pilau*, which made him as tight as a drum. I thought it would have made him sick; but he had so good a digestion, that at midnight he began again to eat biscuit. He came as a physician to cure father *Francis*, but I would not have trusted him to cure my mule. The same father told me, that a servant of his, three years since, being troubled with the gripes, this physician burn'd his very entrails with a red hot shovel,

which he knew nothing of, till he saw him giving up the ghost with his guts out. He confess'd him, and the man dy'd six hours after.

Thursday the 14th, we set out again four hours before day, and rested at fifteen miles end in the village of *Barfeia*; at night I felt as much heat as is usual in *Italy* in the dog-days. To this village came to meet father *Francis*, *Joseph Pereira d' Azevedo*, comptroler of the king of *Portugal's* revenue, the factor, and secretary, with many servants a horseback. We went with them to *Bander-Congo*, seven miles distant, and din'd together in the monastery of the *Augustinians*, where we took up our lodging. The *Ciarvattar* would have eight *Gazes*, or *Casbeys*, for every *Mano* of *Tauris*, which is six pounds *Spanish* in weight. Every man great or small was computed at thirty three *Mano's*, or one hundred and ninty eight pounds weight. So that I paid for my horse from *Seiras* to *Bander-Congo* thirteen abassis; my servant carrying my baggage on his mule.

CHAP. II.

Of the great Advantage the King of Portugal made of Bander-Congo, and the Extraordinary Trade of that Port.

Power of the Portuguese of Bander-Congo.

THE King of *Portugal* keeps the aforementioned officers at *Bander-Congo*, to receive the tribute of five horses, and one thousand one hundred tomons a year, which is about twenty thousand crowns, paid him by the king of *Persia*, by agreement made between the two crowns, when in the reign of king *Philip* the third, of *Spain*, the *Persians* having taken *Ormuz*, the *Portuguese* with their fleet obstructed the navigation of the gulph of *Persia*, to the great decrease of that king's customs. Besides half the customs, and the five horses, the *Portuguese* had very considerable privileges granted them; as of keeping a house with the standard erected on it, and having the jurisdiction over all the christians that come into the port; but the most remarkable of all are, that no christian can turn *Mabometan* in *Congo*; and what is yet more considerable, that tho' a *Portuguese*, or other christian be taken in carnal copulation with a *Mabometan* woman, he shall not be subject to the cruel Law of suffering death, or turning *Mabometan*, as is invariably practis'd by all the princes of this sect in their dominions; nor are they liable to any

punishment at all, any more than if they had been taken with a woman of their own religion. For this reason the *Portuguese* are better look'd upon at *Bander-Congo*, than any other nation, and have almost as absolute a command, as if they were in *Goa*, not only over their own subjects, but all christians who pass that way.

At first they receiv'd half the duties of the custom-house, but afterwards some contentis arising, between the *Scibandar*, or *Persian* customer, and *Portuguese* commissioner, they agreed by means of the admiral of their fleet for eleven thousand tomons a year. The factor is to receive this money, and lay out part of it by order from the commissioner, which he gives in writing, and is sign'd by the secretary. The commissioner also gives passes to *Mabometans* to sail the *Indian* sea in safety; and sells the prizes taken by *Portuguese* ships. The king allows each of these officers fifty tomons salary, five servants paid, and their dwelling-house. Besides twenty eight tomons to the factor for lodging of strangers; but he that was there in my time, being very sharp, put most of it in his pocket.

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English rewarded for a bold action.

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Bander Congo port.

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The *Englisb*, for lending their ships to the king of *Persia* to conquer *Ormuz*, which the *Dutch* refus'd to do, had half the customs of *Comeron*, which they also exchange'd for 1080 tomans a year. True it is, *Scia-Abas* promis'd the *Englisb* great matters to induce them to join their sea to his land-forces for reducing the fortrefs of *Ormuz*; but he kept not his word, and only gave them half the customs, as aforesaid, for betraying christianity. *Scia-Abas* carry'd away the cannon of the fort to *Ispahan*, and they are to be seen, as was said above, before the palace, with the *Austrian* arms on them; as is on some others of iron at *Bander-Congo*. Some credible persons told me, That the *Persians* fearing the *Portuguese* should again possess themselves of that kingdom, still keep the arms and ammunition, to restore them when this shall happen, lest to be oblig'd to pay an extravagant price for them. Note, *This does not well agree with what was said just before, that all the cannon was carry'd away.*

Bander
Congo
port.

Bander-Congo is seated in 26 degrees of latitude. It is a meer open village on the sea-shore, the houses for the most part of mud walls; and only a few towards the sea, of lime and stone. It is govern'd by a *Deroga*, appointed by the *Vizier* of *Lar*, to whom he is subject. When I was there, the *Scibandar* acted both as customer and *Deroga*. He farm'd the customs of *Bander-Congo*, *Comeron*, and *Bander-Errico*, of the king at 20000 tomans a year. This is not to be admir'd, for *Bander-Congo* is a place of much trade; abundance of ships continually resorting thither from *India*, *Mecca*, *Bassora*, *Arabia Felix*, and other parts, laden with rich commodities; and abundance of caravans coming by land, which carry the commodities into, and out of *Persia*. This is the reason the place is inhabited by very rich merchants, become such in a short time, because they get *Cent. per Cent.* in every commodity they send to *India*.

Pearls
in
the gulph.

But the greatest trade is that of pearls taken about the island *Babaren*, and all about the gulph of *Persia*, being the best in the world. They are bought very cheap in the lump, of the fishermen, to be sold afterwards dear, single, when they have been pick'd, and match'd by putting them through copper-plates full of holes of several sizes, to measure their magnitude; separating those that are true round, from those that are not, and the most oriental from those that are ill colour'd, or spotted. Then the *Arabs* with wonderful dexterity bore the

very least of them, in such manner that the eye can scarce discern the hole, which the best artist in *Europe* cannot do.

GEMELLE
1694.

The manner of buying the pearls among those infidels, is also very strange. They stand all round with the goods they have to sell in the middle; when every one has view'd, and consider'd them, the seller covers his hand with a cloth, and touches the hands of the buyers, putting a price upon his commodity by signs; if he grasps all his hand, it signifies 1000; if he only touches the palm of his hand 500; if a finger 100; if only the first joint of the finger 10. The buyer answers what he bids by the same signs; so that none of the company can know what is offer'd. If he agrees not with the first, he goes on to the next, and so on; and if asking too high a price, he comes to agree with none; he begins again lowering, till they come to a conclusion. After this, the broker joining the buyers and sellers hands, gives a stroke on them with his open hand, and that binds the bargain, as if it had been made by word of mouth.

The profit made by the pearls, is sufficiently countervail'd by the inconvenience of living in this place. The air is not only unhealthy, but so hot in summer, that it is not only difficult for men to endure the violence of it; but even the partridges, and other birds, hide themselves in trees, to get some shelter. The mean sort go quite naked, only covering those parts modestly will not allow to be seen; those that are well to pass, wear an extraordinary thin silk; and both these and the others have that kind of contrivance, we mention'd, speaking of the city *Lar*, on the tops of their houses, to cool them. Yet I was told the heat was greater at *Bander-Abassi* and *Comeron*, seated in 92 degrees, 45 minutes of longitude, and 25 degrees 30 minutes of latitude; and that the air there is still worse, by reason of the south-winds blowing off the sea; tho' it does not rain there in winter above three or four times, and that at most does not last above an hour: Nevertheless both at *Bander-Congo*, and *Bander-Abassi*, a sort of worms, like small sinews, or fiddle-strings, twenty or thirty spans long, breed in the muscles of the body, which must be drawn out by degrees, rolling them upon a stick; for if they happen to break, they cause great swellings till they come out again, and some persons have had them a whole year. Some think them to be bred by the air, and water; but they are mistaken, for some strangers have been

Way of
buying
pearls.

Excessive
heat.

Strange
Worms.

SMELL been there a considerable time, and drank the water, and yet have had none of them; whence it is rather to be concluded to proceed from a disposition of the body and humours, which are not affected in all persons alike by outward things.

Water. Both in *Congo* and *Comeron*, they use water kept in cisterns, which must needs be hurtful; for those few times it rains; the air is very foul, by reason of the exhalations the earth sends forth, which infect the water. We must not omit here to take notice, to the great glory of the divine providence, that in the island *Tombamar*, twenty miles distant from the continent of *Persia*, and nine miles in compass, there is not one drop of fresh water, and yet there are abundance of gazelles, beasts before describ'd, which, as I was told by credible persons, when they want to drink, go down to the brink of the sea, and letting their cloven foot exactly on the edge of the water, suck it up that way. I cannot persuade my self, that the water passing between the hoof, should so soon lose its saltness; but I do not deny it may become less perceptible. Those that had been eye-witnesses of this secret in na-

ture, could give me no further account of it.

Congo has no harbour, but only a safe road; that point of *Arabia Felix*, which forms the *Persian* gulph, breaking the fury of the eastern ocean. When the day is fair, the opposite coast of *Zulfar* is to be seen, the distance being but forty miles. A fort that defends this coast is but thirty spans square, furnish'd with four iron guns, cast by *D. Constantin de Noronba*, when he was the king of *Spain's* viceroy at *Goa*; it is hem'd in by the sea only in the morning, the tide then coming up. *Tavernier* is much mistaken, when he says, *Tom. I. L. V. p. 766*, That there is not water for great ships, and that all the trade is at *Comeron*, for I have seen *Portuguese* vessels there of sixty and seventy guns, and other large ones belonging to *Mabometans*: And I know further, that only the *Dutch* and *English* resort to *Comeron*; whereas all other nations are willing to go to *Congo*, because of the liberty they enjoy under the *Portuguese* power and protection.

The inhabitants are about 10000 *Inhabitants*, *Moors*, *Indians*, *Arabs*, *Jews*, and *Armenians*, who enrich the *Bazars* with their well-furnish'd shops.

CHAP. III.

Of the Pearl-Fishery, and other remarkable things in Bander-Congo, and the Gulph of Persia.

Pearl fishery

HAVING given an account of the rich trade of pearls, it is proper I should say something of the manner and season of fishing for them. This fishery is in the gulph of *Persia* and island of *Babaren*, twice a year; the first time in *March* and *April*, the second in *August* and *September*; the greatest sale being from *June* till the latter end of *December*. It is done five leagues from the city, where there is between four and twelve fathom water, abundance of boats following it from morning till noon. Every boat has a diver who goes down to the bottom, with a stone of six pounds weight ty'd to his great toe, and he ty'd under the arms with a rope fastened to the head of the boat. He dives immediately to the bottom by the help of the stone (which as soon as down he slips off and is drawn up by those in the boat) and then, as fast as he can, he fills a net that has an iron-ring about the mouth to keep it open, with oysters. When he can stay no longer for want of breath, he makes a sign to his companions with the rope ty'd under his arms,

and they with all possible speed draw him up; which is several times repeated for the space of ten hours. The oysters remain at the bottom with a rope ty'd to them, to be drawn up at leisure. Some of them hold oyl in their mouths to stay the longer under water, and see better at the bottom by letting fall a drop now and then. After noon, having drawn up their oysters, all the boats go ashore with a fair wind that comes up from the sea. They take no care to open them, because they gape of themselves as they dry, no body caring for the fish, which is ill tasted. The poorer sort sell the pearls immediately for a small matter; but those that do not want, keep all till the fishing-season is over, and then sell them all together to *Banians* and *Moors*. These afterwards cull and sell them severally, by *Abas* in *Persia*, and by *Ratis* in *Indostan*, which is an eighth part less than our carat in *Europe*, consisting of four grains. This fishery every year amounts to about 110000 crowns.

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This shews that what the antients writ, is absolutely false; to wit, that the pearls are bred in the shells by the dew that falls from the sky; and that there is never any more than one in a shell; because they are fix'd at least ten fathom under water, whither no dew can penetrate; and as for the number there have been seven or eight pearls found in one shell, tho' not all of a size, but some bigger, some less. They are bred in the same nature as eggs in the belly of birds, the biggest always advancing nearest the orifice, the small ones remaining at the bottom to obtain their perfection; and even so it is with the pearls, the largest being foremost, and the lesser staying behind till they come to their full growth. Nor are there pearls in all of them, for several oysters have none.

There are pearls taken in several parts of our continent, but the most valuable, that is, the fairest and brightest are those of the aforesaid island of *Babaren*, and the coast of *Catasa* in *Arabia Felix*; because few of them are yellow, or misshapen. The yellowness sometimes proceeds from the merchants, sometimes leaving the shells fourteen or fifteen days to open of themselves; so that some of them in this time losing their water, rot, and their infection discolours the pearl. On the other side they leave them to open of themselves, because should they do it by force, the pearl might be damag'd or broke.

There are some also taken in *Japan*, but neither that nation, nor the *Chinese* valuing pearls, they do not follow the fishery, or take care to search the sands where they lie for the most part. There are very oriental ones found in the *Philippine* islands in shallow water, and even at the mouths of the rivers; but the natives are not covetous of pearls, nor of the gold there is in the same rivers; but being addicted to their ease, think it wealth enough to have a dish of rice boil'd thick, like a pudding, at noon, and another at night. Besides they say, that should they seek after them, either the parish priest or the alcalde would take them away, and the other would become their enemy, because they had not wherewith to satisfy them both. In these islands the very shells are brighter than in other parts.

A vast number is taken all along the coast of *California*; and more especially from cape *St. Lucar* to *Cabo Blanco*, or *White Cape*, by the *Indians* call'd *Alcados*. These wander about naked like brute beasts, without tilling or sowing, but feeding on the fruit, roots, and cattle

the country affords. They open the *Gambell's* shells with fire to eat the fish, and by that means spoil the beauty of the pearls. 1694. The *Spaniards* also fish from cape *Corrientes* as far as *Acapulco*, but the pearls are for the most part of a dusk lead colour and ill-shap'd, so that they will be little valu'd by the ingenious *European* ladies; but the *Mexican* women have their necks, ears, and arms cover'd with them: not regarding their brightness, so they have them cheap, and the strings and bracelets of them be weighty.

On the coast of *Peru* and *Panama*, there are large ones, some having been found bigger than that call'd *la Peregrina*, but they are not so well colour'd as the oriental; but are all misshapen, black, and of a lead colour, by reason of the ill bottom where they breed, sometimes but one or two fathom deep.

Formerly there were good pearls found in the island *Margarita*, both large and well-colour'd; but at present there are few; besides the fishery is broke off. A few are also taken at *Santa-Marta* and in other islands, but of no value.

Having said enough concerning the pearls, it is fit I should give the reader an account of other remarkable matters in these parts. In the first place it is to be observ'd, that all the water about *Babaren* being brackish, and ill tasted; strangers who are not us'd to drink it, as the natives are, there being no better to be had, not even on the continent, cause fresh water to be taken out of the bottom of the sea, a league from the island. Four men go out in a boat, two whereof dive down into the sea, with vessels close stopp'd at their girdles, when they touch ground they unstop their vessels, which being fill'd with the water, that is sweet for two or three foot above the ground, they stop them again, and making a sign with a rope, are drawn up by the other two in the boat.

Their way of building boats in *Congo* is also singular; for instead of iron nails, they use some pins of cane, or bamboo; and for the rest they join the boards together with packthread, and little lines made of rushes. Instead of anchors, they make use of a large stone bor'd through; and for oars, of a pole with a little round board ty'd at the end of it. Friday the 15th, I saw several watermen at work about a new boat, like so many taylors.

Saturday the 16th, I paid the visit to *Joseph Pereira de Azevedo* the Portuguese

GENELLI commissioner. Sunday the 17th, mass was very solemnly sung in the church of the *Augustinians* with the gates open, as if it had been in christendom. Monday

Arabs eat fire.

the 18th, walking about the Bazar I met some *Arabs* accounted rigid observers of the *Mabometan* law; they were asking an alms in a shop of *Banians*, and to get the more and that quickly, clapt burning coles into their mouths, as if they had been cherries. I was told they did it by the assistance of the devil, to whom they had given themselves up, being forcerers; and that this was only done in appearance, and a deceit of the sight. But I really saw them take the coles and put them in their mouths.

Others beat themselves for an alms.

When I return'd to the monastery, I saw two mumping *Arabs* pass by, who for a small alms beat their breasts as hard as they could, with an iron pin a span long, the head whereof weigh'd at least eight pounds, and yet did themselves no harm, tho' the instrument was fit to drive through a wall. How this came to pass they best know, and the devil that teaches them; but this I know, that these cheats and sons of perdition would not suffer another to strike them with the same pin; for then perhaps the charm would have fail'd them.

An idolatrous festival.

Four *Dutch* ships being under sail at *Gomron*, we sent away an express to get a passage aboard them, but he came too late, they being already gone for *Batavia*. That same night the idolatrous *Banians*, to honour the festival of their god *Dravali*, who they say took a fortress, began to set out their houses and shops, both within and without with rich hangings, and lights. This festival lasts three days every year, in memory of the fabulous victory, and taking of the fortress; and they all cease from labour. I went that same night to see it, and was receiv'd with much civility by those idolatrous merchants, they sprinkling my face with rose-water when I came in, as is us'd in the east, making me sit in the chief place, and treating me with such sweetmeats as the country affords. Not long after, women-dancers of *Syndi* came out to dance, as a preface of a good feast to the merchant. They were clad some after the *Indian* and some after the *Persian* manner, and sang in both tongues. Those that were in the *Persian* garb wore a vest of strip'd silk, down half way the legs, but wide at bottom like a petticoat, under that they had long breeches down to their ankles, with a silver edging about them for ornament. Both their fingers and toes were set out with abundance of gold

and silver rings, and dy'd with *Imma* or red earth; as the teeth, the inside of the eyes and forehead were with black. On their heads they had small caps of a fine stuff between silk and linnen, wrapp'd about; under which their long tresses hung down to their waste; a long red or yellow veil cover'd their backs, and coming about, fell before the shoulders. Besides their double pendants, they had a thick gold ring run through between their nostrils, and other jewels hanging and stuck to their foreheads; but I thought that of the nose the most painful ornament, because they had a gilt, or gold nail struck quite through the upper part of the nose, where the bridge rises, which they thought an ornament, and to us *Europeans* was a deformity. About their necks they had gold collars, necklaces of pearls, according to what each could afford, and fine bracelets on their wrists. In this dress they began to dance gravely, to the noise of a drum and two pieces of metal, which sounded very loud, together with the horse-bells they wore on their feet. Then they went on with abundance of immodest motions and postures; snapping their fingers as we do castanets very gracefully, and now and then intermixing singing with their dancing. To say the truth, I was so well pleas'd, that I would set it more than once, and from several dancers, that went about from one room to another.

Tuesday the 19th, saddling four horses that had been receiv'd as the king of *Portugal's* tribute, by the *Portuguese* officers; the father *Vicar*, father *Constantine*, the factor of *Bassaro*, and my self, went out three miles from the town westward, and three from the sea, to see a very antient fort call'd *Calaleston*, or rather a strong city once built by a king of *Persia*, on the top of a high rock. It is three miles in compass, and there is but one narrow steep way to come to it; there is never a house standing at present, time having overthrown them all; for by what I could perceive by the ruins, they have been many ages decaying. There are still to be seen the tombs of the *Mabometans*, and a ruin'd *Mosque*; but nothing more proves its antient splendor, than three hundred good and large cisterns, most of which are full of earth and few of water; of which we drank with sweetmeats we carry'd, and found it well tasted.

Wednesday the 20th, hapned a strange unfortunate accident. The *Scibandar* being

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Ceremonies.

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ing offended at two rich *Arabian* merchants, took the opportunity of their going to his house to visit him, to give them coffee according to custom; but poison'd as they lay there, with powder of *Diamonds*. One of them drank it, the other out of good manners gave it to the *Scibandar's* uncle; both of them drank their death in the coffee; for the

next night they went out of this world ^{GUMELLI} with their bowels rent in pieces; the *Scibandar's* treachery being at the same time in some measure punish'd by his own poison. It was not known what became of the servant that prepar'd the murdering potion; but it was said he had caus'd him to be kill'd that he might not discover the truth.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Tree and Pagod of the Banians, and other things the Author saw during his stay at Congo.

A wonder at tree.

Thursday the 21st, I went with the father vicar to see the *Pagod* and tree of the idolaters, or *Banians*. This tree is the strangest that can be seen, being so large that a thousand persons can be shaded by it, sitting by a wall three spans high, built about it to that purpose, but square. The greatest wonder is, that it has as many bodies as branches, because these when they are grown to such a pitch, sink their head into the ground, and cast out new roots, thus becoming new trunks, to keep up, and make the tree ever young, as well as increase it continually. The *Indians* call it *Wora*, and the *Portuguese* *Graglia*; the leaf is like that of the plane-tree. Close by it was a small round temple or *Pagod*, about twenty spans in compass, and behind it another less, to receive the offering of butter, rice, and other things. Opposite to the little door of the first, a span lifted from the ground, was the image of a woman call'd *Vavani* sitting, who they say was most free of her beauty, having never refus'd to satisfy any man's desire, prostituting her self to two at the same time. Her head and feet were of silver, and the small body, but two spans long, cover'd with a piece of silk from the shoulders down to the feet. The day being a festival, I saw several *Banians* make three low bows to her, touching the ground with their fore-heads. Their devotion towards her is so great, that to this day they very carefully preserve her house at *Diu* a fortress of the *Portuguese*. Besides the *Brachmans* their priests, every morning colour the forehead and ears of this false deity, with a dye of an orange colour, made of sandal, red earth, and cows piss; which they also receive with great devotion (as catholics do the extreme unction) that the devil may know them; it being their custom to sacrifice to him, because he is wicked, for fear, sooner

than to God that is good, for love. Night and morning they go down to the shore, and having ador'd the sea, throwing in some rice to feed the fish, carry some of that water home, to sprinkle the face and ears of all the family. The men wear a gold ring through their noses, but less than the women's.

Friday the 22d, I din'd at the *Portuguese* commissioners. Saturday the 23d, I went a shooting with the father vicar, and we kill'd some partridges. Sunday 24th, the feast of our lady of the rosary, which had been put off till then for want of priests, was celebrated in the church of the *Augustinians*. There were chambers fir'd, with ringing of bells, and a concert of pipes, and drums beaten by *Moors* with little ivory sticks. Father *Francis* sung mass, and the vicar preach'd. In short it was perform'd among *Mahometans*, with the same solemnity as is usual in christendom. Monday the 25th, a *Moorish* vessel from *Suratte*, arriv'd at *Bander-Congo*. They sail on the *Indian* sea, at certain fix'd times; that which is proper to sail from *Bander-Abassi*, and *Bander-Congo*, is from the middle of *October*, till the end of *April*. Two several currents run along the streight between these two ports, and meet at the point of the island *Kecimi*, within the bay. Tuesday 26th, father *Sanjeverino* of *Naples*, went away for *Gomron*, about some affairs of his order.

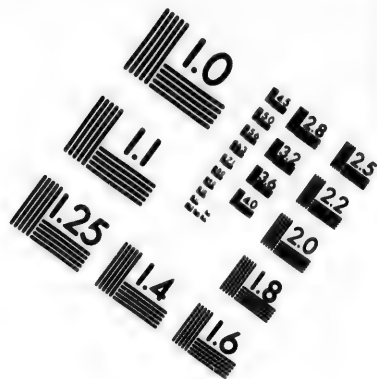
Wednesday the 27th, we rode out with the father vicar, to see *Mullab-Hamet's* ^{A curious garden.} garden; *Mullab* in the *Arabian* tongue, is a learned man. It was small but curious, and the best about *Congo*. In it there are abundance of *European* fig-trees, grapes, oranges, and many *Indian* plants, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Palmeiras*, which bear the cocoa-nuts. There was also another tree call'd *Badamas*, which produces a sort of fruit like almonds, and grows about the gulph of *Persia*, as well as in *India*.

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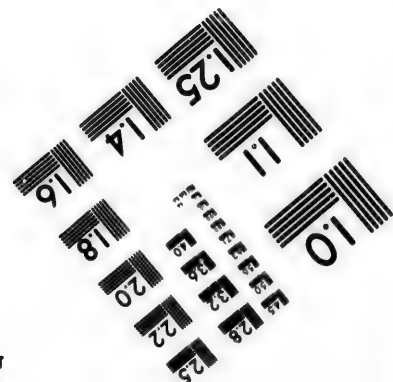
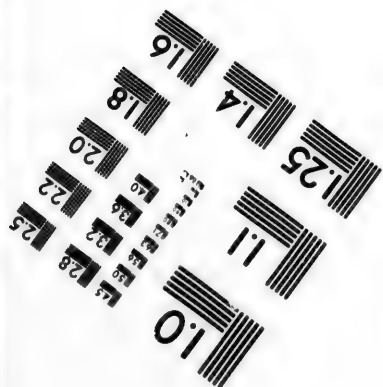
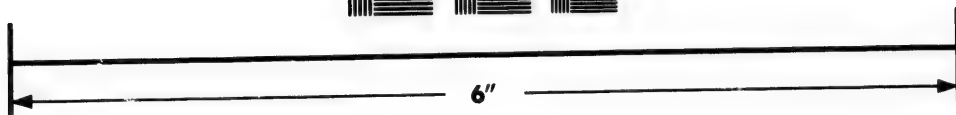
The Pagoda.

Ceremonies.





Resolution test chart showing patterns of vertical and horizontal lines with numerical values ranging from 1.0 to 4.0. The chart includes a small logo for 'Kodak' and 'Kodak Inc.' in the center.



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GEMPEL
1694.
Idolators
washing.

After mid-night, all the idolaters both men and women, went apart to wash themselves on the sea-shore, the *Brachmans* preaching to the men, and their wives to the women. It is perhaps some superstitious custom they observe of washing every month, upon such a certain day of the moon; for before the washing there is a general fast, either as preparatory to it, or because they think to cleanse themselves of all their sins.

A fachir.

Walking out of town on *Thursday* the 28th, I met a *Cafre* or *Ethiopian*, extravagantly clad like a *Fachir*, or strowler; that is, with a cap on his head, all set off with feathers at the top, and with shells about the border; and a girdle with about two thousand goats hoofs hanging to it, and jingling like so many bells; in this ridiculous habit, did he walk so gravely, that it was pleasant to see him.

Sifting
of Pearls.

Friday the 29th, I went to the house of certain *Banians*, to see how they match'd the several sizes of pearls. They first shake them through a sort of brass cullenders, much after the manner as we make small shot; and then several youths pick the round from the misshapen, and the clean from the foul. There is 30 per Cent. profit, in carrying them but to *Suratte*; and therefore the custom-house is so sharp, that they search all that go thither to the soles of their shoes, and their secret parts, to find pearls. And yet for all this severity the customers are often cheated by the merchants, who lay out fifty or one hundred thousand crowns at *Conjo*, in this noble commodity; and that without any loss of time, by reason of the great quantity there is to sell, and their goodness.

Saturday the 30th late at night, the *Portuguese* privately brought in a cow to be kill'd and divided among them; because the *Deroga* will by no means suffer a creature so highly honour'd by the *Gentiles*, to be slaughter'd in publick, and they pay him considerable sums of money from time to time, on this account. And this is the reason they generally eat very bad mutton, or goats flesh.

Sunday the last of *October*, mass was very solemnly sung in our church; there was a great resort of christians; as there was on *Monday* the first and *Tuesday* the 2d, of *November*. *Wednesday* the 3d, there was a plentiful entertainment at the monastery, all the *Portuguese* officers of *Congo* dining there; but I took more pleasure a shooting on *Thursday* the 4th, with the factor of *Bassara*.

Friday the 5th, an *English* vessel came into the harbour to take in loading for *Suratte*. The heat was so violent on *Sa-*

turday the 6th, that I could not forbear at night having my bed carry'd up to the top of the house, to lie there after the country fashion; for at *Congo* and about the gulph of *Persia*, the natives most of the year, lie either in their courts, or on the tops of their houses built like those in *Naples*, commonly call'd *Asiraci*, that is, flat roofs. All their bed is only a corded bed-sted, with a thin quilt under, and another over them.

Sunday the 7th, we had some of the country musick in our church, which was not altogether ungrateful to the ear. *Monday* the 8th, I din'd with and was well treated by *Joseph Pereira*. *Tuesday* 9th, a *Moorish* woman came to our church to have the gospel of St. *John* read to her, to cure her of a fever; and they told me they had known several persons cur'd by their faith, in that holy gospel.

Wednesday the 10th, we diverted our selves on the sea. *Thursday* the 11th, an express came from *Spaban*, and confirm'd all was said before, concerning the permission to drink wine; and that the new king drank as hard as his father had done. *Friday* the 12th, I walk'd along the sea-side with the father vicar, and took notice that there was great plenty of game. *Saturday* the 13th, there arriv'd a great ship from *Bassara* to load for the *Indies*. *Sunday* the 14th, mass was solemnly sung in our church, many *Mabometans* resorting to it, to see our mysterious ceremonies. *Monday* the 15th, a good entertainment was given in the monastery; the same on *Tuesday* the 16th at the commissioners, this being some diversion for being detain'd in that place. *Wednesday* the 17th, I had the satisfaction to see a fine dance of *Moorish* women, who intermixt it now and then with singing in their language, as was said before.

The *English* vessel being ready to sail, father *Francis* and father *Constantine*, who had agreed for their passage aboard, prepar'd for their voyage on *Thursday* the 18th, and *Friday* the 19th, and then on *Sunday* the 21st, went away to *Bander-Abassi* in order to sail thence to *Suratte*. This they did for fear of being made slaves by the *Moors* of *Mascale*, who were then at war with the *Portuguese*, and had fourteen men of war in that port. The cause of this war was, because the town of *Mascale*, having once belong'd to the king of *Portugal*, the *Arabs* had revolted from them forty six years before this time, and chosen a sovereign of their own call'd *Imam*, who did not only extend his dominions up the country, to the great prejudice of the neighbouring princes; but also along the gulph of *Persia*, from

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from cape *Ros-Algate* to *Catifa*, being five hundred miles along the shore. He also took from the *Portuguese* the fort of *Patti*, near *Mombas*, and fix'd his regal seat at *Nazura*. Ever since these two nations have been at war, and committed hostilities at sea; both their fleets continually seeking one another to fight, tho' the *Portuguese* has always come off victorious, with the total destruction of the other. They have sometimes treated about peace, but could never come to any conclusion; because besides a yearly tribute, the crown of *Portugal* demands liberty to build another fort near *Masate*, to keep a garrison there and factory.

Thus I was left alone, to the dissatisfaction of father *Francis*, who endeavour'd to persuade me to continue my voyage to the *Indies* with him. I had resolv'd to embark aboard a *Moorish* vessel of *Gibera*, which was to land eight horses, receiv'd by way of tribute from the king of *Persia* at *Danam*. Several reasons induc'd me to go aboard this ship; the first because it was ready, and the *English* vessel not yet loaden; but was to go to *Bander-Abassi* to land there, which could not be done without some loss of time. The second, because the *Moors* were in peace with all nations, and the *English* at war with the *French*, who lay in wait to fall upon them about *Suratte*, in which case I must have perhaps fled to some place I had no inclination to go to. The third and last, because I knew the custom-house of *Suratte* to be very severe on account of pearls, as was said before, and therefore I should have met with much trouble. All these inconveniencies being avoided aboard the *Moorish* vessel, I thought better to go in it for *Danam*, a city belonging to the *Portuguese*. I spoke to *Joseph Pereira* to agree for mine and my man's passage (which according to the usual rate would have been a toman for me, and thirty abassis for him) but he very generously got it me for nothing; further desiring the master of the vessel to afford me all conveniency, which he willingly did, as standing in need of his friendship. Tho' I never design'd to be carry'd gratis, yet I thought fit to accept of the commissioner's favours, but designing to make the master some return for his civility. Sunday the 21st, *Luis Mendoca*, formerly the king of *Portugal's* factor at *Bassora*, went away for *Gomron* to overtake father *Francis*, and go with him to the *Indies*. Monday the 22d, I spent in shooting, and kill'd some partridges. Tuesday the 23d, I prepar'd for my voyage, which being near at

Vol. IV.

hand, the commissioner was pleas'd to ^{GEMELLI} give me some diversion at his house, ^{1694.} sending for three women dancers. Their ^{Persian} vests were all lac'd open before, and ^{dancers;} with long close sleeves, ty'd under the breast with ribbands, after the country fashion, and bound about the waste with a silver girdle; under it they wore long breeches, like those above describ'd. On their heads they had little caps clos'd at top with a ribband and two clasps, from under which there hung down behind a long silk veil, like a nuns. They had only glass and silver bracelets about their wrists, and others made fast above their elbows, at which hung two silk strings with tassels of beaten silver. Their eye-lids were dy'd black, for ornament, and they had several spots of the same colour, about their faces; under the eyebrows, on the chin, and nose, and some on the cheeks like patches. Their hands and feet were colour'd with yellow, to add as they thought to their beauty. At their noses, which were bor'd, hung rings with two pearls on each side; and between the nostrils were bigger gold rings which reach'd down to their mouths. Their hair made into several tresses hung down their backs, except two locks, which falling upon their cheeks, were ty'd under the chin, as it were to bridle it. Abroad they cover themselves with a piece of stuff of several colours, and their faces with a transparent veil. The *Arabian* women wear black masks with little clasps prettily order'd. The floor being cover'd with carpets, they began their dance, first all three, and then two, to the musick of pipes, flutes, drums and four tabors. It would be tedious to give an account of their several grave motions, and the winding of their bodies and arms, which they sometimes reach'd down to the ground. When they had all sung a while, the youngest stood up, with some small horse-bells about her arms, and danc'd alone, clapping her hands on several parts of her body regularly to make the sound more agreeable, cutting capers, and making strange motions with her body to provoke lasciviousness, and laughter. Then the second, perform'd the same with a better grace; and lastly she danc'd with the same actions, and motions to the sound of two great horse-bells, like those our messengers mules wear, which she jingl'd artificially enough.

Whilst we were thus diverting ourselves with the commissioner, a messenger came from the *Deroga*, or governor of the city, to desire in his name

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General he would do right to a *Moor*, who had some money due to him from a *Persian*, that was servant to the factor of *Bassora*. This made me observe what respect was given to the *Portuguese*, allowing them to exercise the same jurisdiction as they have at *Goa*, not only over their subjects and other christians, but even over the *Mahometans* that serve in the factory; and besides the power of imprisoning at *Congo*, to bastinado *Mahometans*, who

being summon'd by the commissioner, do therefore make their appearance before him as punctually as they do before the *Deroga*. The *French* themselves have not so much authority in the ports of *Turky*.

Thursday the 25th, there happened a great fray between the *Scibandar's* officers, and the *Arabs*, on account of a seizure of tobacco; two of the former being dangerously wounded.

CHAP. V.

The Author's Voyage to Damam, in Indostan.

ALL things being in a readiness, the *Nicoda*, or captain of the vessel came, on *Friday* the 26th, to order me aboard, and therefore in the evening I caus'd my equipage to be carry'd directly aboard from the monastery, without being search'd by the customer; but a *Moor* dropt a cloak-bag on the strand, and wetted some of my cloaths. Then I went aboard with the captain; where I found all the provisions I had occasion for, laid in generously by the *Portuguese* commissioner.

Angon
island.

Sailing that same evening late, we arriv'd on *Saturday* the 27th at *Angon*, to take in fresh water; which is not allow'd to be done at *Congo*, lest the natives should want. By good luck we found the cisterns dry, which oblig'd us to take it in the neighbouring island of *Kescimi*, two miles distant. *Angon* is not inhabited, because it was burn'd down by a *Portuguese* general, in revenge for the perfidioufness of the inhabitants.

Kescimi
island.

Whilst they were labouring diligently to take in water, which was somewhat brackish, on *Sunday* the 28th, I went a shooting, the island abounding in all sorts of game, both four-footed, and feather'd. On *Monday* the 29th, I went about to see the island. It is longish, stretching out a great way towards *Bander-Abassi*; its compass is about ninety miles. The soil produces grapes, figs, dates, and other sorts of fruit for the support of the natives: but their greatest sustenance is fish, for they dry abundance of pilchards in the sun, which they take there, and in the island of *Angon*, to feed upon all the year. There are good pearls found about both these islands; but the natives love their pilchards better, as being taken with more safety, and less trouble than those jewels. The metropolis of *Kescimi* has been quite ruin'd by frequent change of sovereigns, and wars that have happened

on that account; so that at present there is only the village of *Misjar*, and some few others. There is also a regular fort of four bastions, formerly built by the *Portuguese*, and yielded up by the last treaty to the *Persians*, who keep a garrison in it.

Tuesday the 30th, the sea being calm, the *Nicoda*, and other *Moors* diverted themselves, trying which of them was best at hitting a packthread with a bullet. They shot well, and the captain hit it twice, and I question whether any sportsmen in *Europe* could have hit it better.

Wednesday the 1st of *December*, we sail'd betimes with a fair wind; so that on *Thursday* the 2d, we left the island *Recca*, where the *Portuguese* formerly had a fort, altern betimes, and pass'd in sight of the island of *Ormuz*. This small island is at the mouth of the gulph of *Perfa*, two *Spanish* leagues from the continent. Within its compass of three miles, there grows neither tree nor herb, being all over cover'd with good white salt, which renders the soil quite barren. It has no fresh water but what falls from the clouds, and is gather'd into cisterns, for the use of the garrison. The sand is valu'd, because it is very black and bright; as also the red clay, wherewith the *Gentiles* dye their fore-heads. In this island, before the *Portuguese* conquer'd it, there was a city, where the king of *Lar* resided, being sovereign of it.

Friday the 3d, we lay off the mountain of *Daba*, in *Arabia Felix*; because the wind being contrary, we rather lost than gain'd ground. Towards evening we advanc'd as far as *Soar*, or *Masate*, still in sight of the mountain *Kumuwensk* in *Perfa*. At night it blew a storm, which on *Saturday* the 4th, turn'd to so fair a wind, that it carry'd us out of the strait, into the spacious *Indian* ocean; but still in sight of the continent. In

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the mean while, the *Moors* chief employment was to colour their eye-lids every day, with a certain black ointment, good as they said, to preserve the sight; to pluck the hairs off their beards with nippers, where they would not have them grow, and die the nails of their hands and toes with red earth. As to other things they were very civil, never offering that rudeness to strangers, as the *Turks* do; but the captain, and all his ship's crew shew'd me more particular respect, as being recommended by the commissioner.

The *Baluccos*.

Holding on our course eastward, on *Sunday* the 5th, we came in sight of the islands of *Cocaluta*, *Giovar*, *Giavani*, and others inhabited by *Baluccos*; and on *Monday* the 6th, pass'd that of *Goadel*, of the same people. The wind then failing, we lay still without moving a foot. These *Baluccos* are pirates, who lying in wait behind their islands in small barks, watch to seize ships that pass by. They have also a large extent of land on the continent, between *Persia*, and the *Mogul's* dominions. Their king or prince call'd *Jafcebe*, resides in the city *Biscian*, and his brother in another they call *Cbiu*. They are *Arabs* in religion and manners, treating their slaves with incredible cruelty, even to cutting the sinews of their ankles, that they may not run away.

The calm continu'd *Tuesday* the 7th, in sight of desert islands, which are nests of pirates. The heat was so violent, that I thought the winter in *India* equal to the summer in *Italy*, tho' there be no difference as to length of days. Whilst these calms last, the *Persians* use to strip themselves naked betimes, and have a great deal of sea-water pour'd on their heads to wash all their bodies, which generally stink, because of the colour'd smirch they wear several months, without ever shifting.

Pislini island.

The wind came up fair when it was late, and brought us in sight of the island of *Pislini*. We still steer'd due east, to the end, that when we discover'd the point of *Diu*, as butting out furthest into the sea, we might with more safety direct our course for *Suratte* and *Damam*. The wind continu'd fair *Wednesday* the 8th, and at noon we had a false alarm, perceiving a vessel make towards us. I was ready to burst with laughing, to see the *Moors* lay hold of their rusty muskets, which are all matchlocks, and the only defence we had; for our vessel carry'd but eight small guns, and they had but bad gunners to play them. The vessel held on its course, putting up red colours,

to shew she was a friend, and made away *GEMELLI* to westward.

1694.

Sanganos pirates.

Thursday the 9th, before sun-rising, we discover'd a small bark to the eastward, which made the *Moors* very valiant; for laying hold of their rusty arms, they began to bark, like dogs at a distance; but not daring to man out their boat, as I advis'd them, offering to go in it. The bark at last went away to the northward, and so ended the cries and fear of the *Moors*. They believ'd it to be a bark of the pirates call'd *Sanganos* and *Ranas*, who are *Gentiles* in religion, and make no slaves, but take what they find aboard, without hurting any body. They live in some islands, and on the continent in marshy and inaccessible places, as also in woods near *Syndi*, and the kingdom of *Guzaratte*. They go out in small barks, but very numerous, and rob along the coast, and even in the bay of *Suratte*. Their petty king is tributary to the *Great Mogul*, who having conquer'd part of his country, restor'd it to him upon that condition. He resides in the city *Ramora*, on the continent, and sometimes in the island of *Sanganilet*. Another heathen prince of the country of *Varel*, borders upon him. The calm returning, we saw about evening a vessel of these *Sanganos* plying about our ship, and therefore being jealous, with good cause, of their design in the dark of the night; I advis'd our *Nicoda*, or captain, to deliver out powder to twenty soldiers that were aboard, to load his great guns, and place centinels; because the *Moors* sail like brutes, without any precaution, and are giving out ammunition, and charging their fire-arms, when the enemy is upon them. On *Friday* the 10th, in the morning we could not see the pirates. The wind came up contrary, but soon falling, left us in a calm.

It continu'd *Saturday* the 11th. In the afternoon a seaman took a fish about five pounds weight, and being the first taken that voyage, the mariners put it to sale according to custom, hanging it up at the main-mast, to give it to the fairest bidder. A merchant vying with another, offer'd twenty two *Abassis*, which are eight crowns of *Naples*; and the fish might have been sold for more, had there been more merchants; it happens sometimes that they are sold for thirty crowns. The money is divided among the seamen for a dinner.

Sunday the 12th, the wind came up contrary, so that we made little way. The same happened on *Monday* the 13th.

About

GEMELLI
1694.

Flying-
6th and
Dory.

About evening we discover'd to eastward a small vessel, suppos'd to be of the *Sangos*; which made our captain alter his course to shun him; so fearful are those *Moors*. Night deliver'd us from this fear, but a storm that arose frighten'd us worse, and did not only last till day, but blew so violently on *Tuesday* the 14th, that it made the ignorant master and pilot lose all the ground they had gain'd, and return to *Kesimi*. In sight of us was a vessel, suppos'd by us to be the *English* ship, aboard which were the fathers *Francis* and *Constantin*, which beat it out without losing ground as we did. This made me fret, and tho' I took never so much pains to persuade the ignorant *Moors* to do the like, putting them in hopes the wind would soon be fair, I could never prevail. As I had said, the wind fell before night, and we stood our course again; the captain telling me, he did it for my sake. That day I first saw the flying fish which the *Portuguese* call *Aquador*. It flew for about a musket-shot above the water, and then dropt, the little wings not being able to support its weight of ten or twelve ounces. He leaves his natural element to save his life; because the *Abnus*, or *Dorado*, as the *Portuguese* call it, continually pursues to devour it. This *Dorado*-fish that lives by destroying another, is of a blueish colour, well tasted, and big enough to serve four men.

Wednesday the 15th, the storm grew so violent, that we were in some danger, and in the afternoon it rain'd harder than it had done the day before, which lasting all night, wetted those under as well as above deck. The *Moorish* women in the poop wept bitterly, as did their husbands without, calling upon their false prophet *Mabomet* to deliver them from impending death.

Thursday the 16th, the wind came fair, and the sailors thought they discover'd at forty miles distance the continent of *Giasib*, part of the dominion of the *Balucoos*. We held on our course along it; but tho' the ship made good way, we could scarce regain what we lost the day before, much less discover the land of *Goader*, we hop'd to see in the evening. Our misfortune was, that we had an ignorant pilot, who sail'd by guess, without knowing what he was to do, his business at *Congo* having been selling of tobacco. By this we may judge how barbarously the *Moors* act in other cases, since they commit their lives and estates in a ship to a tobaccoist. This consideration made father *Francis* refuse

to go with us, tho' much courted by the master of the vessel. The captain perceiving the ignorance of the pilot, who knew nothing of his business, came in lofty terms to tell me, he had stood again for the *Indies* for my sake, and therefore I should see whether the vessel held her course. I told him it did not, and that the old pilot having swallow'd opium all the day, to add more stupidity to that proceeding from old age, lowering the two top-sails, stood all night for the land, which was the way to be certainly lost on some rock, and therefore, if he had not a mind to perish, he must tack about, and stand out to sea. This he order'd to be done immediately, hoisting his main top-sail and fore-sail, and then pray'd me to stand by the compass, as being now sensible of the tobaccoist's ignorance, and imagining I was well skill'd in navigation. Being equally in danger with the *Moors*, and concern'd for the safety of the ship, tho' not much better skill'd than the tobaccoist, I thought fit to comply with the *Nicoda*, or captain, standing sometimes by the compass, and ordering how we should sail. Besides, I made the men handle their arms when any vessel appear'd, that we might not be lost through their ignorance and cowardize. Thus upon every accident they call'd for the *Aga Gemelli*, believing, as being an *European*, I must understand every thing (so great an opinion they have of us) but I understood as good as nothing, and did nothing all day but steer to the southward; leaving the employment at night, when I could not lose my sleep, to the dull tobaccoist, who lost at night all we gain'd in the day. Thus, tho' the day before we had five sails abroad, and a fair wind, yet on *Friday* the 17th, we found our selves in the same place we were in eleven days before; a plague those are subject to, who sail in *Moorish* ships. Making way in the day, we came up with the lands of *Arabia*, *Pissimelon*, *Setsalau*, and *Ciurna*, of the kingdom of *Syndi*, under the dominion of the *Great Mogul*, about the first part of *Indostan*.

The same fair wind continuing on *Saturday* the 18th, we made much way, because the ship was light, and we had six sails abroad; the *Nicoda* taking no more notice of the fearful pilot, since I advis'd him to make all the sail he could, when the wind was fair. At the sight of the new moon, that had caus'd the afore said storm, all the *Moors* in the vessel in the evening made their usual prayers and adorations to her,

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after the manner of the idolaters, with their hands open before their eyes. A gun was fir'd for joy, and all of them shaking hands, wish'd one another a happy month.

Sunday the 19th, the wind continu'd fair, but there was little of it. *Monday* the 20th, it was contrary, so that we made no way. *Tuesday* the 21st, was such a calm, that I lost all hopes of keeping *Christmas* ashoar; and I had such a contest with the pilot, who made no way by night, that I would meddle no more with steering the ship. *Wednesday* the 22d the wind was fair, but so little of it, that we could not make much way; but on *Thursday* the 23d, it freshen'd, and held all night, and *Friday* the 24th; yet we could not discover the continent, and I have the satisfaction of keeping *Christmas-Eve* ashoar.

Saturday the 25th, so great a day for the redemption of man, the sea appearing cover'd with those weeds the rivers carry down into the *Indian* sea, we began to hope we should soon discover land; and casting the lead, we found eighteen fathom water.

Sunday the 26th, we began to see some snakes of the colour of those we call *Cervooni*, drove out by the rivers into the sea; and casting the lead, we found no bottom, which made us begin to fear sands. About evening, a contrary wind started up, and disappointed our hopes of seeing land on *Monday* the 27th. But before sun-rising, on *Tuesday* the 28th, the ignorant sailors and pilot began to fancy they saw the land and fort of *Diu*, which runs further out into the sea than any other. Upon this joyful news, the captain, according to the *Moorish* custom, treated all the sailors with *Cacciaro*, that is, black kidney-beans, rice, and lentils all boil'd together. They eat this *Indian* food, dipping their hands into a dish of melted butter, and then filling it with the *Cacciaro*, and so cramming their mouths. Since we imagine our selves in sight of *Diu*, it is not improper to leave the *Moors* to their soon fading pleasure, and acquaint the reader, That this fortress is seated in a small island very near to the continent and bay of *Cambaya*. Its port is capable of large Ships. The castle stands on the top of a rock, with only a narrow path to it, cut out of that very mass of stone; so that a single man may defend it. This rock is all about precipices, and has no other high ground to command it; for which reason the conquest of it cost the *Portuguese* more blood and treasure, than all their other conquests

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in *India*; but they ought to spare nothing for the gaining of it, because it is a check upon all ships that fail the *Indian* ocean. The city is on the continent, not far from the fort, and inhabited by Christians, *Mabometans*, and *Gentiles*. Its liberties extend four miles along the sea-shore, till the place where they pass the river *Brancavaria*. It borders on the two kingdoms of *Guzaratte* and *Cambaya*, both subject to the *Mogul*. When *Badur*, king of *Cambaya* besieg'd this place, *Don Nuno d'Acuna*, governour of *Goa*, came to relieve it, and not only rais'd the siege, but kill'd the king; shewing at once the strength of the place, and valour of the *Portuguese*. *Acuna* entering the city *Diu*, in the year 1535, found an old man of 335 years of age, who had a son of 90. He had chang'd his teeth three times, and his beard as often grew grey, after having been black. He beg'd of *Don Nuno*, a *Rupie* a day, worth about five *Carlines* of *Naples*, less than half a crown *English*, telling him, king *Sultan Bader* had allow'd *Maff. Hist.* him so much; but the generous *Portuguese* instead of one, allow'd this *Indian* *pag. 259.* phenix three, in respect to his venerable age. They say, all the accounts he *Ind. l. 11.* gave, agreed perfectly well with the histories of his times, tho' he could not read. At last he dy'd at above 400 years of age, as they relate in those parts. *Fergel. de Flores.* Father *Hiacinto de Dios* tells us further, That this *Indian* *Noah* was first a shepherd in *Bengala* in 1230, and carry'd *St. Francis* over the river on his back, who for his reward gave him a pair of beads; there are several particulars that may render this opinion the more improbable; but the chiefest, that we never read *St. Francis* was in *India*. Thence the old man went to *Diu*, where he liv'd many years, and then returning to *Bengala*, convers'd, and was acquainted with several *Portuguese*, and religious men of the order of *St. Francis*, about the years 1605, and 1606. During the whole course of his life he profess'd three religions, being first a *Pagan* for 100 years; then a *Mabometan* for 300; and lastly, a *Catholic* at the end of his life, the said *Franciscans* baptizing him in *Bengala*, as the same father *Hiacinto* writes. They tell us of another that liv'd 300 years at *Malacca*.

Having in imagination discover'd the point of *Diu*, we stood away to southward for *Damam*, the contrary wind coming fair. It continu'd so till *Wednesday* the 29th at noon, when we were

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1694.

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Ind. l. 11.
pag. 259.
Ind. Decad.
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General becalm'd, and the weather was as hot as it is at *Naples* in *August*. In the evening the wind came fair again. Our tobacco-pipe pilot, being as I said, so ignorant that he understood neither cart, nor compass, all the *Moors* believ'd that some land we saw before us on *Thursday* the 30th, in the morning, had been the village of *Maym*, near *Bazaim*, a city belonging to the *Portuguese*, and consequently that they were at the end of their voyage. All the sailors rejoyc'd, and the merchants much more, as thinking their lives and estates in safety; and the ignorant pilot, vainly puff'd up with pride, for having brought the ship safe to *India*, went about with a sheet of paper in his hand, to enter what the passengers promis'd to give him as a reward for his care; but coming to ask what I would give, I said, I would give nothing; for he rather deserv'd to be punish'd than rewarded; being thoroughly satisfi'd the land we saw, was not that he imagin'd. The same day, discovering a large bark, the *Arab* soldiers of our small vessel had a false alarm; a netting of robes was made on the prow, to cover them, and our ten small guns were loaded, but night drawing on we lost sight of her. The pilot was for furling the sails to come to anchor, but I prevail'd with the captain not to consent to it, as well on account of the bark we had seen, as because all that coast is infested with pyrates. *Friday* being the last of the year 1694, we were becalm'd not far from land.

Saturday the first of the year 1695, drawing near to the shoar upon the mistaken notion, that we were on the *Portuguese* territories, the boat was sent off to discover it. Not regarding danger, to satisfy my curiosity, I went inconsiderately aboard it, both to see the country and hear news of *Antony Machado de Brito*, admiral of the *Portuguese* fleet, with whom I had been acquainted at *Madrid*. The captain of our ship, who took particular care of me for the sake of the *Portuguese* commissioner, oppos'd my going a long while, as not being well satisfi'd that coast belong'd to *Portugal*, and perhaps he fear'd, if it did, some other misfortune might befall me; but seeing I was obstinate, rather than displeas'd, he suffer'd me to go. The contrary wind, which blew hard, would not permit us to make directly for the village; but drove us ashore a mile from it. Being discover'd from land, a bark put out to enquire what vessel ours was, as we went to be inform'd of their country. We

were told that small place was call'd *Mangalor* in the kingdom of *Guzaratte*, 400 miles from *Damam*. This surprising news terrify'd me; and perceiving the *Moors* in our boat, suspected the others were *Sangalo* pyrates, and only persuaded us that was the place it was not, that they might carry us off, without any trouble, the *Sanganos* bordering on the kingdom of *Guzaratte*. I endeavour'd to persuade them for our safety, to cut the rope that held us, and make away to our vessel. They answer'd it was too late, and should perfectly cast our selves away, if the others happened to be too swift for us, as they must be, having a better boat and more oars to fetch us up. There being no other remedy, we suffer'd our selves to be led away like so many lambs before the commander of the place. He receiv'd us not ill, as we fear'd, but with civility; giving us leave to take in water, whereof we had much need. It was brought us in the darke of the night, by the country-women, in earthen vessels, one upon another. They cover'd all their bodies and heads, with long garments like smocks, of silk; in their ears they had gold rings, and about their arms others of glass. Nothing could be seen of them but their feet and faces.

The habitation was a small village on the shoar; I say it was but little in respect of the great *Mangalor*, a dependence whereof it is, five miles distant, and govern'd by a *Nabab*, or governor appointed by the *Great Mogul*, who they told me had two castles there. The inhabitants told us how much we were mistaken; informing us that the point we took for *Diu*, was the country of the *Sanganos* pyrates, and the land we saw next *Mangalorpotan*, of the same kingdom of *Guzaratte*, not far distant from them to the southward; opposite to which place, we lay, as was said before, three days becalm'd, and bearing up against contrary winds.

Having taken water, and obtain'd leave to return to our ship; about midnight the bark, with some *Indian* merchants aboard it, bore us company, to persuade our *Nicoda* to stand in for the shoar, upon hopes of a good market for his goods; but he with good reason, suspecting their honesty, as being borderers on the *Sanganos* pyrates, gave them good words, promising so to do, the next day; yet at break of day, on *Sunday* the 2d, he set sail with a fair wind, which afterwards quite ceas'd, and left us becalm'd.

All

All the sailors and passengers blam'd the pilot for his ignorance, who instead of carrying us to *Damam*, had run us up 400 miles higher eastward, and almost into the mouths of the ravenous *Sangano* pyrates, who were but thirty miles distant. Some were for throwing him over-board; some were satisfy'd with railing, and putting him by the steering of the ship; so that the foolish old fellow had scarce a word to say for himself. I told the *Nicoda* he deserv'd as many strokes as he had agreed to pay him abassis, for his ignorance. Twelve merchants, and *Moorsish Fuchirs*, who went to beg in the *Indies*, for this reason refus'd to go any further aboard the ship, and being set ashore, travell'd along it a-foot, thinking it less dangerous than to continue in a vessel govern'd by a tobacco-feller, who had spent thirty seven days in a voyage of twenty, without coming to his port, steering three days to and fro northward, when he should have stood south. The wind freshing after noon, we coasted along *Indoistan*, making good way at night.

Monday the 3d, the wind prov'd so cross that we could not reach *Diu*, as we had intended, and this because the *Moorsish* mariners are a whole hour spreading a sail; calling *Mabomet* to their assistance, with a tedious song upon every little accident. We came to an anchor in eighteen fathom water, till the tide and wind, which were against us, came fair. The *Indian* seas are but shallow, so that tho' we were 100 miles from land, we were forc'd to keep sounding. Four hours after night-fall we sail'd again, the wind blowing hard at north, and the sea running high; the sky was as clear as it is the finest night in *July* at *Naples*.

Tuesday the 4th, the wind came about fairer, which helped us on considerably. Being near land at night, we kept but one sail abroad, sounding continually. At last, finding twelve fathom for a great while, we came to an anchor, staying for day to draw nearer the land we saw.

Wednesday the 5th, in the morning, we thought we were between *Damam* and *Bazaim*, and the tide being against us, waited till it turn'd, which was about noon. Drawing near the land, the water began to look whiter, by reason of the rivers that run into it. We made some little way, and anchor'd again because the wind was contrary: Those brutal *Moors* being such unskilful sailors, that they knew not how to advance a

step, unless the wind was very fair. But it was my own fault that I lay so long at sea, because I would not follow the advice of father *Cbiaranton*, a *French Jesuit*; for had I gone aboard the *English* ship, I had been long before ashore taking my ease.

We weigh'd anchor at midnight, but dropt it again on *Thursday* the 6th, before day, for the aforesaid reason; so that when I expected to have kept a merry twelfth-tide ashore, after a hard lent at sea, because my provisions fell short, I was forc'd, against inclination, to continue my abstinence. We set sail some time after, but within a few hours anchor'd again, because the tide would not permit us to make way but at certain hours.

I went again ashore in the boat to know what coast it was, the danger at *Mangalar* not having yet had the good effect to make me more cautious, none of the sailors being able to give a good account what part of the *Portuguese* dominions we were upon. Being hindered by the flats from coming any nearer than within half a mile of the shoar, two seamen swam thither to get some intelligence. One of these who return'd, the other not daring to swim back, brought an account that we were near the village of *Nevegon*, two days journey for a foot-traveller from *Damam* towards *Bazaim*. Returning aboard with this relation, we weigh'd upon the flood, and dropt anchor again upon the ebb, about *Bazaim*.

This current or tide alters twice in twenty four hours. It runs for six hours from break of day towards *Bazaim*, or the south; then it runs till about evening to the north, towards *Damam*; then it turns again towards *Bazaim*, and holds till midnight; after which it turns to the north, and holds till break of day. 'Tis true, these turns are not at the same hours all the year about, tho' the running one way or the other always continues the same time.

Friday the 7th, we hoisted sail about noon, with an indifferent wind, and anchor'd again in the evening. After midnight we advanc'd again, and *Saturday* the 8th, at sun-rising, at length came to an anchor off *Damam*. Tho' we spread our sails again after noon, they were soon furl'd through the ignorance of the pilot, for he rather lost than gain'd ground. *Sunday* the 9th we weigh'd four hours before day, and dropt anchor again at sun-rising, the wind continuing still at north. Four hours before night we set forward again with an indifferent

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1695.

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1695.

different gale, which drove us on a good way by night, when we anchor'd.

Monday the 10th, we came to an anchor near *Damam*, after a voyage of 1200 miles, or 400 leagues; which we run twice over through the ignorance of the pilot. I went immediately ashore in the boat with the captain. Here I had the good fortune to meet father *Francis* and father *Constantine*, the fa-

ctor of *Baffora* being already gone for *Bazaim*; and embracing one another interchangeably, congratulating our happy arrival in *India*, after our parting at *Bander-Congo*, they carry'd me to their monastery of *St. Augustin*, where the father prior very courteously receiv'd, and made much of me, appointing several servants to attend me, that I might the better recover my self after my fatigues at sea.

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*A Voyage round the World by Dr. John
Francis Gemelli Careri. Part III.*

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
INDOSTAN.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The Description of Damam, a City belonging to the Portuguese in Indostan.

NEVER was traveller better pleased, after enduring many hardships, for a considerable time in far distant countries, in being safely restor'd to his native soil, enjoying the company of dearest friends, and relating what he had seen; than I was at my landing in *Indostan*, which made me forget the toils of my troublesome voyage. If it be extraordinary delightful to feed the ears with the relation of what precious things nature has bestow'd on that wealthy country, for the ease of humane life; you may judge how great a satisfaction it was to to me, to be upon the spot where I might actually see and be acquainted with them. Being therefore lodg'd in the monastery of the *Augustinians* in *Damam*, and having a little rested me after my voyage, on *Monday* the 11th of *January* 1695, I apply'd my self to landing of my equipage. The *Portuguese* factor was so civil, that as at *Bander-Congo* my portmanteau's had not been search'd for the sake of the commissioner; so neither were they open'd at *Damam*, through his courtesy. He obligingly told me, he could with I had brought the value of 100000 crowns; for in regard I was a stranger, he would not have taken any custom of me; for had I been a *Portuguese*, I must have paid 10 per Cent. (which to say the truth, would have been considerable) to the *Gentiles*, who farm'd the customs. When I acquainted father *Francis* with this generosity of the factors, he told me, that notwithstanding his being a religious man, having brought two bales of carpets, for the service of their church, the custom-house officers had stopp'd them for their duties. I apply'd my self to the factor, to have them restor'd to him, re-

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presenting father *Francis's* great worth, and how much he was esteem'd at *Ispahan* by all the great one's; so that at length, thro' my intercession, he recover'd his bales.

The city *Damam* is seated on the left side of the river of that name, in 20 deg. lat. Tho' but ill peopled, it is beautiful enough, and built after the *Italian* manner. Three broad streets divide it in length, and four across them; all so regularly built, that the corners of the houses (which are for the most part trench'd about) do not jut out an inch one beyond another; 'tis true, most of them have only a ground floor, very few having any rooms above, and they are generally til'd. Instead of glass, their windows are made of oyster-shells curiously wrought, and transparent. Every house has its garden or orchard with fruit-trees.

The air of *Damam* is very good, being north of *Goa*; and tho' its summer and winter be at the same time as it is at *Goa* (for whilst I stay'd it was summer in those parts, and the winter is from *May* till the end of *September*, with continual rain and storms) yet during that time I call'd summer, there is some sort of coolness in the morning, which is not at *Goa*.

It has four modern and well-built bastions; but 'tis somewhat irregular, and ill provided with cannon. The compass is about two miles, without any ditch on the east and south sides, but with a low work, or intrenchment breast high. On the other sides the ditch is fill'd by an arm of the river, towards which there are two gates, and before the first a draw-bridge. All the walls are back'd with ramparts.

The government is in a captain, or commandant, and it is kept by a good

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GEMELLI
1695.

Damam
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Garrison. The factor before mentioned, has the charge of the king's revenue. It is inhabited by *Portuguese*, *Mestizos*, who are born of white fathers and black mothers, *Pagans* and *Mahometans*; but these two last are not allow'd the free exercise of their religion. There are several good monasteries, as those of the *Jesuits*, the *Recolets*, the *Augustinians*, and the parish-church; but none of them has above three altars opposite to the door. The monasteries are convenient enough for the religious men. That of *St. Augustin*, where I resided, had an excellent square cloister, with twelve good stone columns, besides the four great pillars at the angles. Above in the dormitory there are twenty eight smaller columns.

On Damam. All that has been here mentioned belongs to new *Damam*; for the old is on the right of the aforesaid river, consisting of poor low houses, or rather cottages with mud-walls, and cover'd with palm-tree leaves. Here most of the *Moors* and *Gentiles* live, having their shops of several trades along the ill-constru'd streets.

The port. Between the old city and the new, is the harbour made by the river *Damam*; but no vessels, either great or small, can come in but at flood, during six hours of the day, as was said in the foregoing book, as it is at *Offend* in *Flanders*, and *Calis* in *Picardy*. The stream is so rapid at ebb that no oars can stem it, but they must needs come to an anchor (unless the wind sets in very hard) and stay till the next flood. This is to be understood of vessels of small burden; for great ones can neither go in or out but twice a month, that is, when the moon is new and at the full, because of the spring tides, which there they call great tides.

The entrance into this harbour is defended by a small castle seated on the side of old *Damam*. It is longish, and has three bastions well enough furnish'd with cannon. On the north side of the city is a small suburb, consisting of cottages cover'd with palm-tree leaves, and inhabited by christian blacks; and at a small distance from it, a village of *Gentiles*, with a *Bazar*.

In the year 1535, *Martin Alfonso de Sousa* took and destroy'd *Damam* in three days. In 1559, *Don Constantine*, son to the duke of *Braganza*, vice-roy of *India*, retok it from *Asid Bostia Abyssino*, who had revolted from his sovereign, and made it of considerable strength. The *Great Mogul* has attempted to reduce it several times; and particularly fifty years ago

Aurenge-Zeb-Alanguir, afterwards king, laid siege to it with an army of eighty thousand men; but the *Portuguese* defended it so bravely, making a terrible slaughter of the enemy with their continual sallies at night, that he was forc'd, after lying three months before it, to march off with the loss of half his army. The occasion of it was, that the *Mogul* resolving to make the last effort to take it, and having to this purpose plac'd two hundred elephants in the front, with long sharp lwards in their trunks; the beasts frighted with the fire of the *Portuguese* muskets, ran disorderly upon the *Mahometan* army, cutting in pieces abundance of men, with the same weapons they were arm'd to destroy the christians. The barbarians being but in a bad condition by their own contrivance; the *Portuguese* retiring into the town, began in scorn to throw cockle-shells, which the *Mahometans* abhor, into the enemies camp, with an engine they call *Papagayo*, made of plankboard strengthned with canes, and carried up into the air by the wind and guided by a rope.

The *Portuguese* live very great in *India*, both as to their tables, cloathing, and number of *Cafres*, or slaves to serve them; having some of these to carry them in *Palancbines* on their shoulders, and others great umbrelloes of palm-tree leaves. The *Palancbine* is like a wooden bier painted and gelt, seven spans long, and four in breadth, with two well-wrought risings at both ends. On it they lay a *Persian* carpet, and over that a piece of *Russian* leather, that it may not heat their backs, and two silk pillows, on which they lie along. There are ropes, or iron rings fastned to the ends, through which they run a bamboa, or thick *Indian* cane, to lay on the shoulders of the blacks, two before and two behind, all in a row or file; very few being carry'd by two. The person in the *Palancbine* is cover'd with an umbrello of eight spans diameter, carry'd by a slave, or else fastned to the bamboa that crosses the *Palancbine*, and may be turn'd to that side the sun is on. In rainy weather they use another sort of carriage call'd *Andorra*, with a covering made of palm-tree leaves, sloping like the ridge of a house, fix'd upon the bamboa; there are two small windows or doors on the sides, that may be open'd, to see who goes along the street. The *Andorra* differs from the *Palancbine* in nothing, but the bomboa; because the latter has a crooked one, that he who is carry'd may

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may sit up; and that of the *Andora* is strait, so that he must lie along as if he were in bed. This would be a convenient way of travelling on those soft pillows for an effeminate *European*, who should find fault with the jousting of the *Napoleonic* sedans, and would desire to travel in safety and sleep. They are generally us'd there by women, religious men, and all other persons; a religious man of any note, never being seen abroad in *India*, but in an *Andora* or *Palancbine*, attended by many slaves, there being but few converts. Besides, the charge is very inconsiderable, for they that have no slaves, pay four *Indians* but twelve *coffins* of *Naples* a month for carrying them.

Coaches.

When they go out of town, or travel some days journey, they use a sort of coach drawn by oxen, guided by a cord run through their nostrils. These coaches are square like a chair, and can hold but two; the top of it is commonly cover'd with silk; three of the sides open, and the back clos'd with canes interwoven one within another.

Provisions.

They have no good flesh to eat in *Damam*; because the beef and pork is ill tasted: They seldom kill sheep or goats; and every body cannot go to the price of fowls. Fish is also scarce, and none of the best; besides they have no oil of olives to dress it, but instead thereof make use of that of cocoa-nuts. The bread is extraordinary good, even that they make of rice. Thus a stranger at *Damam*, who is not entertain'd by some body, has but an ill time of it, if he expects for his money to furnish himself in the market; because the gentry have all their provisions in their houses, and the meaner sort makes a shift with rice, and *Sura*, that is, palm-tree wine, scarce ever tasting bread all the year about.

Fruits and herbs.

There is not any one sort of our *European* fruits, but all *Indian*, as cocoanuts, *Manjandas*, *Giambos*, *Undis*, *Ananajus*, *Alas*, *Anonas*, and others we shall describe in their proper place, and give the cuts of them. As for herbs there are many of the *European*, and of the country; among which the roots of that call'd *Cassuras*, being like white tartuffs, or pignuts; of the bigness and taste of a chestnut, are excellent.

Beasts.

Damam is also very famous for all sorts of game; for besides all the *European* creatures of wild boars, wolves, foxes, and hares; in the mountains there are those they call *Bacareos*, in-shape like bucks, and in taste like swine; *Zambares*, whose bodies are like oxen,

and their horns and feet like those of *Gazelles*, which are like goats; *Divers* like foxes; *Roses*, with the body like a cow, so call'd from a rose they have on the breast; the male of this species is call'd *Mern*, and has horns half a span long, and the body and tail like a horse; wolves like stags with hairy horns; *European* stags; black wild cats with wings like those of the bats, with which they skip and fly from one tree to another, tho' they be far distant; wild horses and cows. There are three sorts of tygers, call'd *Bibo*, *Cito*, and the royal, each differing from the other in bigness of body, and variety of spots. It being their property to be continually in search of wild boars, these taught to defend themselves by nature, tumble in the mire, and dry themselves in the sun so often, till the mud is crust'd hard on them. Being thus arm'd, instead of being made a prey, they often gore the tygers with their sharp tusks; for they working with their claws on the hard mud, are a long time pulling it off, and by that means give the boars time to kill them.

The *Portuguese* have two ways of killing tygers, one is lying conceal'd in a ditch, near the water where they come to drink; the other going in a cart drawn gently through the wood by oxen, and thence shooting them. But they use all their endeavours to hit them on the fore-head, for if the tyger falls not the first shot, it grows so enrag'd with the hurt, that it certainly tears the hunter in pieces.

Besides four-footed beasts, there is great plenty in the woods of peacocks, partridges of two sorts, ducks, pigeons, turtle-doves, swallows, rooks, and other sorts known in *Europe*. They for pastime keep a sort in cages about as big as a thrush, call'd *Martinbos* of the city, and of the country. The first are black and white; the latter of an ash colour, with a red breast.

A man in *India* must be very regular in eating, or he will fall into some incurable distemper; or at least such as Diseases, must be cur'd after the country fashion with fire; experience having shewn that *European* medicines are of no use there. The disease they call *Mordazin* is a complication of fever, vomiting, weakness in the limbs, and head-ach. It always proceeds from too much eating, and is cur'd by burning both the heels with a red hot spit, till the patient feels the heat of the fire. That they call *Bombaraki*, and *Naricut*, swells and causes a violent pain in the belly, and to cure it, fire is also

GEMELLI 1695. also apply'd to the swelling, so that those who have the good fortune to recover, carry the signs of the fire afterwards on their belly. For this reason, the physicians that go out of *Portuga* into those parts, must at first keep company with the *Indian* surgeons to be fit to practice; otherwise if they go about to cure those distempers, so far different from ours after the *European* manner, they may chance to kill more than they cure. For fear of these diseases, on flesh-days, they only eat flesh at dinner, and generally fish at night.

Habit.

The habit of the *Portuguese* that have settled their aboad in *India*, is very odd; for under their coats or vests they wear a sort of breeches, call'd *Candales*, the like whereof I never saw in any part of *Europe*; for when they are ty'd they leave something like the tops of boots on the leg. Others under a short doublet, wear wide silk breeches; and some have them hang down to their ankles, so that they serve for hose.

The *Gentils* wear a long silk garment, gather'd about the waste like a petticoat. It is ty'd with ribbands before upon the breast, and under the left arm like the *Persian* *Cabayas*, and with a girdle about the middle; under it

they have long breeches down to their heels. On their shoulders hangs a piece of silk or woollen, which they wrap about their head when it is cold, the turbant being but very small. Others go naked, only covering their privities with a clout.

The women have no other garment but a long piece of stuff, wherewith they cover all their body, except their legs and part of their belly. Some add a little sort of smock with half-sleeves; adorning their bare arms with bracelets, and strings of glass and latton; their ears with large silver pendants, and their ankles with rings of the same metal.

Wednesday the 12th, I went to visit the king's factor, being much oblig'd to him for his civility. The same day I went with father *Constantine* to old *Damam* for pastime. *Thursday* the 13th, we went to take the air in a garden of the *Augustinians*, as well the religious men, as their guests and others, in five of the country coaches, father *Francis* treated us generously. Coming home I saw them on the shore building a vessel they call *Gala-vetta*, which was all pinn'd with wood, and caul'd with cotton.

CH A P. II.

The Author's short Voyage to Suratte, and Return to Damam.

HAVING a curiosity to see *Suratte*, and it being easie to go thither; because the convoy was ready to sail for *Cambaya* and other parts, I went on *Friday* the 14th, to give a visit to the commodore of the galliots that were to convoy the trading vessels, and desir'd him to give me my passage aboard his, which was built frigot-fashion and carry'd twenty guns. He civilly granted it, so courteous is the *Portuguese* Nation, and therefore having return'd thanks I went home to make ready. *Saturday* the 15th, after dinner, leaving my luggage with father *Francis* to avoid all trouble of that severe custom-house, I embark'd with my man aboard the commodore's galliot, and the great stream carrying us out of the harbour presently after noon, we sail'd with a fair wind which continu'd all night.

Sunday the 16th, about break of day we came in sight of the bay of *Suratte*, that city being but sixty miles from *Damam*, and entering it with a fair wind, came to an anchor at *Suali*, twelve miles from the city. I immediately went a shore with the commodore's nephew, where the custom-house officers search'd

our bags narrowly for pearls, or zee-chines. Then I went to see the director of the *French* company, who kept me with him.

Suratte is seated in twenty degrees of *Suratte's* latitude, and a hundred and five of longitude, at the mouth of the bay of *Cambaya* and kingdom of *Guzaratte*. It is not large, enclos'd by a weak wall, built after it was plunder'd by *Savagi*, or *Kacagi*. The castle is no better, having four towers but no ramparts, but either coming from sea or land it must be pass'd by to come at the city. The governor of it only commands the garrison-soldiers; the city being govern'd by a *Nabab*, who receives the king's taxes throughout the whole province. The private houses are built with mud mixt with cows-dung, and small brushwood broke; there are not above a dozen good ones belonging to *French*, *English*, *Dutch* and *Mahometan* merchants. Nevertheless *Suratte* is the prime mart of *India*, all nations in the world trading thither, no ship sailing the *Indian* ocean, but what puts in there to buy, sell, or load; for in the port of *Suratte*,

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Suratte, there is a trade not only for all sorts of spice, and among them for ginger, but of very rich gold and silk stuffs, of very fine cottens and other commodities brought thither from remote parts. There are such rich merchants, that they can load any great ship out of one of their ware-houses. I may say without enlarging, that all the rich silks, and gold-stuffs, curiously wrought with birds and flowers; all the brocades, velvets, taffetas, and other sorts made in *Amadabat*, are convey'd to *Suratte*, which is but four days journey from it. I say those of *Amadabat*, which is the greatest city in *India*, and nothing inferior to *Venice* for this trade; tho' its houses are low and made of mud and *Bamboo*; and the streets narrow, crooked, and full of dirt. But I forgot the fine muslins of *Cambaya*, and the curiosities made in the most valuable agate that is brought into *Europe*.

Amadabat
city.

Cambaya
city.

Cambaya, the metropolis of that kingdom, was a large and rich city, whilst the *Portuguese* were possess'd of it, *Barosse* and *Suratte*; for this brave nation govern'd it well enough, the gate being still standing that people made for its security; but after they abandon'd it and retir'd to the sea, it lost much of its splendor and magnificence; for the vessels anchor twelve miles from it, and cannot come up to the city but with the flood; which is so violent and swift, that a horse can scarce outrun it. For this reason the ships often do not go up, because they must do it against wind, to check the violence of the tide that drives so impetuously.

Barosse
city.

Barosse above mention'd is famous for its excellent white and stain'd calicoes, as also for ginger, and the best market for its commodities is at *Suratte*, ten miles distant from it. Its port is the river, which falls into the sea fifteen miles lower, up which small barks can go with the tide.

I purposely omit to mention particularly so many countries, which like rivers to the sea, convey all their wealth to *Suratte*, because of the good vent they find for it there; this being a matter well known to *Europeans*. But there would be a much greater resort, where its port better, and that the vessels when they have run six miles up the river, were not forc'd to lie at *Suati*, ten miles from the city; whence and whither commodities are convey'd in small boats.

Monday the 17th, I saw the church of the *Capucins* which is decently adorn'd, and their house convenient, those good men having built it after the manner of *Europe*.

VOL. IV.

Tuesday the 18th, I went to see the tree *GEMELLI* of the *Gentiles*, we call *Banians*, under ¹⁶⁵⁵ which they have the *Pagods* of their idols. ^{Banians} and meet to perform their ceremonies ^{tree and} It is of the same bigness and sort as ^{Pagods} that describ'd at *Banter-Congo*; but the *Pagods* differ, for under this I found four, one call'd of *Mamaniva*, which has a mighty front; two others of *Rio-Ram*, and the fourth a retiring place for *Factirs* that do penance; whereas under the tree at *Bander-Congo* there is but one.

Under this tree, and in the neighbour-^{Factirs}ing parts, there are many men who or peni-^{tents} have enjoyn'd themselves and do perform such dreadful penances, that they will seem fabulous to the reader, and impossible to be gone through without the assistance of the devil. You may see one hanging by a rope ty'd under his arms and to the tree, only his feet touching the ground, and the rest of his body being bow'd, and this for many years, without changing place or posture day or night. Others have their arms lifted up in the air, so that in process of time there grows such a stiffness or hardness in the joints, that they cannot bring them down again. Some sit with their hands lifted up without ever moving them. Others stand upon one foot, and others lie along with their arms under their heads for a pillow. In short, they are in such postures, that sometimes a man can scarce believe his eyes, but fancies it is an illusion. Thus they continue naked all seasons of the year, with vast long hair, and nails grown out, expos'd to the rain, and burning rays of the sun, and to be stung by flies, whom they cannot drive away. Other *Factirs* who take that employment, supply their necessities of eating and drinking. These penitents are not ashamed to go quite naked, as they came out of their mothers wombs. The women go devoutly to kiss those parts modestly forbids us to name, and tho' they take them in their hands they feel not the least motion of sensuality, but they roul their eyes in a most dreadful manner without taking notice of them, as I saw one on *Wednesday* the 19th, beset by some silly *Pagan* women, who paid their respects to him with great humility.

Thursday the 20th, a young *French* man ^{An hospi-} conducted me to see an hospital of the ^{tal for} *Gentiles*, where abundance of irrational ^{birds and} creatures were kept. This they do be- ^{beasts} cause they believe the transmigration of souls, and therefore imagining those of their fore-fathers may be in the vilest, and filthiest living creatures, they pro-

C c c vide

GENELLI vide them with food. Thus the wild monkeys come to eat what is provided for them. Besides the prodigious number of birds and beasts maintain'd there, particular care is taken of the lame and sick. But that which most amaz'd me, tho' I went thither to that purpose, was to see a poor wretch naked, bound hands and feet, to feed the bugs or punaises, fetch'd out of their stinking holes to that purpose. The best of it is, that any man should voluntarily expose himself to be so devour'd, for a small reward given him, according to the hours he will continue under it.

A foolish
piece of
knavery.

Friday the 21st, going home, after walking about a-while, I saw abundance of people got together before a *Pagan* merchant's shop, and in the midst of them a juggling fellow with a hen in one hand and a knife in the other. Inquiring into the meaning of it, they told me, that man was a rogue, who when he had a mind to get money, carry'd that hen through the streets where the *Gentiles* liv'd, threatening to kill it, that they might give him mo-

ney to save its life, each of them believing the soul of some of his kindred might be in that hen. In short, I saw him receive some money, and go on still threatening the same.

Saturday the 22d, all the vessels from *Diu*, *Cambaya*, *Barofce* and other places, being come together to sail for *Goa* and other dominions of *Portugal*, and the galiots being ready to convoy them, I again went aboard the same that brought me. Sailing out of the mouth of the river with a fair wind, we got into the open sea, and after lying by two hours for the small vessels to go a head of us, we held on our course gently all night.

Sunday the 23d, at break of day, we found our selves many miles from *Damam* and too late to hear mass. The galiots came to an anchor after noon without the mouth of the river, some small barks going up it. I found father *Francis* expected me with impatience, who receiv'd me with expressions of great affection.

Monday the 24th, I took leave of friends that had been kind to me, there being an opportunity to imbark for *Bazaim*.

CHAP. III.

The Author's short Voyage to Bazaim, and Description of that City.

HAVING long since resolv'd to see *Goa*, on *Thursday* the 25th, I caus'd my baggage to be carry'd down to the shore by *Boes*, so they call porters in *India*, and thence into a vessel at *Diu* that carry'd oars, lying without the river, as the fathers *Francis* and *Constantine* had done. Having with them taken leave with thanks of the prior and religious of the monastery, we went down to the shore, and thence in a boat to the *Navillo*, which was a long boat of the king's, with six oars and a square sail in the middle, having one falconet aboard, and seventeen *Portuguese* and *Canarine* soldiers. At ebb, which fell out when the moon was vertical, we set forwards with the help of a small gale, and of the tide that set towards *Bazaim*; for from the time the moon first appears above the horizon still she comes to the mid-heaven, the flood runs towards *Suratte*; and when the moon goes down, towards *Bazaim*.

Trapor
town.

Wednesday the 26th, at break of day we were off the town and fort of *Trapor*, a place well inhabited, with monasteries of *Dominicans* and *Recolets*. Ten miles from this the *Portuguese* have another impregnable castle call'd *Afferim*; for besides its being seated on the top of the hill, where there is no other higher

ground to command it, a crooked path cut out of the mountain, along which two men cannot go abreast, leads up to it, and is defended by several guards, who may withstand an army, only rolling down the stones plac'd there to that purpose.

The wind continuing fair, we sail'd by *Maim*, the fort and village of *Maim*, and several other towers and dwellings, and then by the little island *De la Vaca*, or of the cow, three miles in compass, and not far distant from *Bazaim*. Much time being lost waiting for the barks, and *Parancos* that came under convoy and were mere slugs, we could not reach *Bazaim* after seventy miles sail till midnight. We came to an anchor before the channel form'd by the small island and the continent, for fear of running a ground in the dark, and *Thursday* the 27th, went in with the flood.

There being no houses of entertainment in the city, we were receiv'd by father *Felicianus* of the nativity, born at *Macao* in the kingdom of *China*, and prior of the monastery of the *Augustinians*, who treated us all very courteously and like a true *Portuguese*.

Bazaim, a city in the kingdom of *Camba-Bazaim* is seated in 19 deg. of latitude, and 104 of longitude. *Nuno de Acuna* in the year 1535 took it for king *John* of *Portugal*,

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gal, from *Badar* king of *Cambaya*, who, terrify'd by the valour of the *Portuguese* nation, surrendered it to them with the neighbouring islands; whilst *Martin Al-Maff. Hist. fono de Sousa*, undauntedly attack'd and took *Damam* and its fortress, cutting in pieces all the *Turkish* garrison, and afterwards levelling the castle with the ground in three days. The compass of *Bazaim* is three miles, and has eight bastions, not all quite finish'd. On them I saw some pieces of cannon, with the arms of *Philip IV.* of happy memory, king of *Spain*. On the north side the walls are rampard, and the other fortifications are not yet finish'd; on the south side, towards the channel, there is only a single wall, that place being less expos'd to the danger of enemies, and sufficiently defended by the ebb and flood. One third of the city, towards the north, is unpeopled, by reason of the plague which some years rages in it. The streets are wide and strait, and the great square or market has good buildings about it. There are two principal gates, one on the east and the other the west, and a small one towards the channel or streight. The harbour is on the east side, form'd as was said, by the island and continent.

The government is in a captain, as they call him, or governor, and the administration of justice in a *Vedor*, and the *Desembargador*, who is a gown-man, and judge of appeals from all the *Feedors* of the northern coast; along which in every city there are factors and treasurers for the revenue of the crown of *Portugal*. The *Portuguese* general resides at *Bazaim*, with sovereign authority over the captain of that and all the other northern places, whence he is call'd general of the north.

Friday the 28th, I walk'd about the city with the fathers, but saw nothing so extraordinary, as I did on *Saturday* the 29th, which was a *Pagan* born in *India*, who had an infant sticking fast to his navel, with all his limbs perfect except the head, which was in the man's belly, and made its excrements apart like every other perfect creature. Whether the man or infant was struck, they both felt the pain.

Sunday the 30th, mafs was sung at the *Augustinians* with musick, which being in *India* was not disagreeable, and much gentry was there. The heat was greater than at *Damam*; so that as well women as men, went about the streets naked; the men covering their privities with a clout, and the women their bodies and thighs with a piece of linen. The people of fashion, at that time, wear silk and very thin muslins,

having long breeches down to their *GEMELLI* heels, so that they need no stockings. ^{1695.} Instead of shoes they wear sandals like the friars.

All the *Gentiles* bore their noses to put *The Gentry* rings through, as they do to the buffa-^{tile}. tiles. Every beggar, much more those that are well to pass, rubs his teeth every morning betimes with a stick, and spends two hours at that work, according to the custom of the country. They use no quilts because of the heat, but lay blankets and sheets on the bed, made of cords, without boards, as is us'd by the *Persians* of *Lar* and *Bander-Congo*.

Monday the last of the month, I went with father *Peter* of the *Martyrs* to the village of *Madrapur*, to see some vagabond *Moors*, who vaulted and performed feats of activity like our tumblers and rope-dancers. The most wonderful ^{A won-} thing was, to see a man who turn'd ^{derful} round upon a cane, held up by another on his girdle; and what most amaz'd me was, that he who supported the cane went on without putting his hands to guide it, and he that was on the top of it did not help himself with his hands neither, and yet the cane or bambao was thirty spans high. At last, after giving two skips in the air, he lighted on a very high beam, fix'd to that purpose; I know not how he could do all this without some supernatural assistance.

Tuesday the 1st of *February*, a messenger from the *Nabab* or governor of *Suratte* came, in a *Palanchine* with thirty soldiers, to treat about some business with the governor, and deliver'd him two letters.

Wednesday the 2d, I went in an *Andora* ^{The coun-} of the monastery to see the *Cassabo*, which ^{try house} is the only diversion at *Bazaim*; no-^{of Ba-} thing appearing for fifteen miles but de-^{zaim.} lightful gardens, planted with several sorts of the country fruit-trees, as palm, fig, mangas, and others, and abundance of sugar-canes. The soil is cultivated by *Christian*, *Mabometan*, and *Pagan* peasants, inhabiting the villages thereabouts. They keep the gardens always green and fruitful, by watering them with certain engines; so that the gentry, allur'd by the cool and delightful walks, all have their pleasure-houses at *Cassabo*, to go thither in the hottest weather to take the air, and get away from the contagious and pestilential disease call'd *Carazzo*, that uses to infect all the cities of the northern coast. It is exactly like a bubo, and so violent, that it not only takes away all means of preparing for a good end, but in a few hours depopulates whole cities.

GEMELLI
1695. as witness *Suratte, Damam, Bazaim, Tana,* and other places, which often suffer under this calamity.

In this territory of *Cassabo* I saw the sugar-canes press'd between two great wooden roulers, turn'd about by oxen, whence they came out thoroughly squeeze'd. Then the juice is boil'd in cauldrons, and being set out to cool at night in earthen vessels it hardens into white sugar.

Thursday the 3d, I went to visit the image of our lady *De los Remedios*, standing in a parish-church belonging to the *Dominicans*, on the road to *Cassabo*. About five years since this church was burnt by *Kacagi*, a *Gentile*, subject to the *Great Mogul*, who with a great multitude of out-laws, and four thousand soldiers, went about like a rover, plundering and burning villages. Thence I went to see another miraculous image of our *Lady de Merce*, in a small church founded and serv'd by an *Augustinian*, who did the office of curate.

Jesuits. *Friday* the 4th, I saw the church of the *Jesuits*, in *India* call'd *Paulistas*. It is richly gilt, not only the three chappels, but the walls and arch; but the workmen knew not how to make that rich metal shew itself to the best advantage. The dormitory and cloister are the best in the city. In the garden, besides the *Indian*, there are some sort of *European*-fruit; and among the rest figs and grapes, which the father rector told me came to maturity twice a year, that is, in *December* and *March*.

Dominicans. *Saturday* the 5th, I visited the monastery of the *Dominicans*, with the famous dormitory. The church was large and had but three altars, as we said was us'd in *India*, opposite to the great gate, and all well adorn'd.

Franciscans. *Sunday* the 6th, I heard mass in the church of the *Misericordia*, which is the parish of the city; and continuing to visit churches, came on *Monday* the 7th to that of the *Franciscans*. Both church and monastery are built after the manner of *Europe*, the church having many chappels, contrary to the custom of *India*.

Hospitalers. *Tuesday* the 8th, I heard mass in the parish of our lady *de la Vida*, where there are three very good altars well adorn'd. The monastery of the fathers, hospitalers, or *St. John de Dios*, where I was on *Monday* the 9th, is so poor, that it can maintain but three friars.

Thursday the 10th, understanding there

was a wedding of people of quality at the church of our lady *de la Vida*, I went to see the ceremony. I observ'd the bridegroom did not give his bride the right hand, and thinking it an extravagant custom, as being only us'd by crown'd heads, I ask'd the reason of it of some *Portuguese*; who told me the same was practis'd in *Portugal*, and this that the gentleman might have his right hand at liberty, to put to his sword in defence of the lady. The bride was richly clad, after the *French* fashion; but some trumpets went along, sounding such a doleful tone, as little differ'd from that they use in conducting criminals to execution. I return'd to the monastery in the *Andora*; and here it is to be observ'd, that the manner of saluting those they meet, when they are carry'd in this sort of conveyency, in *Italy* would be taken for an affront, and laugh'd at; for in token of respect they shut to the little door of the *Andora* upon them. This in *Naples* would certainly produce a duel, and in *India* is done out of respect even to the vice-roy himself.

Friday the 11th, I heard mass in the parish-church of our lady *da Se*, where there are several altars, and two chappels.

There are no doctors of the civil law throughout the *Portuguese* dominions in *India*, and those few *Canarins*, who follow this employment, through their ignorance prove bad advocates, or counsellors, and solicitors, and sometimes plead both for plaintiff and defendant. Besides, for the most part, causes are decided by ignorant captains or governors without the approbation of an assessor. This happens for want of an university and colleges to teach the law; and because the *Portuguese* doctors will not go so far from their country, by reason of the little profit they should make in *India*. Father *Felicianus* the prior, understanding that I was a doctor of the civil law, on *Saturday* the 12th, propos'd a match to me with a portion of 20000 pieces of eight, and with a promise that I should be advocate to the monasteries, and to some families of note, which would yield about 600 pieces of eight a year. Having no inclination to live in those hot countries, I answer'd, that tho' he had offer'd me 100000 pieces of eight portion, I should never be induc'd to quit *Europe* for ever.

CHAP. IV.

The Description of the Pagod in the Island of Salzete, by the Portuguese call'd the Canarin.

THE Pagod or temple of the Canarin, whereof I intended to give an exact and true account, is one of the greatest wonders in Asia; as well because it is look'd upon as the work of Alexander the Great, as for its extraordinary and incomparable workmanship, which certainly could be undertaken by none but Alexander. What I most admire is, that it is almost unknown to Europeans; for tho' I have made much enquiry, I do not find that any Italian, or other European traveller has writ of it; and it is very strange to me that so ingenious a man as our Peter de la Valle should omit to see both this Pagod, and the palace of Darius, with the antiquities of Celmunar, that were but a few leagues out of his way, since he travell'd for his pleasure, and made nothing of spending thousands of crowns to satisfy his curiosity. Tho' a poor man, I spar'd no cost or labour, that I might see all, and inform the publick. As for Tavernier, it is no wonder he minded not to see these things, because his principal end was trade, and buying of jewels, and therefore he only went to those places where his business lay, and he could make most profit; and tho' he made several voyages to India, he minded not to see antiquities, tho' he pass'd close by them.

Gormandel village.

I had a mind to go to Tana, and pass over from thence to the Pagod; but the fathers visitor and prior dissuaded me, saying, it was better going by Deins. Accordingly Sunday the 13th, hiring a boat, I went over to the village of Gormandel, in the island of Salzete. The houses are scatter'd on both sides of the mountains, on the top whereof is the palace of the lord of the village. I went thence upon the streight to the village of Deins, belonging to the nuns of St. Monica at Goa, six miles distant from Bazaim: Father Edward, an Augustinian, procurator to those nuns, receiv'd me into his house, on account of a letter of recommendation I had from the father visitor.

Being hot and dry, father Edward brought out two citron peels preserv'd; and I, without considering, eat one, and drank a great glass of water; but he afterwards offering me the other, I call'd to mind, I had swallow'd down some hundreds of pistires, which cover'd the said

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peels, and perhaps dislodg'd the souls of ^{1695.} so many dead idolaters residing in those little bodies. I therefore refus'd the other, with thanks, desiring him to keep that sweet-meat, which was as old as the village, to treat some other guest; because I would not upon any account, be guilty again of such a slaughter of ants. After this poor refreshment I went to a church the village of Monoposser, a mile distant, in a rock, to see a church under ground, formerly a Pagod cut in the rock, on which stands the college and monastery of the Franciscans. It is a hundred spans long, and in breadth thirty. The side-walls, as has been said, are of the natural rock, and only the front is made by art. Close by is another Pagod cut in the rock, formerly serving for their idolatrous worship.

The church and monastery are like all the rest in India. Five religious men live there, to whom the king of Portugal allows 200 Murais of rice, all which they give to the poor, except only as much as serves for their own sustenance. One of these fathers does the office of a curate, in the village of Cassi, two miles distant, and has a good dwelling there. On the mountain near the said college is another hermitage, with a chappel.

Returning to Deins, father Edward told me, that tho' he had us'd all his endeavours, he could not find men to carry me in an Andora, for his people were fled, and there were no others at Monoposser; by which, perceiving that the father was an exception of the general civility of the Portuguese, I was forc'd to take up with an ill house.

Monday the 14th, the owner, who was a Pagan, brought me the horse very late, because none of them goes out of his house, till he has perform'd his idolatrous ceremonies, and thinking to take some little meat before I set out, good sparing father Edward told me the bread was not come yet; and I answering I would send to buy some, he reply'd it was not yet bak'd; and I might dine in a village half way. Desiring him further to appoint some peasant to shew me the Pagod, because the Gentile knew not the way well, he would neither send a country-man, nor one of his servants; whereupon I set out in danger of losing my

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GEMELLI way for want of a guide, travelling on
1695. a mountain full of monkeys, tygers,
lyons, and other wild beasts and venomous creatures. Coming to the village, where I design'd to eat, I found nothing but a little rice half boil'd in fair water; the place consisting of only four cottages in the thickest of the wood; so that I went on fasting. By the way I met strange birds. Some were green, and as big as a thrush, and sang very well; others bigger, black as velvet, and with vast long tails; others red and green; some black and green; as big as a turtle-dove, and many more never seen in *Europe*; there were also an innumerable company of parrots, and monkeys, and apes, with very long tails, leaping from tree to tree.

After riding eight miles through the thick wood, we knew not where the *Pagod* was, or what way to take to find it. It pleas'd providence, we happened to meet with some naked *Pagan* women, carrying loads of wood, who put us into the road. Being come to the foot of the rock, I was worse puzzled for want of some body to hold my horse, the Idolater being to guide me thorough the labyrinth of so many *Pagod*s. At last I found a peasant wandering about the mountain, and giving him the horse to hold, I climb'd the bare craggy rock with the idolater, at the top whereof, on the east side, the great *Pagod* is hewn out, with other small ones by it.

The wonderful *Pagod*.

The first piece of workmanship that appears, consists of two large columns, two spans high, the third part of them from the bottom upwards is square, the middle part octangular, and the top round. Their diameter is six spans; they are fifteen spans distant from one another, and each of them eight from the rock, which is cut after the same manner. These columns support a stone architrave forty four spans long, four in thickness and eight in breadth; cut like the rest out of the same rock. These three portico's lead into a sort of hall or passage-room four spans long, cut in the same rock. At the end of it are three doors, one fifteen spans high, and eight in breadth, which is the middlemost, and two others four spans square on the sides, which are the way into a lower place. Over these doors is a cornish four spans broad, of the same stone; over which, thirty spans above the ground, there are other such doors, or windows cut in the rock. At the same height, there are little grots, or dens,

six spans high, of which the middlemost is the biggest. Thirty four spans above the ground, in the same place, is such another grot. It is no easy matter to conceive what the use of all this was.

Advancing ten paces towards the right, I saw a sort of grot, open on two sides, twenty four spans in length, and fifteen in breadth, over which was a round cupola fifteen spans high, and ten wide, with a square cornish, like that about the grot. Here there is an idol cut in the rock, in half-relief, which seems to hold something in its hand, but what it is does not appear. The cap it has on, is like that of the doge of *Venice*. By it stand two statues in a submissive posture, as if they were servants. They have conical, or sugar-loaf caps on. Over their heads are two small figures, like the angels we paint in the air; below two little statues, holding their hands on a staff, and two children by their sides, with their hands put together, as if they pray'd; on their backs is something like a piece of wood. Close by is another round cupola all of one stone, and shaped like the other, but the top of it is broke. Both this and the other are suppos'd to have been sepulchres of the ancient *Gentiles*; but there is no ground to make this out, no opening appearing to put in the bodies or ashes; but on the contrary it is visible they are not hollow within, but only cut without, in the shape of cupola's. About this second, there are four great figures carv'd in half-relief, holding in the left-hand something like a garment, and the same sort of caps on their heads, with small figures at their feet, and two above. Opposite to them, there are three little ones sitting, and six other large ones, and three of a midling size standing, all cut in the rock after the same manner: But that in the middle, which seems to be the idol, in its left hold a tree with fruit on it. On the other side there are sixteen figures, all sitting with both hands on their breasts, and the same caps; one of them seems to be superior to the rest, because there are two figures standing by its side, and two children above.

At a small distance northward is a little grot eight spans square, and in it, as it were a bed of the same stone, four spans broad, and eight long. On the other frontispiece is a statue sitting on its legs, after the manner of the east, with the hands together on the breast; and another standing with the branch of fruit.

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fruit-tree in its hand, and above a wing'd infant.

Beyond the grot, and on the same front, which runs sixty spans within the rock, there are two statues sitting after the same manner, their hands plac'd the same way, with conical caps on their heads, and two like servants standing by them.

On the same side is the famous *Pagod* of the *Canarin*. The entrance to it is through an opening forty spans long, in a wall of the same stone, fifty spans long, and eight spans thick, on which there are three statues. On the right-hand before you go into the *Pagod*, is a round grot, above fifty spans about, in which, round the wall, there are many statues sitting, and some standing, and one on the left, is bigger than the rest. In the middle rises a round cupola, cut out of the same rock, like a pillar of the same stone, with several characters carv'd about it, which no man can ever explain. Going into the first porch of the *Pagod*, which is fifty spans square, there are on the sides two columns sixty spans high, with their capitals, and six spans diameter. On that upon the right hand coming in, there are two lions, with a shield by them; on the other upon the left two statues. Beyond these columns, at the entrance of a grot, on the left, there are two great statues standing, and looking at one another. Still further in are two vast big statues on the left, and one on the right of the door, all standing, with several little statues by them, only within the space of that porch; for going into the adjoining grot, which is twenty four spans square, there is nothing worth observing. On the right hand, where the lions are, there are no statues, but two large vessels upon convenient pedestals.

Hence there are three equal doors thirty spans high, and eight broad, but that in the middle even with the floor, those on the sides five spans above it, into another plain place. Here there are four columns twelve spans high, standing on the rock itself, between the five windows that give light to the *Pagod*. On the right side of the door there are some unknown letters worn with age, as is all the rest of the work. In this place, on the sides, besides several small figures, there are two vast statues of giants standing, above twenty five spans high; shewing their right hands open, and holding a garment in the left, on their heads the same caps, and

in their ears pendants after the *Indian* GEMELLI 1695. fashion.

At the entrance of the great gate of the *Pagod*, which is fifteen spans high, and ten in breadth, there are on the right four statues standing, one of which is a woman holding a flower in her hand; and twelve other less, some sitting and some standing, with their hands on their breasts, and something in them. On the left are four other statues, two whereof are women, with large rings about their ankles of the same stone, and sixteen little statues on their sides, some sitting, some standing, and some with their hands on their breasts, as was said before. Over the said door there are other two great ones, and as many opposite to them, with three little ones standing. On the left hand within, is another inscription in the same character: over the arch of this door is a window forty spans wide, which is the width of the *Pagod*, with a stone like an architrave in the middle, supported on the inside by two octangular pillars.

The *Pagod* is arch'd, forty spans in breadth, and one hundred in length, and rounded at the end; besides the four columns at the entrance, there are thirty more within, which divide it into three isles; seventeen of them have capitals, and figures of elephants on them, the rest are octangular and plain. The space between the columns and the rock, that is, the breadth of the side-isses is six spans. At the end of the *Pagod*, there is a sort of round cupola, thirty spans high, and sixteen of my paces about, cut in the same rock, but not hollow within. I believe it serv'd for some use, which we being ignorant of the antient customs of those times, cannot guess at. I know not what judgment *Portuguese* authors make of it, because their books are scarce at *Naples*; but they, it is certain, are well acquainted with it, the vice-roys themselves sometimes coming from *Goa* to see it; yet it is most likely they could never discover the truth.

All that has been hitherto describ'd, is cut in the very rock, without any addition to the statues, or any thing that may be parted. But on the floor of the *Pagod* there are several hew'd stones, which perhaps serv'd for steps to some structure.

Coming out of the *Pagod*, and ascending fifteen steps, all cut in the rock, I found two cisterns of rain-water, good to drink; and as many steps above that,

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1695. that, a grot sixteen spans square, and a great one further on with much water standing in it. Mounting twenty paces higher, I found another grot twenty spans square, which led to another of the same dimensions, and that into one of twelve. In the first was a rising window with steps to it cut in the rock, with two columns near a small cistern.

At a small distance from these grotts is another *Pagod*, with a handsome plain place before it, and little walls about to sit down, and a cistern in the middle. Five doors cut in the rock lead into the first arch; and between them are four octangular pillars; all but the middle door are two spans above the ground. On the sides of this arch, whose length is the breadth of the *Pagod*, that is, eight spans, there are on the left several statues sitting, like those abovementioned, and others on the right standing. All about the frontispiece there are many sitting and standing, no way different from the rest already describ'd. Then there are three doors to the *Pagod*, that in the middle twelve spans high, and six in breadth, the two on the sides ten spans high, and four broad. The *Pagod* is sixty spans square, no way proportionable, being but twelve spans high. On both the sides, and over the entrance, there are above four hundred figures great and small, carv'd, some sitting, some standing, like those before spoke of; but two on the right bigger than the rest are standing, as is that in the middle of the frontispiece, which is of the biggest idol; and another on the left in the same posture; but all worn with age, which destroys every thing. On both sides there are two grotts fourteen spans square, with a low wall within two spans above the ground.

Going up ten steps further northward is a grott, and within that another less. On the right is another like it, with another little one within it, in which is a low wall like those before-mention'd. The great one is about twenty spans in length, and ten in breadth; the other ten square, and all of them with small cisterns. On the right side is another of the same bigness, with two small pillars before it, two little grotts, and three cisterns, one on the right, and two on the left; and another adjoining to it, with another within it, and a cistern of the same dimensions of the other. It is likely these were the dwellings of the priests of the *Pagod*, who there led a penitential life, as it were in a *Pagan Thebaida*.

Descending from that great height, fifteen steps cut in the rock, there is a little *Pagod*, with a porch before it thirty foot square, which leads into it through three doors, between which there are two square pilasters. On the left hand there are four statues; two sitting, and two less in the middle standing. On the right hand a little open grott, and another *Pagod*, with a cistern before it, the way into which is first, through a door ten spans in height, and six in breadth, into a room twenty spans square; which has on the right another very dark room twelve spans square, which makes the *Pagod* somewhat dark. In the midst whereof is a round cupola of one solid piece, fifteen spans high, which is the height of the *Pagod*. Descending fifty upright steps, there is a plain space cut in the rock, which is not very hard, and eight octangular columns twelve spans high, which leave nine intervals to ascend five steps that lead into an arch. In this place on the left side, which is ten spans, is a great idol sitting bare-headed; two other great statues standing, and some small ones; on the right side two other statues sitting, and two standing, besides many little ones about them. Then the way into the *Pagod* is through three doors, twelve spans in height, and six in breadth, with two windows over them. The *Pagod* is a hundred spans in length, fifty in breadth, and ten in height. About it runs an arch eight spans broad, with ten square columns. Here are four rooms or grotts, twelve foot square; besides seven in the front, and left side of the *Pagod*, where the cistern is; all which I suppos'd to be rooms for the priests of the temple. In the niche of it, which is ten foot square, is a great idol sitting, with two statues standing, and another sitting on the left, by which also there are two statues standing, and several small figures in half-relief about it. Ascending ten spans over against it is a little grott, supported by two small columns, ten spans high. There is a door ten spans high, and four in breadth out of it, into a room or grott sixteen spans square, and thence into another of twelve, where there is a large idol sitting, holding his hands on his breast.

Then descending twenty steps there is a plain space, whence four steps on the left lead up into an arch, where there are four pilasters twelve spans high, the distances between which are the way into three little rooms cut in the rock. Twenty steps lower there are other grotts

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cut in the rock, with small cisterns, but for what use cannot be imagin'd, unless we suppose all these cavities were dwellings of the idolaters. It is only reported, That this wonderful work was made with a vast expence, by *Alexander the Great*, who was of the same religion.

Descending from the high rock, I mounted a horseback, with a good stomach, having fasted that day against my will, and made haste away to satisfy hunger. By the way I saw abundance of monkeys, and apes, and being about to kill one, the pagan pray'd me not to hurt them. Near the road were two palm-trees, rising out of the trunk of one great tree five spans, and spreading abroad their fruitful branches.

Near the village of *Canarin*, which gives its name to the *Pagod* here describ'd, is a rock a hundred paces about, with several grotts and cisterns under it, which might formerly be dwellings; the antient *Gentiles* affecting to have their habitations in rocks, to save the expence of materials in building. On the east side, before the largest grott, is a great idol sitting, with his hands a-cross, on his legs.

Returning to *Deins*, I met father *Edward* of *St. Antony* walking. He, instead of getting me something to eat, began to discourse after an odd manner; inquiring concerning particulars of the *Pagod*; but I left him to prate by himself, telling him it was not time to talk upon an empty belly. Alighting, and going up to my chamber, the first thing I said to the servant of the house, was to ask him, Whether there was any thing to eat. He told me there was none; and bidding him go fetch me a little bread at least, he set before me a small loaf, with the same citron peels cover'd with pismires, these vermin leaving nothing untouch'd in *India*; for which reason the *Indians*, to save some preserves, set them under a table, whose feet are in wooden bowls full of water, to keep them off. I made but two mouth-fuls of the bread; yet had not the courage to do so by the sweetmeat, which I fancy was made when first preserving was invented; and therefore I bid the servant keep that rarity from the pismires, against his master had some other stanger to entertain. The worst of it was, the wretched village afforded nothing for money to satisfy hunger, and therefore being spent with weariness and fasting, I lay down on the bed, expecting supper. Father *Edward*, in the mean while, having

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walk'd about a long time, without thinking of me; at length, two hours and a half after it was night, came to the dark room. I hearing a noise between sleeping and waking, and not seeing who it was, ask'd, Who was there? and he very soberly answer'd, Truly, Sir, I did not think you were here (tho' we talk'd together when I came into the village) and being told I had eaten nothing but a little bread, he order'd the cloth to be laid. This word made me hope I should have something good to recover my faint spirits; when I saw two plates of small fry'd fishes appear, and that which had the least was set before me, the other with the larger before the father. I was twice about changing plates with him, but modesty prevail'd, and I arm'd my self with patience. After supper father *Edward* kept me up till mid-night, with a thousand idle tales, not satisfy'd that he had spent three hours in a needless chat with the peasants; and I having given him the hearing against my will, at last fell asleep without making any answer. When I awak'd, finding he was gone, I stripp'd apace, and went to bed, quite spent with hunger and weariness, wishing for the next day, that I might fly from that wretched place.

The island *Salzete*, in which the afore-said *Pagod* is seated, is about seventy miles in compass, twenty in length, and fifteen in breadth. Being very low, it is cut by several channels running in from the sea; but there are high mountains in it cover'd with trees. The soil is very fruitful, and produces abundance of sugar-canes, rice, and fruit; such as *Mangos*, *Cocos*, *Tranfolins*, *Giaccharas*, *Tamarinds*, *Ananas*, *Papas*, and other sorts, which shall be describ'd elsewhere. There are in it several villages of poor wretched *Gentiles*, *Moors*, and *Christians*, living in houses built with wattles crufted over with mud, and cover'd with straw, or palm-tree leaves. They go naked, both men and women covering their privities with a clout, and their breasts with another, or else with a short jerkin that does not reach below the navel, leaving the arms, thighs, and legs bare. On their arms they wear bracelets of silver and glass, and thick silver rings about the legs. The peasants are worse than vassals to the lords of the villages; for they are bound to till the land, or to farm as much as may put them in a condition to pay the landlord; thus like slaves they fly from one village to another, and their landlords bring them

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GAMILLI back by force. They generally pay for their land, four, six, or twelve *Morais* of rice, so call'd when the husk is off, and *Vate* when it is on, which is the way they usually deliver it. A *Morais* is twenty five *Paras*, and the *Para* twenty four pounds *Spanish*; measures the *Portuguese* use for provisions, as they do the *Covado*, for long measure. If the peasants take the land to till in the place of their abode, they pay no other duty to king or landlord (tho' some exact some days of personal service;) but those that hold in fee, pay an imposition according to what they are worth, every four months, to the king's factors or treasurers, residing in all the northern cities. These villages are given in fee to soldiers who have serv'd long; or to other persons that have well deserv'd of the crown, for three lives, after which they generally endeavour to renew; but to the church they are given for ever.

Bombaim. Besides so many villages, there are in this island several places of consequence; and among the rest the city and fortrefs of *Bombaim*, which is several miles about. It is parted from *Salzete* by a channel, which at low water is forlabbable. This island was given by the king of *Portugal*, in dowry to queen *Catherine* of *England*, and accordingly that king has been possess'd of it, ever since the year 1662. There are also in *Salzete* the forts of *Bandora*, and *Versava* with their villages; as also *Tana*, about which there are five small forts garrison'd and furnish'd with cannon. The country, tho' open, is excellent good for *India*, and has three monasteries of *Dominicans*, *Augustinians*, and *Recolets*. It is famous for calicoes, no place in the *Portuguese* dominions exceeding it in this particular, even for table-service. Eight years since one brother kill'd another at *Tana*, about the possession of a village. The *Jesuits* are possess'd of the best part of this island of *Salzete*, having almost all the point that looks towards the east, and the channel of *Bazaim*; and it is reported for a certain truth, that they have more revenues in *India*, than the king of *Portugal*.

From *Bazaim* to *Tana*, and from *Tana* to *Bombaim* runs a channel of salt water, in some places half a mile over, in others more or less; and because near *Goadel*, it runs through the midst of a rock, the *Portuguese* generally say, That *Alexander the Great*, coming, as some will have it, several times to *Bazaim*, caus'd the rock to be cut through to give a passage to the water; and that it was he who had the neighbour-

ing *Pagod* of the elephant cut out of the solid rock.

Tuesday the 15th, as soon as ever day began to appear I set out. Coming to *Gormandel*, I found no boat to carry me over to *Bazaim*, and going further, I saw a boat setting out; therefore running down the shore, I made signs to the *Indians* and *Gentiles* in it to come back, and take me aboard, which they refusing, rather than be left to endure more hardship on the shore, I made use of the *Portuguese* authority, making as if I would fire at them with my gun, which they perceiving, came about to take me up. I went over to *Bazaim*, and being ask'd by the father's visitor, and prior how father *Edward* had treated me, I answer'd their recommendation had but an ill effect; and they desiring to hear all particulars, I took out my pocket book, and read to them all that has been here said concerning father *Edward's* ill usage. The fathers laugh'd heartily, but were inwardly much displeas'd, that his extravagant behaviour should blemish the reputation of the *Portuguese* civility.

Wednesday the 16th, the count de *Villa Verde*, viceroy of *India*, sailing by with four great ships, and ten small ones towards *Diu*, visiting the northern coast, the city salut'd him with all its cannon. He answer'd with seven guns, and the city again fir'd round. By the way he had gain'd a victory over the *Arabs* of *Mascat*, after this manner. These barbarians discovering the *Portuguese* ships, stranded three of their vessels in the bay and river of *Zangbifara*, being in the territory of *Savagi*, and carrying off in the night what was most valuable in two of them, fortify'd the third, planting cannon on the shore to defend it. The *Portuguese* could not attack them on the same day, because it was late; but the next morning, being the 25th of *January*, fell on, and whilst the fire set to them by the *Arabs* themselves burn'd the other two vessels, they run in with eight long-boats full of men, because the great ships could not come up, and after a long fight, and much blood spilt in the attack of the third vessel, and *Arabs* on the shore, they boarded, and made themselves masters of her, cutting in pieces some hundred of barbarians. They took in her fourteen thousand *Roupies*, and thirty pieces of cannon. Only four *Portuguese* were kill'd in the action, and twenty wounded; and so great a number of the enemy, that the river and shore were all dy'd with their blood.

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The return of some small vessels that went to carry refreshments to the viceroy, brought us certain intelligence of the murder of *Antony Macbado de Brito*, admiral of the *Portuguese* fleet, which happened on the 30th of *December*, 1694, after he had behav'd himself with unparalleled bravery against his enemies. His sharp tongue had gain'd him the ill will of almost all the gentry of *Goa*, and along the coast, but more particularly of the family of *Melo*, which was powerful in kindred, and great by birth. His affronts becoming insupportable, they conspir'd to the number of fifty to murder him, and having agreed on the time, place, and manner of executing their design, they made several loop-holes in the houses of the quarter and parish of *St. Peter*, that they might shoot him with more safety. The general, or rather admiral persuading himself, that gentlemen could not harbour thoughts of taking an ungenerous revenge, tho' warn'd to be upon his guard, because there were treacherous practices against him, would never admit any soldiers to attend him, and particularly two captains that were willing to share in his dangers. Thus being carry'd in a *Palancbine* alone, only with one black that carry'd his umbrella, a shot was made at him from a house, which giving him a slight wound, he leap'd out of the *Palancbine*, and taking the snuff he held betwixt his fingers, said, *Who is it you aim at? Tristan de Melo* at these words, coming out of his house, answer'd, *At you*, and fir'd a blunderbuss upon him. He with an undaunted courage fended it with his cloak, and bowing his body; then drawing his sword, and falling on his enemy, he struck him five times, but to no purpose, because he had on a coat of mail; whereupon he cleft his head, and with a back stroak cut him over the face, which made him fall. Then taking him by the hair, he set his feet on him, and was going to run his sword into his breast; but *Tristan* begging his life, he generously granted it; saying he would not imbrow his hands in such base blood. In the mean while, out came *Tristan's* son, and a *Mulatto* (so they call those that are got between blacks and whites) and firing two blunderbuss's, lodg'd several bullets in the admiral's breast, breaking in pieces the cross he wore as a badge of knighthood, but still he stood, and defended himself; when a slave came up, and run him into the side with a javelin. Nor did he go unpunish'd, for the ge-

neral with a back stroak ripp'd open ^{GEMELLI 1695.} his belly, whereof he dy'd at night. *Macbado* being ready to expire, drew near to the *Palancbine*, and setting his peruke to rights the best he could, laid himself in it. The murderers fearing he might yet live, one of them who was a priest, came with a blunderbuss in his hand to make an end of him; but seeing him ready to breath out his soul, ask'd whether he would make his confession. The admiral call'd him *Jew*, and bid him go about his business. Afterwards a *Dominican* coming to him, he gave signs of repentance, and grasping his hands, dy'd with these words, *The Blood of Christ save me*. They found in his breast about thirty bullets; whereupon people admiring his valour, said, he must needs have more vital spirits than other mortals, since there must go so much to the killing of him. The soldiers of the fleet, who were most of them aboard, hearing so many shot, and afterwards that their admiral was kill'd, ran to that place, and had taken just revenge upon *Tristan de Melo*, who was carrying by two blacks to the archbishops, had not a judge stopp'd them to gain time for *Tristan* to escape, cry'd out to them in the king's name to stand. This happened, because the admiral's ill tongue, as was said, had gain'd him many enemies. However, the judge was imprison'd some time after. *Macbado* was generally lamented, and particularly by me, who having travell'd with him, in 1689, from *Madrid* to *Genoa*, and receiv'd many civilities from him, expected still greater in *India*. He was the terror of the *Moors* and *Arabs*, and kept in awe several thousands of vagabond soldiers, who having rebell'd in the *Mogul's* dominions, threatned to plunder the *Portuguese* dominions. He gain'd many victories over the fleet of the *Arabs* of *Masate*, and the most considerable of them was in the bay of *Suratte*, in *April* 1694, when with only three ships he fought fourteen *Arabs* a whole day; and not so satisfy'd cast anchor at night, to renew the battle the next day; but found the *Arabs* had stole away, with the loss of some hundreds of men, and several of their ships disabled. Several boats full of *French*, *English* and *Dutch*, went out to sea to see this fight, because it happened opposite to *Damam*.

Thursday the 17th, we went with father *Francis*, to divert us out of town; and on *Friday* the 18th, I saw a good procession in *Bazaim*, and heard a sermon in our church.

number of men like an out-law, he seiz'd some places belonging to the king of *Vijapur*, and fortifying themselves in them among the mountains, at length gather'd a mighty army, then making war on the *Mogul*, the *Portuguese*, and other princes his neighbours, he usurp'd all he now stands possess'd of. They say he was born in *Tana*, a subject of the king of *Portugal*, and kept shop there. But *Ramrao* pretends he is descended from *Rajapours*, and endeavours daily to enlarge his dominions, along the coast of *Udrin*, and *Candrin*, as far as the bay of *Galas*, besides what he has up the land. His subjects are robbers both by sea and land, that being the pay he allows them, and make it dangerous sailing along that coast, so that it is not to be done without a good convoy; for being to pass by their forts, they run out in small boats well man'd, and rob friends and foes, because, as has been said, their king gives them leave. Nor is the voyage safe on account of the *Malabars*.

These are pyrates of several nations, as *Moors*, *Gentiles*, *Jews*, and *Christians*, and fall upon all they meet with a great number of boats full of men. Their large country reaches from mount *Delbi*, (bordering on the kingdom of *Canara*, ever govern'd by a queen, and never by a man) to *Madraſſapatan*, a considerable city and fort. They live under several monarchs, among which, the most powerful is the emperor *Zamori*, and the king's of *Tanor*, *Porca*, and others. These people take poor passengers, and lest they should have swallow'd their gold, tho' they have no need of it, give them a potion, which makes them digest all they have in their

bodies, which done, they search the stinking excrements to find the precious metal. I was very much afraid of the *Malabar* receipt, having never taken any purge, and therefore thought best to expect the convoy.

About sun-set, the north-west wind freshned, and brought us in sight of *Dabul*. This city is seated six miles from the sea, after the same manner as *Cboul*, and eight miles from it; both in the kingdom of *Decan*. The *Portuguese* took it under their general *Almeida*, from *Mogul* *Hidalcán*, who reign'd at *Goa*, in the year 1508, burning the city, and putting the *Turkish* garrison to the sword. Now it is subject to *Savagi*.

Friday the 25th, the same wind continuing, we came in sight of the fort of *Vijapur*, in which river the vice-roy burnt the three *Arab* vessels before-mentioned. Then we pass'd by *Lamburna*, and the fort of *Maliandi*, belonging to *Savagi*, and after midnight the *Mosque-mados*, which are three rocks, thirty six miles from *Goa*.

The wind freshning all night, on Saturday the 26th, at break of day, we came to an anchor in our port, having sail'd 280 miles from *Cboul*. Having put my baggage into a boat call'd a *Ballon*, to carry it up the channel to *Goa*, I met two *Ballons* of the custom-house coming to visit that I was in; but having been fore-warn'd to write a superscription upon one of my parcels for father *Salvador Galli*, a *Milanese* *Theatin*, and superior of the monastery of *Goa*, they went away. Being come to the city, I caus'd my equipage to be carry'd to the monastery, where I was courteously receiv'd by the said father.

CHAP. VI.

The Description of the City of Goa, and its delightful Channel.

Goa city. **G**OA is seated in the latitude of fifteen degrees, and twenty minutes, and 104 of longitude, in an island nine leagues about in the river *Mandova*, which six miles below it falls into the sea. It stretches two miles in length along the channel upon an uneven ground; being but half a mile broad. It is under the torrid zone, which the antients thought uninhabitable, by reason of the excessive heat of the sun; but providence, which has dispos'd all things in the best manner, has qualify'd it with continual rains, which fall so plentifully from *June* till *September*, or *October*,

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that the great floods dam up the harbour, and obstruct navigation; besides the sky's being darkned whole weeks with the thick clouds. When the rains cease at sun-rising, the heat is intolerable; and therefore it is most violent in *April* and *May*, when the sun is in the *Zenith*, and the rains are not yet begun.

Alonso de Albuquerque took *Goa* from *Hidalcán*, without bloodshed, in the year 1508, a *Dominican* father setting up the standard of our holy faith. *Hidalcán* afterwards re-took the city, but in 1510, *Albuquerque* recover'd it again,

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GEMELLI 1695. with the slaughter of 7000 barbarians, and built a fort there, as he did at *Malaca*, which was lost in 1641. Then considering the goodness of the country, and commodious situation of the place, he constituted it the metropolis of the *Portuguese* empire in *India*. To establish his master king *Emanuel* in the possession, by gaining the love of the subjects, he moderated the tribute they paid to *Hidalcan*; and to breed up soldiers for the wars, he contriv'd that the *Indian* maids should be baptiz'd, and marry'd to the *Portuguese*; that the *Indians* might be united to his nation by affinity, and there might be no need of bringing fresh supplies still out of *Portugal*, to the depopulating of the kingdom. *Goa*, the center of all the *Portuguese* conquests, grew in wealth and renown, being become the key of all the trade of the east, and the chief mart of *India*. This plainly appears by the compass of its walls, which extend full four leagues, with good bastions and redoubts; which from the church of the *Madre de Deus*, or the mother of God, run along for twelve miles to the powder-house, passing by the castles of *St. Blaise*, and *St. James*; a work of a vast expence; as are the others next the channel, which divides the dominion of the *Mogul*, from that of *Portugal*, beginning at fort *St. Thomas*, and ending three miles off, at that of *St. Christoph*. It may be objected that these last fortifications, were rais'd to defend the borders, as is true, but the first walls were made to no other purpose but to defend, and inclose the city, as the marquis *de Villa Verde*, the vice-roy inform'd me, when I enquir'd into it, thinking that city did not stand in need of such large walls. But it is certain the city is not now what it was formerly; for the great losses the *Portuguese* sustain'd, whilst their forces were employ'd in war at home, made their trade decline, and impair'd the wealth and grandeur of the city to such a degree, that it was reduc'd to a miserable condition.

Inhabitants of Goa.

The houses are the best in *India*, but at present it does not contain above 20000 inhabitants of several nations, habits and religions. There are fewest of the *Portuguese*, who go over with employments, and then marry and settle there; because the *Indian* women, by reason of the ill qualities of those born in *India*, chuse rather to marry a poor *Portuguese* soldier, than a rich country man of their own, tho' born of *Portuguese* parents. The *Mestizos* are more

numerous; and these are so call'd that are born of *Portuguese* men and *Brachman* women, whom they marry'd after reducing *Goa*; and tho' the *Canarin* women were black, yet marrying whites, their race by degrees became lighter colour'd. About the fourth part of the people are *Mulattas*, that is born of whites and blacks.

The *Canarines* are as black as *Ethiopianians*, but have long hair, and good faces. Many of them, both in *Goa*, and the islands, are priests, lawyers, attorneys, scriveners, and solicitors, and very diligent in the service of their masters. They are descended from several generations of *Gentiles*, and according to their nobility, or meanness, they continue their customs. Most of them are the off-spring of *Brachmans*, *Baniens*, and *Charados*, and these have good clear understandings, being apt to learn all sciences, sharp-witted, ingenious, and ready, and therefore every body endeavours to have some of them for their servants. On the contrary, those that are of low extraction, as the *Longottis*, are the very reverse of the others. All *Asia* does not afford greater thieves and ruffians, or more faithless ill christians than they are. They go naked, covering only their privities with a clout, which they call *Langoti*, and passing betwixt their thighs, is ty'd behind with a cord hanging down from the waste. These till the land, fish, row, carry *Andoras*, and follow such mean employments; but, as was said, they are so addicted to thieving, and do it so dexterously, that it is almost impossible to escape them. Were it for the love of God they led so miserable a life, they would be accounted living saints. They sleep naked day and night on the bare ground; they feed on a little rice swimming in the dish; never tasting bread as long as they live, unless they be extremely sick. All this proceeds from their laziness, for no sooner have they got as much rice as will keep them a week, but they give over work, living idly as long as that lasts.

The *Portuguese* tell us, That these *Canarines*, when they were first discover'd, went to advise with their idols, that is, the devil, to know what they were to do with the new people that had subdu'd them, and receiv'd for an answer, that they were not able to deal with them by open force, and therefore pretending not to understand the impertinent *Portuguese*, they should give them water when they ask'd for bread, and rice when they demanded wine. Experience soon shew'd how frivolous the

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advice was; for the *Portuguese* readily found the way to cure them of their stupidity, taking a bamboa, which is a very hard cane in *India*, and beating them so severely, that afterwards they flew at every beck. And whilst I was at *Goa*, I perceiv'd the aforesaid cane perform'd wonders; for being beaten, they understood a man's thoughts and serv'd readily, but to give them fair words was time lost. Beating is so agreeable to these wretches, that it makes up a part of their amorous delight; for when they marry, the couple lies down upon their hard bed, and the kindred and friends come and thrash them, shewing them so much of this brutal kindness, that they are unfit for any business for some time.

Most of the citizens and merchants of *Goa* are *Idolaters* and *Mabometans*, who live in a quarter of the town apart, and without any publick use of their religion. We shall speak of them both at large hereafter. There are also abundance of *Cafres* and blacks; for there are *Portuguese* that keep thirty, or forty, and the least six or twelve; to carry their umbrella, and *Andora*, and other mean employments; nor are they at any other charge to keep them, but a dish of rice at noon, and another at night; for they have no other garments but what they brought out of their mothers womb. These slaves are carry'd to sell at *Goa*, and all along the *Portuguese* towns, by the company's ships belonging to *Lisbon* and *India*, who buy them at *Monbaza*, *Mozambique*, *Zofala*, and other parts along the coast of *Africk*; for those nations being at war among themselves, take slaves on both sides, whom they afterwards sell to the *Portuguese*. There are others whom their parents out of meer want sell, for only a *Zaccbine*; and others who in despair, barbarously sell themselves. There would be abundance of this last sort, did not they foolishly conceit, that at *Goa* they make powder of them. They being very cheap, that is, fifteen or twenty crowns of *Naples* a head, it is no wonder there should be such numbers of them, and that the very vintners keep them to sell their wine; besides the *Canarines* they have for other uses. As to their religion they are idolaters, but are easily induc'd to embrace the catholic faith, there being no need of many persuasions, for they presently yield, and readily consent to be baptiz'd. On the contrary, those of the coast of *Africk*, opposite to *Spain*, are perverse. There are some of them, who besides

eating one another, when it thunders, shoot arrows towards heaven, bristfully challenging God to fight with them.

But those blacks we speak of, tho' of an ill aspect, have some of them such a noble and genteel disposition, that it were a blessing that every *European* gentleman were like them. *Don Francisco de Taverne*, earl of *Alvor*, who was afterwards vice-roy of *India*, being governor of *Angola*, the son of a neighbouring king came once to visit him, and understanding that the *Portuguese* were precise in matter of compliments, and that he should be receiv'd standing, as was accordingly done, he took along with him two slaves well instructed what they were to do. Being come into the governors room, and seeing no chair brought him, he caus'd his two slaves to squat down and fate upon them. The *Portuguese* admir'd the *Cafres* ingenuity, and presently order'd chairs to be brought. After the visit, the two slaves stay'd in the count's house; and their master being told of it by the count's servants, that he might call them away, he answer'd, he did not use to carry away the chairs he sat on.

In the same kingdom of *Angola*, two brothers of the king *de las Pedras* being made prisoners by the *Portuguese*, were sent to *Lisbon*, where in a visit they made to the marquis of *Marialva*, seeing no chairs were brought them; they drew them themselves and fate down, telling the marquis, that he was a marquis, and they princes.

As their princes and gentry are endued with generous and noble thoughts, so the commonalty are courageous, and cunning, for they with poor weapons overcome elephants, and the fiercest lyons. To kill the first of these they make a narrow path, along which they by means of several contrivances drive the beast, and then dextrously wound it with a javelin from off a tree. When it has bled to death and falls, all the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, resort to the place, and live there in tents till they have eat up all the flesh. Others finding the elephant lying on the ground, get upon him, and stab him with a long dagger, holding fast upon him until he is dead, which cannot be done without much courage. They kill the lyons for sport; for when they see one astray in the woods, one of them advances with two small cudgels in his hand, and clapping one of them into the lyon's paw, plays with the other:

GEMELLI
1605.

A genteel
action of a
black.

Another;

Killing of
elephants
and lyons.

GEMELLI
1695.

other: In the mean while the next black to him very dexterously takes the beast by the testicles, and then they beat him to death. So when they would have a Lyon quit a cow he has seiz'd, they draw near, and saluting him after the same manner as is us'd in *Africk*, to persons of the greatest note; that is, lying down on their side, holding up one foot, and at the same time making a noise with hands and mouth. This was generally told me by the *Portuguese*; the reader may believe what he pleases; for I do not assert those things for truths, which I have not seen. Since we are speaking of these blacks, it is to be observ'd that in *Africk* there are some call'd *Nudoy Macua*, who are so fierce and inhuman, that they eat the flesh of the enemies they take, or kill in battle. They go quite naked, except their privities; and curl their thick hair, winding it about small sticks, which makes them look like devils. They lie in the open fields on trees, being us'd to this dangerous bed, for fear of the wild-beasts that country is full of. No part of the world is richer in gold; for in some kingdoms it is found upon the surface of the earth, so that there is no need of digging for it, and therefore instead of iron they use golden nails.

The port
of Goa.

To return, after so long a digression, to *Goa*, its port is compar'd by *Tavernier*, to the best in our continent, such as *Constantinople* and *Toulon*. And to say the truth, besides what nature made it, the *Portuguese* have taken much pains to compleat, and fortify it by means of many castles and towers furnish'd with good cannon; for at the entrance on the left upon the point of the island of *Bardes*, is a good fort call'd *Aguada*, with strong works, and guns levell'd with the water; on the top of the hill, near the channel, is a long wall, all planted with cannon; and opposite to it the castle call'd *Nossa Senhora do Cabo*, or our lady of the cape, built in the island of *Goa*. Two miles within the channel, above the island of *Bardes*, is another castle call'd *dos Reyes*, or of the kings, well fortify'd and with cannon level with the water. Here the new vice-roys take possession at their first arrival. Near this fort is a monastery of *Franciscans*. Opposite to it, and within common shot, is the fort of *Gaspar Dias*; but two miles distant from that of the king's. Beyond these castles the channel grows narrower, sometimes to one, sometimes to two miles, and its banks set out with

the best fruit and trees *India* afford, yield the finest prospect imaginable. Besides, there are delicate country houses call'd *Quintas*, and abundance of dwellings of the country people. The delightful scene holds for eight miles up to *Goa*.

Half way up on the right side is a palace call'd *Passo de Daugi*, where formerly the vice-roys resided; at present it serves to quarter the garrison-soldiers. There begins a thick wall two miles in length, for a foot-path when the country is overflow'd; and there a great deal of salt is gather'd: Opposite to this wall, or dike, is a hill, on which the *Jesuits* have their noviceship. The vice-roy has his palace call'd *la Palmeira*, on the same channel, and so has the arch-bishop. Here begins the city, and so far ships can come up after lightning some part of their load.

This channel that makes so noble a port, runs many miles up the country, dividing it into several fruitful islands and peninsulas, which do not only plentifully supply the city with necessaries, but delight the palate with rich fruit, afford a curious prospect, and yield much profit to the gentry, to whom for the most part they belong. In short, this channel for pleasure is no way inferior to our *Possipo*, as well on account of those advantages here mentioned, as for the many boats there are on it to take the air.

Adjoining to this port is that of *Murmugon* form'd by the other channel that runs between the island of *Goa* and peninsula's of *Salzete*; to give a safe retreat to the ships that come from *Portugal* and other parts, when they are shut out of the port, by the sands the river *Mandua* brings down, when swollen by the first rains of *June*, the passage not being open till *October*. This port of *Murmugon* is defended by the castle of the same name, seated in the island of *Salzete*, with a good garrison and cannon.

These two channels which meet at *St. Laurence* make the length from east to west of the island of *Goa*, which is twenty seven miles in compass and contains thirty villages. Entering the port on the right hand is the peninsula of *Salzete*, which is sixty miles about, and twenty in length, containing fifty thousand souls in fifty villages, where the *Jesuits* administer the sacraments. On the left is the other peninsula of *Bardes*, in which are the forts of *Aguada*, and *Reyes*. It is fifteen miles long, and about forty five in compass with twenty

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Racelets.

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eight villages, govern'd in spirituals by the clergy.

Saturday the 26th, going to the custom-house to find the commander of the *Mancuca*, and tell him that his men had stolen a coat, and a silver case for the table out of my portmanteau; I saw father *Francis's* man carry'd away prisoner, for having spoke saucily to the officer of the customs on account of his master's goods. He was discharg'd upon my request; and the customer very civilly told me, that if I had any baggage I might take it away without fearing; a piece of courtesy not us'd towards strangers in our custom-houses.

Cathedral. After dinner I went to see the cathedral. It is very large, arch'd, divided into three isles by twelve columns, and all curiously adorn'd with figures, as are the chappels. The arch-bishop's seat is in the choir, but rais'd a great height above the ground. The palace is magnificent and spacious, with curious galleries and noble apartments, for what *India* affords; but the archbishop for the convenience of the cool air, lives in that we said was upon the channel, near the powder-house. A few paces from the cathedral is the little church of the *Misericordia*.

Recolets. *Sunday* the 27th, I went two miles from the city to see the monastery of the *Recolets*, call'd *A Madre de Deos*, or the mother of God. The dormitories are large and tightly, and their gardens furnish'd with several sorts of *European* and *Indian* fruit. The church, tho' small, is beautiful, with three handsome altars; one in the middle rail'd in, and two on the sides. In the garden where *St. Jerome's* hermitage stands, there is a fish-pond well stor'd.

The great wall. Near this monastery, at the place call'd *Daugi*, begins the wall built by the *Portuguese*, when the city was in a flourishing condition, along the channel, to secure it from being invaded by enemies. It is about four miles along, reaching to *St. Blas's*, *St. James's* fort, and *St. Laurence*, with towers at convenient distances furnish'd with cannon.

Dominick. Returning home I went into the church and monastery of *St. Dominick*. The first has three isles, made by six columns on a side. The arches are gilt, especially that of the choir, where gold glitters in every part. The high altar and chappel are well adorn'd. The convent is magnificent, for the long arches of the dormitories, cloister, and other spacious places, necessary for a great number of fathers. The gardens are also pleasant and curious.

Vol. IV.

After dinner I saw the monastery of *St. Augustin*, seated on a high ground, ^{1695.} that commands the city. A large ascent of steps leads up to the front of the church, where there are two high towers with great bells. The church has but one isle set off with good images. As well the altars of eight side-chappels, as the high altars, and only on each hand of it, are all richly gilt. The stately choir is above, over the great gate. The monastery has a good cloister with vast great dormitories, and an infinite number of cells. Add to all this the beauty of the gardens, always green, and beautify'd with the best trees *India* produces. Near this monastery is the college for novices, with a decent church and dwellings.

The little church of the *Theatins* is *Theatins*, built after the model of *St. Andrew della Vella* in *Rome*. Four columns support the cupola, which is adorn'd with images, as are the arches. Both the high altar and beautiful chappels on the sides are gilt. The choir is over the three doors coming in. The monastery also small, and has a garden.

Monday the 28th, father *Salvador* gave *Sago* root, me a taste of the root *Sago*, boil'd with cocoa-nut, milk, and sugar. Though when dress'd it looks like glew, yet it is very nourishing and well-tasted. It comes from *Malacca* and the island of *Borneo*, bruise'd small like millet, and white.

Tuesday the 1st of *March*, the vice-roy ^{Barefoot} return'd from visiting the northern coast. Two vessels arriv'd from *China*, ^{Franciscans.} having spent a long time in their voyage, for fear of the *Arabs*. I went to the barefoot *Franciscans*, which is one of the best churches in *Goa*: for tho' small, it looks like one entire mass of gold, there is so much of this metal about the high altar, and sepulcher for *Maundy Thursday*, and in the eight chappels on the side. The roof is curiously adorn'd with fretwork.

The *Jesuits* college, call'd *St. Rock*, *Jesuits* has a small church with six little chap- ^{college.} pels; but the house is large and capable of seventy fathers, who live in it, there being but twenty five at the profels'd house.

St. Monica of the *Augustinian* nuns, is *Augusti-* an arch'd church, with three gilt altars, ^{nian nuns.} Here is a miraculous crucifix. Sister *Mary* of *Jesus* dy'd in this monastery, with the reputation of sanctity: she having the signs of our saviour's wounds found upon her, and on her head, as it were the goring of thorns; whereof the archbishop took authentick information.

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After

1695. **St. Paul Jesuits.** After dinner I went to *St. Paul*, the first church founded by the *Jesuits* in *India*, whence they took the name of *Paulistas*. Afterwards they left it on account of the ill air, and because it was out of the city, so that only two fathers reside there at present; having formerly been a college, the dormitories still standing are magnificent. In the garden there are two *Jagua*, and some *Mango-trees* caused to be planted by *S. Francis Xavierius*. There is also a chapel built in memory of the ecstasy or rapture the saint had in that place. In this church, tho' formerly magnificent, there is at present only the high altar, with two small ones on the sides. Here the catechumens are instructed; for whose sustenance the king allows four hundred pieces of eight a year.

In *India* all christians wear their beads about their necks, like religious men. The *Jesuits*, instead of a priest's cap, wear a long round one, broad at the top.

Miraculous cross. The *Miraculous Cross*, is a church built on the hill, on the place where a wooden cross being formerly fix'd on a stone-foot; it is reported that seventy four years since, the crucifix was found with its back miraculously turn'd towards *Goa*, which city from that time, has very much declin'd.

St. Thomas Dominicans. Wednesday the 2d of *March*, I went to the church of *St. Thomas* of the *Dominicans*.

Goa, a good fabrick on the bank of the channel. It has seven altars; the monastery is large, and beautiful, inhabited by twenty five fathers.

St. Bonaventure of the Observants of St. Francis. is a small distance from it, has a little church, and indifferent dormitories. It was the first built at *Goa* in honour of *St. Francis*, by *Edward de Merjes*.

The hospital of *Goa* is small, and ill govern'd, tho' the king allows it four hundred pieces of eight a year. For this reason, and through the pestilential air of the country there die thousands of sick persons in it, and particularly of wretched *Portuguese* soldiers.

Thursday the 3d, I went in an *Andora*, to our lady of the pillar, seated on a hill six miles from the city. This is the school of the *Recolets*. The church tho' small is beautiful, and has three gilt altars. Returning home, one of the *Bues* or porters that carry'd me in the *Andora* being got drunk, I was forc'd to make the peasants I met by the way, carry me; they obeying readily upon sight of a cudgel.

It is to be observ'd, that all the monasteries in *Goa*, and throughout all the *Portuguese* dominions in *India*, have some allowance from the king, more or less, according to the number of the religious.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Antient and Modern Dominion of the Portuguese in India.

Discovery of India Portuguese Asia. *Vasco de Gama*, a *Portuguese* gentleman, whose statue is over one of the gates of *Goa*, was the first that perform'd this tedious voyage; and king *Emanuel* of *Portugal* had the good fortune to see that accomplish'd which his predecessors had in vain attempted for seventy five years before. *Gama* had the title of general, or admiral of four ships, three whereof were well fitted for war, and the fourth loaded with provisions; and being furnish'd with all necessaries for so long a voyage, he sail'd from *Lisbon* on the 9th of *July* 1497; a season, as afterwards was found by experience, most improper to go to *India*; for want of those general winds that forward ships on their way thither. After some dangerous storms, he touch'd at the island of *St. James*, the biggest of the ten of *Cabo Verde*, where having taken what he wanted, he continu'd his voyage to the *Cape of Good*

Hope, which he found very stormy, as *Bartolomeu Dias* had call'd it, as well by reason of its being in thirty four degrees and a half of south latitude, as because the two oceans here break one upon another. Nevertheless king *John*, under whom *Dias* discover'd it, would not have it call'd the *Stormy Cape*, for fear of discouraging the sailors for the time to come; but on the contrary gave it the name of the *Cape of Good Hope*. There, a worse storm than that of the sea, was rais'd on board the ship by the sailors, against *Gama*, for they daunted with the present danger, and fearing greater, if they went further, conspired together to throw him over-board, and return home. *Gama* having intelligence of it, clapt the chief of the conspirators in irons, and sitting down himself at the helm, play'd both the parts of the captain and pilot, till he had weather'd the *Cape*, and brought them

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them all out of that danger. Then steering north east, still coasting along *Africk*, this eastern *Columbus* came at last to the island of *Mozambique*, and then boldly crossing a gulph of 2500 miles, on the 18th of May 1498, came to an anchor in a port thirty miles from *Calicut*, a city in the kingdom of *Malabar*, after ten months sail from *Lisbon*. The Portuguese continu'd this same way to *India* for several years after, still going on to the discovery of more remote countries, as far as *China* and *Japan*; and to the southward opened a way to the infinite number of islands in that great archipelago. Their discoveries were follow'd by conquests, with an incredible increase as well of souls brought to the faith, as of glory and dominions added to the crown of *Portugal*. Having by repeated voyages, settled the means of getting the necessary supplies out of *Europe*, the Portuguese began to subdue the kingdoms of *Decan*, *Cambaya*, and *Guzaratte*, taking the forts of *Diu*, *Cambaya*, *Suratte*, *Damam*, *Tra-por*, *Maim*, *Bazaim*, *Tana*, *Cbaul*, *Dabul*, and other places for two hundred miles along the coast; as also the islands of *Goa*, *Salzete*, *Bardes*, *Andegiva*, and others; the small city of *St. Thomas*, the kingdoms of *Cocbin* and *Calicut*, and the island of *Ceylon*.

Portuguese conquests.

Mozambique.

Further on towards *China*, they made themselves masters of the important place of *Malaco*, of the *Molucco* islands, and the islands of *Timor*, and *Solor*, building the colony of *Macao* with the consent of the emperor of *China*. The dominion also extended on the coast of *Africk* over *Angola* and *Mozambique*. This last is an island three miles in compass, and a mile in length, where only the *Jesuits* have a garden of palm-trees. The fort is seated on the mouth of the channel, which runs between the said little island, and the continent. The castle has four good bastions, with seventy four choice pieces of cannon. The governor is honour'd with the title of general of the river of *Senna*, where he has his lieutenant, which employment is worth to him several hundred thousand crowns; there are but a few houses about the fort, the inhabitants keeping their effects on the neighbouring continent. But notwithstanding the narrowness of the place there are monasteries of *Jesuits*, *Dominicans*, of *St. John de Dios*, besides the chief church and that of the *Misericordia*. The merchandize brought to this port by the ships of the company, are bought at a sett price by the royal factory; which afterwards

sends them to *Chilimani*, the mouth of *GEMELLI* the river of *Senna*, running three hundred miles along the coast in galliots and small vessels, because of the flats. From *Chilimani*, the goods are sent up the river against the stream in *Almandies* or little boats, which are ten days going up, and but five coming down. It is very difficult going up for those that are not well acquainted with the shallows, and windings of the river. *Cafres*, or blacks, resort to this port from provinces and kingdoms three or four months journey distant, to buy or take up goods upon trust for so much gold; which they never fail to bring punctually the next year, unless death prevent them. This trade yields above *Cent. per Cent.* so that the Portuguese may be said to have another *India* in *Africk*.

Senna is a little town on the right hand of the river, inhabited by fifty Portuguese families, who make it populous enough by the great number of blacks they keep. These till the ground, and dig in the mines, and by that means maintain their masters instead of being kept by them. The *Dominicans* and other missionaries, when they return from this place, carry away gold in ingots and plates, so great is the plenty of it, especially a months journey up the country, where they say the beasts shoes are set on with gold nails, as was said elsewhere.

On the same coast, fifteen days journey from *Mozambique*, the Portuguese have the fort of *Zofala*, the first place they discover'd in this part of *Africk*, as also the small island and fort of *Mombaza*.

In *Arabia Felix* the Portuguese once had the important place of *Mascat*, and its dependances; the kingdom of *Ormuz*, the islands of *Recca*, *Kescimi*, and others in the *Persian* gulph; where they made the island of *Babarem* tributary, as also the considerable city of *Bassora*, which still pays five thousand five hundred crowns and a horse yearly tribute to the king of *Portugal*; besides two *Zecbines* a day for the subsistence of the Portuguese factor; but whensoever their fleet does not appear powerful in the gulph, the *Mahometans* refuse to pay.

They also made themselves masters in the kingdom of *Canara* of the forts of *Onor*, *Brazalor*, and *Cambolin*; in the country of the *Naires*, of the castles of *Cananor*, *Caranpanor*, *Palefor*, and *Coilon*; and of the fort of *Manar* on the island of that name.

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Ceylon. In the island of *Ceylon*, of seven provinces (or *Carolae*, as the *Indians* call them) three were brought under the *Portuguese* dominion; with the rich country of the cinnamon, and the forts of *Calaturre*, *Columbo*, *Cilau*, *Jafanapatan*, *Tribil*, *Mall*, and *Battical*; and this by the last will of the king of *Acota*, who was sovereign thereof. The *Dutch*, with the assistance of the neighbouring kings, afterwards made themselves masters, if not of all, at least of a considerable part of the said three provinces.

Negapatan The *Portuguese* further subdu'd the city and fort of *Negapatan* in the kingdom of *Madure*; *Tambulin* in the kingdom of *Bengala*, and *Macassar* in the kingdom of that name. So that being become formidable to all the princes of *Asia*, they had made all the country about tributary; and being sovereigns of that vast ocean, by means of their mighty fleets, no ship of any nation whatsoever could sail those seas without their leave and pass; seizing the ships and goods, and imprisoning the men for presuming to sail without their protection. This authority the *Portuguese*, tho' weak, still exercise over all ships of *Moors* and *Gentiles*; for the *Europeans* are got above it. These conquests gain'd at the expence of many lives, and with the effusion of much blood, scarce lasted an age and a half; for the *Dutch* falling into the *India* trade, instead of extending their conquests among so many islands and kingdoms of *Mabometian* and *Pagan*, they only robb'd the *Portuguese* of what they had gain'd with so much valour; making this ungrateful return to a nation, which with so many dangers and sufferings, taught and secur'd to them that tedious voyage.

Brazil.

Another cause of the decay of the *Portuguese* power in *India*, was their conquest of *Brazil*; for finding there more profit, they slighted *India*, and neglected to send thither sufficient supplies to preserve what they had, much less to make new conquests. This is so certain, that the king of *Portugal* was several times in the mind absolutely to abandon it, which had certainly been done, had not the missionaries made him sensible, that if he did so, all the christians of those countries would again fall into idolatry and *Mabometanism*.

Present dominions of Portugal in India. If we look upon what remains to the *Portuguese* at present in *India*, it is very inconsiderable, and instead of being profitable, scarce pays its own charge. At *Goa* they have the small island of that name, with those of *Salzete*, *Bardes*, *Angediva*, and others. On the nor-

thern coast the fortresses of *Damam*, *Bazaim*, and *Cbaul*; in the kingdom of *Guzaratte* the city of *Diu*. Near *China* the islands of *Timor* (abounding in *Sandal*) and *Solor*; and the colony of *Macao*, subject to the emperor of *China*. In *Africk*, *Angola*, *Senna*, *Zofala*, *Mozambique* and *Mombaza*; many in number, but of no great value. Those that envy the honour of the *Portuguese*, ascribe their losses to their want of zeal for religion, and their not persisting long in the propagation of it; for they say that the *Portuguese* entering *India* with the crucifix in one hand and the sword in the other, finding much gold, they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets; and not being able to hold them up with one hand, they were grown so heavy, they dropp'd their sword too. Being found in this posture by those that came after, they were easily overcome. This is an excellent contrivance of ill tongues; but the chief cause of their ruin was, their having made so many conquests so far divided from one another; and next the war at home, which obstructed the relieving of *India*.

All that remains under the *Portuguese* Government, ^{ment.} dominion from the *Cape of Good Hope* in *Africk*, to the city of *Macao* in *China*, is govern'd by a vice-roy, with the title of captain-general, who resides at *Goa*, as the metropolis of *India*. There are six, and sometimes eight *Dejembargadores*, or judges that attend the government, as a sovereign court or council, ^{Council of} who wear a gown down to their heels over a cassock of the same length, the gown with wide sleeves down half way their arms. They wear *Golillas* and huge periwigs after the *French* fashion. The chief court these gown-men sit in is call'd a *Relacaon*, which administers justice in civil and criminal cases; having power over all ministers, and tries all appeals brought from any parts of the dominions. The vice-roy sits as chief of this court under a canopy; the gown-men sit on benches plac'd on the plain floor. The council da *Facenda*, is like the court of *Exchequer*, where one of the gown-men sits as the vice-roy's deputy.

There is the *Matricula-General*, the *Procurador-Mor-dos-Contos*, and the committee of the new company of traders. These have put in several sums to carry on the trade of *Mozambique*, *Mombaca*, *Macao*, and other parts of the *Portuguese* dominions; and have the privilege that none should trade but they, because they pay the salaries of the governmentors.

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vernours. The vice-roy and arch-bishop put in many thousand *Pardaos* into this company, to encourage others to do the like; but it can scarce last long, because the stock is but small. The profit is to be divided every three years.

Inquisition. The *Inquisition* is much respected and dreaded by the christians at *Goa*, and about it; as is the arch-bishop, or primate.

The vice-roy goes by water in a *Balloon*, or barge row'd by twenty two *Canarines*, with trumpets before him, and sits on a velvet seat, with several of his domesticks about him. When he lands he is carry'd in a sedan by four men. He has a guard of ten horse, and several of the gentry and officers attend him in *Palancbines*.

Tho' the *Portuguese* dominions be small, yet the king appoints several generals, who have very little advantage besides the honour. One of them is call'd of the gulph of *Ormuz*, and commands four ships; another of the north, who is like a general over all those towns, and resides at *Bazaim*; another of *Salzete*, who commands in that island; one of *China*, who commands only in the town of *Macao*; one in the islands of *Timor* and *Solor*; and lastly one of *Goa*, who has the care of the channels, that no person may come in or pass by from the *Mogul's* country. And this because it is a difficult matter to secure the pas-

sage between so many small islands; for besides those of *Goa*, *Bardes*, and *Salzete*, there are, that of *Charon*, where are two villages, the noviciate of the *Jesuits*, and a parish of seculars; *Divar* or *Narva*, with three villages, where the seculars have the cure of souls; *Capon*, belonging to the nuns of St. *Monica*; *Combargiva* and *Juvari* belonging to the *Jesuits*; St. *Stephen*, where there is a fort, village and parish of seculars; the small island of *Emanuel Lobo de Silveira*, with a few houses on it; that of *Emanuel Motto*, which is the stews of *Goa*, being inhabited by *Pagan* dancing-whores; and lastly, the small island of *Dongarin* belonging to the *Augustinians*. These for the most part abound in palm or cocoa-trees, under which the *Canarines* and *Gentiles* build cottages to live in; so that every palm-tree grove looks like a little village. They say the breath of man makes the palm-tree more fruitful.

Not only the vice-roy but all the officers civil and military, and church-men have sufficient allowance from the king to maintain them handiome. The vice-roy's salary is thirty thousand *pardaos*, which are the third part of a piece of eight. The arch-bishop twelve thousand; the officers of the *inquisition*, canons, monasteries, and parishes a competency; but all the tithes belong to the king.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Fruit and Flowers of Indostan.

IT must not be thought strange that, being to speak of the fruit and flowers of so vast a country as *Indostan*, I should bring it in immediately after *Goa*; because all those sorts, which are found in the several parts of that tract, being to be had about *Goa*, and even some that are not elsewhere; it is proper we should give an account of them before we leave that city. I will endeavour to explain their *Portuguese* names the best I can, and add the cuts of them, that they may appear the plainer to the reader.

To begin then by the *Palmera de Cocos*, or cocoa-tree, the first place being due to that plant which is most beneficial to man: It is to be conceiv'd that this tree fits out and loads a ship for sea, without borrowing any thing elsewhere. Of the leaves, which some of the people on that coast use instead of paper, they generally make sails; of the wood, the vessel: The fruit, which is well

known in *Europe*, yields meat and drink, and a good commodity; besides, its outward case or rind steep'd in water, is spun to make all necessary cordage for a vessel; tho' there are some sorts of it which they eat like other fruit. This first rind, when ripe, is yellow; the shell which is hard, makes dishes to drink chocolate, and for other uses. Within it is a white pulp or nut sticking round the shell about half an inch thick, which tastes like an almond. In the midst of it is a clear water very good to drink. Of this same fruit they make several sorts of sweet-meats, and oil, both to burn and eat for want of olives. Cutting a branch of it and putting the end into a vessel, the moisture that should feed the nut runs into it and is call'd *Nira*, and *Sura*. The *Nira* is white and sweet, just of the taste of the liquor made of the grapes, by putting water to them after they have been

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Cocoa-tree.

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press'd, and is taken before the sun rises. The *Sura* is the same liquor turn'd fower, and is taken after the sun is up and has heated the air. It must be put to the fire before it is drank, or else its coldness would give the gripes. It is so nourishing, that the *Indians* live upon it several days without any other sustenance.

This *Sura* distill'd makes wine, and when it decays, vinegar; but the distilling being several times repeated, it becomes a strong water: Boil'd, it turns to sugar, and they use it as leaven to their bread. Pressing the pith of the tree they draw milk out of it, as we do from almonds, to boil rice, and for several other uses. This fruit keeps the year about. Thus the cocoa-trees yield the best revenue in *India*, because the country does not produce much rice, cotton, or corn. They grow strait to sixty spans in height, of an equal thickness from the bottom to the top. The *Indians* use them for timber to build their houses, and the leaves to cover them, or to burn.

Palm-tree.

The palm, or date-tree in *India* bears no fruit, but they draw *Nira*, or *Sura* from them. There are several other sorts of them that yield little fruit. One they call *Palmeira de Tranfolin*, whose fruit is ripe in *May*. This is smaller than the cocoa, the outside rind to make ropes black; and full within of the same substance as the other cocoas. Every *Tranfolin* bears three little cocoa-nuts in a triangle; the pulp whereof press'd yields a cold white water. This grows as high as the cocoa-tree, but is thicker of leaves, which grow like a broom, and produces fruit but once a year, whereas the other does four times. This tree also affords *Nira* and *Sura*, both of them naturally excessive cold.

Palma de Bugios.

The *Palma de Cocoa de Bugios*, or the monkey cocoa-tree, has boughs like large disciplines. Of the fruit they make curious beads, because the *Patens* have a natural work on them, than which nothing more curious could be made by art. There are other palm-trees in *India* that do not bear, and the *Indians* run up and down them by the help of a rope ty'd about the tree, and the man so nimbly, that none can believe that has not seen it.

Areca-tree.

The *Arequeira*, or *Areca*-tree is like the palm, but slenderer and not so high. It bears a sort of fruit necessary for chewing with the *Betle*, like a nutmeg, and enclosed in a case or rind, like that of the cocoa-nut, and on a bough as thick of them as that which produces dates. This fruit is gather'd four or five times a year.

The *Figueira*, or fig-tree is a plant as soft as a bulrush, as thick as a man's thigh, and between fifteen and twenty spans high, with leaves above a quarter broad. It is generally believ'd there, that *Adam* and *Eve* cover'd what should not be seen with them in paradise, they being not only big enough to cover what should be hid, but to make a small cloak for their nakedness. The *Indians* use them for dishes, and have new ones every meal; others for paper to write on. It bears fruit but once, for when it has produced sixty, seventy, and sometimes a hundred figs on a branch, they cut down the plant and a young sprout grows out again. But there are two sorts of them. Those that are a span long, and about the thickness and shape of an egg, are call'd *Figos de assur*, or roasting figs; and these are as sweet as a wild fig, and very nourishing, being eaten roasted with cinnamon and sugar. The pulp or flesh within is white and red, with some small tender black seeds, which are also eaten. They are gather'd green, and ripen and turn yellow in the house, like winter melons. The other sort is call'd *Figos de Orta*, or garden-figs; these are sweeter, better tasted, and eaten raw, but not so large as the others, tho' they have the same seeds. As for their nature, these are cold, and the others hot; both of them ripen at any time of the year.

See Cut Number I.

The *Manguera* or *Mango*-tree is as *Mango* high as a good pear-tree, but has larger tree. and softer leaves. The *Mango* it bears is weighty and flat, and hangs downwards by a long stalk. Without they are green, and the pulp within the shell is white and yellow. There are several sorts of them and variously tasted.

Some are call'd *Mangas Carreiras* and *Mallaias*, others of *Nicolas Alfonso*, others *Safas*, and others by other names, all of them exceeding any *European* fruit in delicate taste. They are ripe in *May*, *June* and *July*, tho' there are some in *January* and *February*. They are of a very hot nature, and are gather'd from the tree like all other *Indian* fruits, green, coming afterwards to their maturity and perfection in three days keeping in the house.

The *Carambolcira*, or *Carambola*-tree, *Carambola* is as big as a plum-tree, and bears such a leaf. The fruit call'd *Carambola*, when ripe, is white within and yellow without, shap'd exactly like a lemon, with four or five kernels, and it has a

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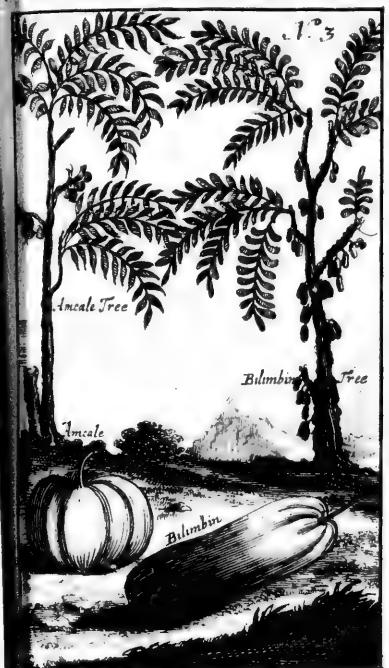
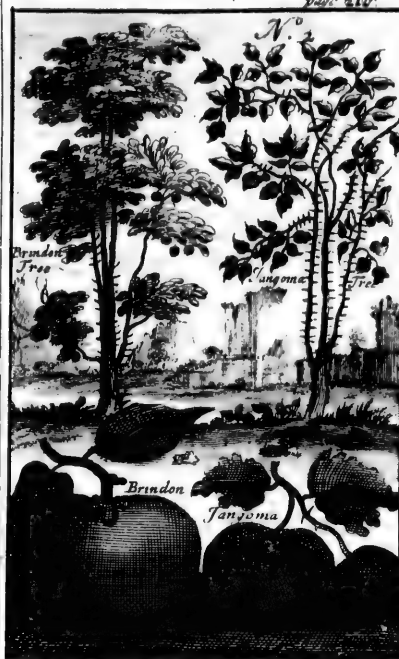
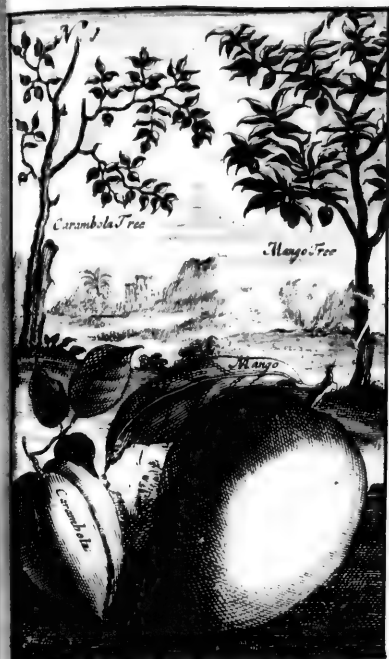


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four taste like a lemon. The Portuguese preserve them because they are cooling. The tree blossoms and bears several times a year.

Anoneira, or *Anona*-tree is very large, and produces the fruit call'd *Anona* in *March* and *April*. It is as big as a pear, red and yellow without, whitish within, and full of a soft, sweet, and pleasant substance, which is eaten with a spoon; but it has some hard black kernels. I do not know how to describe it better; because it is nothing like any sort of fruit in *Europe*.

Aleira, or *Ale*-tree is as big as an apple-tree, but with small leaves. Its fruit call'd *Ale* is like that of the pine-tree, green without, and within white and soft with black seeds, so that it is eaten with a spoon. It is sweeter than the *Anona*, smelling both of amber and rose-water. It ripens in *November* and *December*.

Cajuyera, or *Cajus*-tree is not very tall, but thick of boughs and leaves. The fruit is like an apple red and yellow without. It is singular in this, that all other fruit having the stone within, this has it at the top rais'd like a green chrest; smelling to which, a Spanish preacher and missionary told me, did much help the memory; and that he by that means soon made himself master of the longest sermon. I never had experience of it, nor will I vouch for what he said. What I can safely attest is, that breaking the stone, the kernel within it roasted, tastes like an almond, and raw like a new nut. This fruit ripens between *February* and *May*. Cutting it in quarters, steeping it in cold water, and then chewing it, there comes from it a cool juice, good for all obstructions in the breast.

Jambolera, or *Jambolon*-tree grows wild, and has the leaves like a lemon-tree; but the fruit is so delicious, that an *Indian* woman coming to *Lisbon*, loath'd all the best fruit in *Europe*, remembering her lov'd *Jambolon*. They hang on the boughs like cherries, or olives, and have the red colour of the one and the shape and stone like the other. The *Indians* eat it with salt, but I tasting them in the garden of the *Theatins* where I was entertain'd, did not think them so pleasant to the palate of *Europeans*; because they taste somewhat like a service apple, and to eat many of them makes the belly swell extremely. Their season is generally in *April* and *May*.

See Cut Number II. Page 211.

The *Jangomeira*, or *Jangoma*-tree is ^{Gmelin 1695.} very large, all prickly, and with small leaves. The *Jangomas* the Portuguese call *Adam's* fruit, being of the shape of a walnut, purple without and red within, and has two stones. The taste of it is a mixture of sour, sweet, and bitterish like a medlar. They are in season *November*, *December*, and *January*.

The *Brindeira*, or *Brindon*-tree is as tall as a pear-tree, but has smaller leaves. The *Brindones* or fruit it bears in *February*, *March*, and *April*, are a sort of fruit like our golden pippins; but their rind is harder, tho' the pulp or flesh of it is red, viscous and sharpish, which they chew and suck the juice, and has three soft kernels within it. The Portuguese make sauce of the rind.

The *Carandeira*, or *Caranda*-tree is ^{Caranda tree.} low and thorny, with leaves like an orange-tree. The fruit of it call'd *Caranda*, is no other than wild grapes of *Indostan*; reddish without and white within, with seeds. It is ripe in *April*, and *May*.

The *Jambos* of *Malaca* are tall trees with long slender leaves. The fruit of it call'd also *Jambos*, are as big as small apples and of the same taste, but smell like rose-water. The outward rind is yellowish, within of a cinnamon colour, and there are two stones loose from the pulp. They begin to ripen in *January*, and hold to the end of *April*.

The *Papayera* is a plant that does not ^{Papaya tree.} grow above twenty spans high, and the body of it is under a span diameter, but so soft that it is easily cut with a knife. The leaf is broad like that of a *Pompon*. The *Papayas* it produces, hang like clusters of grapes about the top of the trunk, where they ripen and grow bigger, one after another. In the Portuguese dominions in *India* they call these the *Jesuists* melons, because they taste like melons, and those fathers like them so well, that they have them every day at dinner. They are shap'd like them at *Berengena* (a fruit well known in *Spain*, but not in *England*) but twice, or three times as big. As to colour, they are green and yellow without, and yellowish within, with little black seeds or stones in them, like elder-berries. This fruit grows all the year about.

The *Jaquera*, or *Jaqua*-tree is as big ^{Jaqua tree.} as a laurel with green and yellow leaves. The fruit it produces is the biggest in the world, or at least that ever I saw; for no man can carry above one of them; and some of them are four spans long, and a span and a half diameter. It being impossible for the boughs

GENELEE 1963. boughs to bear such a weight, nature has providently order'd it should grow out at the foot of the tree; and in the island of *Ceylon* and at *Malaca*, under ground upon the root; and they know when it is ripe by the smell that comes from it. The rind is yellow and green, but prickly, and with some stiff points like those about the collars of mastiffs. Within it there are many yellow separations like those in an orange, with each of them a kernel in it, like an acorn; which roasted, tastes like a chestnut. This fruit is gather'd from *May* till *September*.

Jambo-tree. The white *Jambovera*, or *Jambo-tree* of *India* is as high as a laurel. The leaf is small, the blossom like the orange-flower, and the fruit like a pear, white and red without, and white within (with a stone) of the smell and taste of a cherry. They are ripe in *January*, *February*, and *March*; and two or three times from the same plant.

Pear-tree. The *Pereira* or *Pear-tree* is no large tree, but thick, and has small leaves. The fruit without is green and yellow, like a pear; within it is white and soft, with tender seeds, and tastes like an over-ripe pear. It makes excellent conserve, or preserve, and lasts all the year.

Cinnamon-tree. The *Cinnamon-tree*, tho' it bears no fruit is precious for its bark; which being taken off grows on the tree again, to yield the owner more profit. The best grows in the island of *Ceylon*; for that of *Manila* and other places is wild, and has not so fragrant a smell.

Torangja-tree. The *Torangja* is a tree brought from *Africk*, small and prickly. Its fruit is like a large round lemon, with a thick yellowish rind, and red within, of the taste of an orange. 'Tis in season in *October* and *November*.

Bilimbin-tree. The *Bilimbeira* is as big as a plum-tree, with thin leaves, and bears *Bilimbies* all the year. The colour of it is greenish; its shape like a long pompon; the taste sharp, and good to make sauce, or preserve. They are all eaten, because they have no stone.

See Cut Number III. Page 211.

Amcale-tree. The *Amcaleira* or *Amcale-tree* is as big as a pear-tree. The fruit of it by the *Portuguese* call'd *Amcale*, grows out of the thick part of the branches. Its shape is like a golden pippin, with streaks like a melon on the outside; the flesh within is white, and has a stone. They make good sweet-meats of it, the natural taste being a pleasant tartness. They are ripe in *February*, *March*, and *April*.

The *Ananamzeira* is a plant like our *Ananas*, house-leek, producing *Ananas*, which the *Spaniards* call *Pinas*, one, two, three, or more according to the bigness of the plant. This fruit is round and prickly, a span long, and above a span diameter, rising like a very great artichock. The pulp within which smells like musk, is hard, yellow, and partly whitish. Its taste between sweet and sower, but very pleasant, especially if peel'd and put into sugar and water. Some gather it before it is ripe, and make it very sweet with sugar; and from *India* they send great quantities into *Spain*, where it is much valu'd. It is wholesome, but so hot, that if a knife be left sticking in it a day, it loses its temper and is spoil'd. The season of ripening is from *April* till *July*.

See Cut Number IV. Page 211.

The *Mogareira* is a plant which from *Magasin*, *February*, till the end of *May*, bears a most beautiful white flower call'd *Mogarin*. Its smell, tho' like it, is much more fragrant than that of the *Jasmin*; besides this difference, that the *Jasmin* has but six leaves, and the *Mogarin* above fifty. Father *Salvador Galli* told me that several plants were sent to *Lisbon* in earthen pots, for some *Portuguese* lords; and particularly for the duke of *Tuscany*, who had a great mind to them; but that it was not known whether they arriv'd there fresh, being to cut the equinoctial line twice. The flower very well deserves to be in any royal garden, and the more because it is found no where but in *Indostan*.

The *Ajafreira* is bigger than a plum-tree, and in *India* produces *Safron*. The flower has a yellow bottom and six white leaves, and serves the *Portuguese* as ours does in *Europe*, to season their meat, but is not so good. There is this singular in this tree, that the flowers come out in the night, and almost all the year about.

The *Pimenteira* is but a low plant which grows against any tree or wall, and bears the pepper in clusters like grapes. When ripe it is red, but the *Indians* burn and make it black, that it may not serve for seed elsewhere. It comes in *March*, *April*, and *May*.

The *Beteleira* is a tender plant like *Bend-ivy*, which runs up a stick. Its leaf is the delight of the *Asiatics*; for men and women, from the prince to the peasant, delight in nothing more than chewing it all day in company; and no visit begins or ends without this herb.

herb. Before it, they always chew the *Areca* above describ'd, that the coolness of this, as they say, may temper the heat of the other; and they lay a little dissolv'd lime on the *Betel*-leaf, to colour and soften its biting taste. It spends not so well in any part of *Asia* as in the *Philippine* islands, where the *Areca* is soft and easy to chew, and the *Betel* extraordinary good. The *Spaniards* make a composition of both herbs with lime, which they call *Buyo*, and carry it in curious little boxes, to chew it every moment abroad and at home. The *Betel* makes the lips so fine, red, and beautiful, that if the *Italian* ladies could, they would purchase it for the weight in gold.

Puna-tree. The trees and flowers hitherto describ'd are the best in *Indostan*; but there are many more not to be despis'd. One of them they call *Puna*, so tall and strait that it may serve for masts for ships. It produces a red fruit, in which there are twelve or more seeds, as big as acorns, and of the taste of pine-apple-kernels. But they eat them boil'd, that they may not cause the head-ach.

Indian-apples. There are also *Indian-apples* as big as a walnut, with a stone as a plum, and ill tasted. The tree is small and has very little leaves.

Tamarinds. The tamarinds of *Indostan* are extraordinary good, and there is plenty of them about the fields. The tree is large and bears the fruit with a cod, like our beans.

Undi-tree. The *Scararagam*-tree bears fruit of a greenish colour, and as big as a wall-nut. They are call'd *Undis*, and are of a pleasant taste.

Chiampin flowers. The *Chiampin* of *Cbina* is an odoriferous

white flower, which preserv'd, contrary to the nature of other flowers, grows hard, and is sweet and pleasant in the mouth. This tree is like a little plant-tree. There is another sort of *Chiampins* with two leaves strait, white, and long, and as many red winding about below, and this grows not on a tree, but on a low plant on the ground.

The *Omlam*-tree bears a sort of fruit like a ruddy-almond, and a long flower, beautiful and fragrant enough.

Quagadam-cberozia is an odd sort of a great yellow flower, with long green and prickly leaves.

The *Majerica* is a flower of small esteem, green, and growing out of a little herb.

The *Padolim* is a green plant, producing a slightly flower, and a long fruit, like an *European* cucumber.

The *Pachaa* is also a green flower, coming from a low plant.

The *Tindolim* is a plant bearing a red flower, and a fruit of the same colour of the shape of a small lemon.

The *Inbama Cona* is a fruit white within, growing under ground like potatoes, but much bigger, weighing many pounds. Boil'd, it is better than potatoes.

There are many more sorts of fruit, besides those here mention'd, as well of the country, as brought from other parts; as the *Batatas*, the *Inbame*, which boil'd or roasted, taste like chestnuts, pomegranates, lemons, and some few grapes; and as for garden-ware, *Berengenas* (before-mentioned) pompions, beets, radishes, coleworts, melons of all sorts, cucumbers, and many more brought out of *Persia* and *Europe*.

GEMELLI 1695.

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The End of the First BOOK.

A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part III.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
I N D O S T A N.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Author's Journey to Galgala.

GEMELLI
1695.

HAVING resolv'd with my self, ever since my first setting out, to see the court and camp of the Great Mogul, who is one of the greatest princes in Asia, without regarding danger or expence; tho' friends several times endeavour'd to dissuade me, by representing the many hazards and hardships I must meet with in travelling over rugged mountains, and among Pagans and Mahometan princes; yet I held my first purpose, and resolv'd to venture upon it whatsoever happened. In order to it, I hir'd a Begarine, or Cagarine of St. Stephen, a village near Goa, to carry my provision for some days, and utensils for dressing of meat; being sure to find nothing by the way; and because he spoke not the language of the Moguls, I took a boy of Golconda; who, besides his mother-tongue, had learn'd Portuguese, to be my interpreter there. This done, I committed my baggage to father Hippolito Visconti, a Milanese, and regular clergyman of the Theatins; desiring him, during my absence, to change my money into pieces of eight, to serve me, when I came back, in my voyage to China; carrying along with me no more than was just necessary for my journey, as I was advis'd by father Galli, who told me it would be all taken from me on the mountains by the custom-house officers; and that when his money was gone, they had taken from him the very Andora.

Friday the 4th, the porter and interpreter came to tell me all was ready, I set out, leaving my own servant in the monastery, that I might have the less to care for. I found the pass of Daugi, where I was to take boat for Ponda, was stopp'd by order of the arch-bishop; who governing during the vice-roy's absence, had

directed that no person should be suffer'd to pass into the infidel's country, without his particular leave. Therefore leaving the porter and interpreter to look to my things, I went in a boat to speak to that prelate at his little country-house; where he presently gave me a pass under his own hand. Then taking another boat about noon, I coasted along the city-wall on the channel, passing, at the end of four miles, by the fort of St. Blaise, on which there are eight pieces of cannon; and two miles further, by the castle of St. James, where are twelve guns. Here shewing the governour my pass, he gave me leave to cross the channel into the Mogul's country.

We stay'd a long while in a cottage belonging to the guards, there being neither man nor beast to be found, to carry the baggage of an Armenian, and a Moor that had join'd me. At last, seeing night drew on, we forced some Gentiles of the village of Arcolna to carry them. There being nothing to be bought in this place, the Armenian and the Moor made shift with a little rice half boil'd, and so little of it that the grains swam on the water, which afterwards served them for drink. I pass'd the night under some cocoa-trees without sleep, because of the great noise of drums and cries of the idolaters, who celebrated the feast of Siminga, at the full moon.

Saturday the 5th, before we set out, the Armenian and Moor fill'd their bellies with Cacbiari; which is a composition of rice, kidney-beans, and lentils, pounded and boil'd together, as was said, at the end of our second part. For want of beasts to carry my luggage to Ponda, which was twelve miles off, I took

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took three *Gentiles*, and was forc'd against my will to make use of a cudgel upon them, because they will never do good service either for fair words, or money, but run away as soon as they can; and on the other side, when thrash'd, they will load themselves like asses.

The sun was so hot, that at very short distances we were oblig'd to rest, and refresh us with melons, and fruit of the country. At *Mardol* it took us up much time to eat a *Jacca*, which was so large, that a man could scarce carry it. The idolaters would eat none of it, for they will not taste any thing that is cut by us, tho' starving for hunger; and I was told some of them had been so obstinate, as to continue five days without eating on this account.

A *Pagod*.

In this village of *Mardol*, there is a famous *Pagod*. The way into the court is over a cover'd bridge of three arches, up to which there are two staircases. On the right of this court is an octangular structure, consisting of seven rounds of small columns, with handsome capitols, and little windows in the intervals, one of which serves for a door. They say this was built to put lights in on the festivals of their idols, as was the other place, like it, on the left, not yet finish'd. About the porch, and before the arches of the aforesaid bridge, there are several shops; but all is gone to ruin since the *Mogul* has taken that country from the king of *Vijapur*, on account of the wars with *Savagi*. The *Pagod* is at the further end of the court. The first room is like a little hall, longer than it is broad, the roof supported by six small wooden columns on each side, curiously carv'd with figures on them, about them there are low branches to sit down. Within it is another room, like the first, but less; and further on upon the right is a little room curiously painted, with several figures, which have on their heads, some of them pyramidal caps, and others a crown like that the pope wears. There is also a figure with four hands, two whereof hold a staff, one a looking-glass, and the other rests on its side; by it stand women with five vessels on their heads, one upon another. There are besides several monsters, beasts and birds, as flying horses, cocks, peacocks, and others. The *Pagod* stands opposite to the door, in a little dark round room, at the foot of a small tower, where there is a carv'd stone cover'd like a tomb. There is a winding way on the out-side up to the top of the tower, and to the chambers of

the idolatrous priests. On one side of the second room I mention'd, before a little door, stood the bier they use to carry their idol in procession. On the same side is another *Pagod* shut up, with a cistern before it, cover'd with a cupola, and has a small room in the middle. Behind the aforesaid *Pagod*, is one of those trees they call of the *Banians*, and under it the bath, or pool, with large stone-steps about it for the *Gentiles* to go down, and wash them of their uncleanness.

Setting forward again, after travelling a long time over mountains and plains, I came late, and very weary to *Ponda*. There I found a small camp of the *Mogul's* forces; and among them *Francis de Miranda*, born in the island of *Salazete*, who receiv'd me very civilly. He had serv'd there as a soldier of fortune sixteen years, with the pay of seventy five *Roupies* of silver a month, which are worth forty five crowns of *Naples*. Those troops were come that same day from *Bichiolin*, with the *Divan*, or receiver of the king's revenue of *Ponda*, and above 700 villages, who has 7000 *Roupies* a month, and 1000 horse under him, whose pay is a *Roupie* a day, he was to take possession of the government of the lower fort of *Ponda*, and of the office of *Suba*, of that territory, which among us is like a major-general; and this because the true governour had sent some of his soldiers to *Bichiolin*, to commit acts of hostility against the *Divan*, so that there had been men kill'd and wounded on both sides. *Ecb-lascampiani-Suba* refusing to obey, unless he were first paid what was due to his soldiers, and the more, because the *Divan* had no commission from the king, but only a letter of advice from his solicitor, therefore the two parties contended, and threaten'd one another. The *Divan* now said he would drive him out of his fort with the cannon from the upper; when on Sunday the 6th, about sun-setting, there was heard a confus'd noise of drums and trumpets, such, that I taking it for a warlike sound, laid hold of my gun, but it was for the coming of a messenger sent by the king, who brought the *Divan* a vest, and commission for both employments.

Seven hundred horse and foot stood at their arms before the *Divan's* tent, and two companies of sixteen *Gentiles*, each danc'd confusedly to the sound of drums, fifes, and trumpets. It being then a sort of carnival those people observe every year for five days, they went about like mad-men, in red vests, and

little

GENELLI
1695.

little turbants of the same colour call'd *Chiras*, throwing red dust on all they met to die them; as we use among us to do with black dust.

The ceremony of receiving a commission and vest from the Mogul.

The *Divan*, who was a grey-headed old man about sixty five years of age, mounted a horseback, with a pair of kettle-drums a horseback before him; and follow'd by a *Palancbine*, another pair of kettle-drums on a camel, and a medley of horse and foot naked, who went in a disorderly manner, like so many goats. They had several colours, some of calico, with a trident on them, and some of silk, with *Persian* characters and flames in the middle, all carry'd by foot-soldiers. The *Divan* being come to a tent, erected for that purpose near a *Mosque*, two musket-shot from his own, he alighted, and after passing some compliments with the king's messenger, and persons of note that were with him, put on the *Chira* himself on his head, whilst the messenger held the fast to him. Then the latter took a vest, or garment of green silk, with gold stripes, and put it on the *Divan*, and then two sashes about his neck, his scimitar hanging by his side. The *Divan* laid his hand on the ground five times, and as often on his head, in thanksgiving to the king who had honour'd him with that present. Then sitting down, his friends and retinue came to congratulate with him, and some to present him with *Roupies*, which he gave to the messenger, but they were very few. They call this present *Nazar*, that is, a goodly sight; and the custom is deriv'd from the coronation of kings, when the noble-men present a great deal of gold coin; and some pieces weighing above three hundred ounces, to rejoice the *Mogul* that day, who sits on a throne studded with jewels of an excessive value. When the solemnity was over, the *Divan* mounted a horseback, and alighted again by the pool near the *Mosque*; where sitting on a carpet with pillows at his back, he diverted himself with the singing, and musick of the mask'd *Gentiles*. I was told this honour cost him 20000 *Roupies* (each of them worth six *Carlines* of *Naples*) which he sent the secretary, who had pass'd the commission in the king's name; for he never writes to his subjects. For all this the *Suba* would not deliver up his post, but keeping possession of the lower fort, said it was all counterfeit.

Ponda city.

The city *Ponda* is made up of cottages, and mud-houses seated in the midst of many mountains. The fort,

which is also of earth, and govern'd by the *Suba*, has a garrison of about 400 horse and foot, and seven small pieces of cannon. There was formerly another fort on a higher ground; but *Don Francis de Tavora*, vice-roy of *Goa*, besieging it twelve years before this time, with a body of 10000 men, in a short time made a large breach in it. *Savagi*, to whom it belong'd, coming to the relief of it with 12000 horse, oblig'd the vice-roy to raise his siege, and draw off. Then he went over to the island of *Salzele*, *St. Stephen*, and others near *Goa*; and having plunder'd and burn'd several places, carry'd many hundreds of the natives captives into his own country; and making them carry the stones of the fort that had been demolish'd, to the top of a hill two miles from *Ponda* southward, built the small fort now standing, calling it *Mardangar*, that is, the fort of valiant men. This castle is held for the king, by a garrison of 300 men, under a *Kildar*, or *Castellan*, who has 200 *Roupies* a month; pay, assign'd him out of certain villages. It being a place held upon oath, he may not upon any account go out of the gate.

The lower fort, and country depending on it, taken from *Savagi* by the *Great Mogul*, is govern'd, as was said, by a *Suba*, or general of the field, who receives the revenue of above 700 villages, being therefore oblig'd to maintain a certain number of soldiers; so that he drains the poor country people, making a few cottages sometimes pay thousands of *Roupies*.

Monday the 7th, I saw the dismal spectacle of a wretched *Pagan* woman, the kindred of her dead husband had obtain'd at the price of great presents from the *Suba*, to be burn'd with the dead body, according to their wicked and unmerciful custom. In the afternoon the woman came out well clad, and adorn'd with jewels, as if she had gone to be marry'd, with musick playing, and singing. She was attended by the kindred of both sexes, friends, and *Brachman*-priests. Being come to the place appointed, she went about undaunted, taking leave of them all; after which she was laid all along, with her head on a block, in a cottage twelve spans square, made of small wood wet with oil, but bound to a stake, that she might not run away with the fright of the fire. lying in this posture, chewing *Beitel*, she ask'd of the standers by, whether they had any business by her to the other world; and having received several gifts,

The women perished.

A pannick fear.

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and letters from those ignorant people, to carry to their dead friends, she wrapp'd them up in a cloth. This done, the *Brachman*, who had been encouraging of her, came out of the hut, and caus'd it to be fir'd; the friends pouring vessels of oil on her, that she might be the sooner reduc'd to ashes, and out of pain. *Francis di Miranda* told me, that as soon as the fire was out, the *Brackmans* would go gather all the melted gold, silver, and copper. This barbarous action was perform'd a mile from *Ponda*.

A pannick
feat.

When I return'd to my tent, the camp had a false alarm, on account of one *Moor's* cutting off another's nose. Some *Gentiles* fled upon the mountains, and so did *Miranda*, leaving all he had behind, and I endeavouring to persuade him to stay, he answer'd, he must do as the rest did. Taking my gun, powder and ball, I stood under a tree to defend my self. *Miranda's* cook in the mean while laugh'd at his master's cowardice, saying, *What a brave Soldier the Mogul has, to allow him two Roupies and a half a Day: If he flies now no Body pursues, what will be do when he sees an Enemy?* Here I saw them drink the juice of an herb they call *Banghe*, which, mix'd with water, stupifies like *Opium*. To this purpose they keep it in glass-bottles of a violet colour, made on the mountains of *Gates*, in the *Mogul's* territories, and in *China*.

There being no other conveniency of carriage all the way I was to go, but on oxen, I bought a horse at *Ponda* for sixty *Roupies*. Having got a pass from the *Bachei*, that I might not be stopp'd by the guards on the frontiers; and leaving my gun to be sent to *Goa*, that I might not be made prisoner by *Savagi's* men, I set out on *Tuesday* the 8th, and travelling eight miles came to *Chiampon*, a village of a few mud houses, with a fort of the same fort. Here I caus'd some meat to be dress'd, but my porter going about to take a fig-leaf to make use of instead of a dish, after the manner of *India*, the heathen woman to whom the fig-tree belong'd, and the rest of the people, who came to her assistance, made such a noise, that we were forc'd to depart. We travel'd through woods, as we had done before, and at last getting out of them, cross'd over an arm of the sea in a small boat, and enter'd the territory of a *Pagan* prince call'd *Sonde-Kirani-karaja*, lord of some villages among the mountains, but tributary and sub-

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ject to the *Great Mogul*, being oblig'd to serve him in his wars. At the end of two *Coffes* (each *Coffe* is two *Italian* miles) we lay at the village of *Kakore*, consisting of a few cottages under the arch of a *Pagod*. At the upper end of it, under a small cupola, was a thing like a chamber-pot of copper, on a stone pedestal, with a rizer like a man's face of the same metal nail'd to it. Perhaps it might be an urn containing the ashes of some hero of theirs. In the midst of the little cupola hung a small bell, and without, many small lights.

At night, troops of monkeys came leaping from one tree to another; and some of them with their young ones so close hugg'd under their belly, that tho' we threw many stones at them, we could not fetch down one; nor did they fly any further than from one tree to another. The inhabitants of these villages being for the most part *Gentiles* (for in *India* there is scarce a *Mahometan* among fifty men) they feed them and take care they shall not be kill'd; so that being grown tame they walk familiarly in the villages and even in the houses. There are such incredible stories told of these creatures, that it is no wonder some blind philosophers should allow beasts some sort of understanding. All the *Cafres* and blacks along the coast of *Mozambique* in *Africk*, are of this opinion, saying they do not speak, because they will not work.

In the kingdom of *Canarà* a baboon taking a kindness to a woman, did so infest her father's house, breaking all he found in it; that not knowing what to do, they at last permitted him to have carnal copulation with her, and ever after to have free access to her. A *Portuguese* happened to pass by that way, and lie at night in the *Pagan's* house, where seeing a great baboon come in, and make such a disturbance, he inquir'd into the meaning of it. The young woman's father answer'd with a sigh, this creature has taken away my daughter's honour, and makes all this noise when he does not find her at home. The *Portuguese* reply'd, why do you not kill it? The peasant said he was a *Gentile*, and that the queen being of the same religion would punish him severely should he do it. The *Portuguese* without making more words of it, waited till the beast came in, and shot it, and the idolater being afraid to be punish'd, he carry'd it himself out of the cottage and bury'd it. The *Portuguese* was requir'd for this kindness with a great quantity of rice, as

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General he himself told me fifteen years after it happened.

1695.
Another.

Father *Causin* writes that a ship being cast away on the *Cape of Good Hope*, soon after *India* was discover'd by the *Portuguese*, a woman holding fast by a plank, was drove by the sea upon an island. There a baboon had to do with her, and maintain'd her for a long time in a cave with what he found abroad, so that after some years he had two young ones by her. A ship afterwards happening to touch there, the wretched woman by signs call'd for help and was deliver'd; but the baboon returning and finding she was far from the shore was so enrag'd, that it took the two young monsters and kill'd them in her sight.

A third.

It is well known that a woman in *Brazil* having had to do with a baboon, and conceiving, she was deliver'd in due season of a child with all the limbs of a man, but hairy, and tho' dumb it did all it was commanded. The *Dominicans* and *Jesuits* had hot disputes about this creature whether it ought to be baptiz'd or not, and at last they concluded in the negative, because begot by an irrational fire; and that had the father been a man, and the dam a baboon it might have been baptiz'd.

A fourth.

D. *Antoney Macbado de Brito*, admiral of the *Portuguese* fleet in *India* told me, that one of these creatures continually troubling him, and breaking all it found in the kitchen, he once to be even with it, order'd a cocoa-nut to be put upon the fire, which sort of fruit the monkeys are most greedy of, and hid himself to see how that beast would take it without burning his paws. The cunning creature coming at the usual hour and finding its beloved food on the fire, look'd about, and seeing a cat by the chimney, held her head in his mouth, and made use of her paws to take off the cocoa-nut, and then cooling it in water, eat it, the *Portuguese* laughing to see the cat mewling about all day with the pain it had been put to.

How they take monkeys.

The monkeys being so greedy of cocoa-nuts has taught the *Indians* how to catch them. They make a hole in the shell, into which the monkey runs its paw, and not being able to fetch it out full of the nut, rather than quit the hold it suffers itself to be taken by those that lie in wait for them. Nor is that true which is reported, that if one of them be kill'd in the field the rest will fall upon him that kill'd it; for when I made one fall, the rest fled.

Wednesday the 9th, I set out through

thick woods, and travelling eight *Coffes* came to the foot of the mountain of *Balagati*, where I found the guards and other custom-house-officers so fond of other men's goods, that they took twelve *Roupies* for two strings of pearls. Having climb'd the mountain for eight miles among dreadful thick woods, I came to the second guard and custom-house, where they took a *Roupie* without examining further. There being no dwelling to be found, I lay all night in the thickest part of the wood (wherein *India* differs from *Persia*, which is bare of trees) after travelling twelve *Coffes*, that is twenty four *Indian* miles.

Thursday the 10th, the *Bojata* set out three hours before day, and I went along with it for the more safety. This *Bojata* was a caravan of above three hundred oxen loaded with provisions for the camp at *Galgala*. The woods we pass'd through abounded in fruit, quite different from any in *Europe*. There were some not unpleasant; and among the rest one sort they call *Gulara*, which tastes like an *European* wild fig, and grows and ripens without any blossom at the body of the tree. That day I saw some wild hens, which I had never seen before, with a crest and feathers that inclin'd to black. At first I thought they had been tame, but was afterwards undeceiv'd, there being never a house for many miles about. Having travell'd fourteen *Coffes*, we came two hours before sun set to the village of *Bombnali*, belonging to the same prince *Kirani*; where, tho' there was a guard call'd *Chiaruci*, they took nothing of me; perhaps because the chief of it was not so barbarous as the rest.

The road I travell'd on Friday the 11th, was through more open woods in which there were iron mines. Having gone eight *Coffes* we came to the village of *Chiamkan*, where there was a market and custom-house kept by the *Gentiles*, who search'd my luggage. I lay four *Coffes* further at *Sambrani*. In this place resides the aforementioned prince *Sonde-Kirani-karaja* in a fort made of earth, encompass'd with walls seven spans high. The village is nothing better than the rest of that territory, but it has a good market or *Bazar*. The prince makes three *Leccbes* of *Roupies*, that is, one hundred and eighty thousand *Neapolitan* crowns a year of this only village; by which the reader may judge how cruelly the *Idolaters* and *Mahometans* oppress the people with heavy taxes.

Setting

Setting out late on *Saturday* the 12th, after four miles travel we came into the *Mogul's* territories. Having pass'd the prince *Kiranis* last guards on the road, I rested till noon near the fort of the town of *Alcal*; but being ready to set forwards was inform'd, the road I was to go was infested with robbers, and therefore I resolv'd to stay for the *Bojata*. At this place there was a *Pagod*, and in it an idol with a human body, but the face of a monkey, and a vast long tail winding about to the top of its head, with a little bell hanging at the end of it. One hand was on its side, and the other lifted up as it were to strike. They call it the animating monkey, because according to the fabulous traditions of those people, he once fought with much bravery. When I perceiv'd no body took notice of me, I us'd to break all the idols that came in my way; especially those the peasants, that conducted the *Bojata*, carry'd hanging about their necks, wrapp'd up in a cloth, which were of stone, ill shap'd, and weighing two pounds.

Sunday the 13th, I set out four hours before day with the caravan of oxen, and at the end of six *Cosses* came to *Kancre* a village consisting of a few houses, where I din'd. Then I went five long *Cosses* further and lay at the village of *Etebi*, which tho' made up of cottages has excellent land for tillage and sport; the stags and other game feeding about tamely.

Monday the 14th, setting out early with another *Bojata*, at the end of five *Cosses* all the way a fertile soil, I stopp'd at *Tikli* a small town defended by a fort of earth, and after dinner proceeded to the little village of *Onor*.

Tuesday the 15th, I travell'd five *Cosses* through a country full of green and delightful trees to *Maudapur*, a city made up of mud houses and enclos'd with a low wall; but has a good fort of lime and stone on a hill. After dinner I went two *Cosses* further to *Betchè* a wall'd town, where I lay.

It is far different travelling through the *Mogul's* country, than thro' *Persia* or *Turky*, for there are no beasts for carriage to be found, nor caravanseras at convenient distances, nor provisions; and what is worse there is no safety from thieves. He therefore that has not a horse of his own must mount upon an ox, and besides that inconveniency, must carry along with him his provision and utensils to dress it; rice, pulse and meal being only to be found in great

towns inhabited by the *Mogul's*: At *Gemelli* 1695. night the clear sky will be all a man's covering, or else a tree. Add to all this the great danger of life and goods, by reason of the excursions *Savag's* soldiers make quite as far as the camp at *Galgala*. Besides, the *Moguls* themselves are such crafty thieves, that they reckon a traveller's money and cloaths their own; and they will keep along with him many days till his security gives them an opportunity to rob him at their ease. Sometimes one of them will pretend to be a traveller that is going the same way, and bears a stranger company, that he may rob him with more safety; for when he lies down to sleep the other artificially lets down a noose from the top of a tree, and drawing him up a little way, slips down to dive into his purse. Had not very powerful motives press'd me forwards to see the court of so great a king, I should not easily have expos'd my self to so many dangers and hardships. 'Tis true, that excepting only this of *Vijapor*, which is continually haras'd with wars, the other kingdoms subject to the *Great Mogul* are not so inconvenient for travelling; especially about *Surratte*, and *Amadabat*, where necessities for life are to be had.

Wednesday the 16th, having travell'd three *Cosses* I pass'd through a village call'd *Kodelki*, where at a dear rate I tast'd ripe grapes of *Europe*; and three *Cosses* further came to *Edour*, the biggest city I saw in that short journey. Within the first enclosure it has a stone fort ill built, and a *Bazar*; in the second a fort with a garrison and houses about it made of mud and straw. All the merchants that come from the southern parts to sell their goods use to stay here, and afterwards go over to the camp at *Galgala* like retailers. When I pass'd that way, this city was actually infested with the plague.

After dinner I went five *Cosses* further to the town of *Muddol*, seated on the left hand of a river, a matter of great consideration on a road where I sometimes drank water muddy'd by the cattle. There is a mud fort, as are the walls of the town, nor do the cottages of the natives deserve better fortifications. As I was getting off my horse I fell so violently upon my side that I could not breath for a quarter of an hour, and was in some danger of death; I was ill of it many days after, tho' I blooded, and us'd other remedies.

CHAP. II.

The Author's arrival at Galgala, where the Great Mogul was Incamp'd.

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Thursday the 17th, after riding five *Coffes*, I pass'd through a wall'd town call'd *Matar*, and two *Coffes* further to the village of *Galgala* where the *Mogul's* camp was. Cropping the river *Kiscina* I came into the quarters of the *Mabometans* call'd *Lajcari*, and some christian soldiers of *Agra* entertain'd me.

Friday the 18th, I went to the christian gunner's quarter to hear mass, and found a convenient chappel of mud-walls, served by two *Canarine*-priests, maintain'd by the catholicks. After mass, *Francis Borgia*, by extraction a *Venetian*, but born at *Debli*, invited me to his house. He being captain of the christians, an hour after, caus'd two *Mabometans* that had made themselves drunk, to be cruelly beaten before me, bound to a stake. When they were set loose, they return'd him thanks for chastizing them, laying their hands on the ground first, and then on their heads, after the country fashion.

That same day the king put the question to the *Casi*, or judge of the law, whether it was more for God's service to go fight his enemies to spread the *Mabometan* sect, or else to go over to *Visapor* to keep the *Ramazan*, or their lent. The *Casi* requir'd time to answer, which pleas'd the *Mogul*, who was a great dissembler and hypocrite, and never did as he said.

The king's
quarters.

Saturday the 19th, I went to *Gulalbar* (so they call the king's quarters) and found the king was then giving audience, but there was such a multitude and confusion that I could not have a good sight of him. The king's and princes tents took up three miles in compass, and were defended every way with palisadoes, ditches, and five hundred falconets. There were three gates into them, one for the *Aram* or women, and two for the king and his court.

The Mo-
gul's camp

I was told, the forces in this camp amounted to 60000 horse, and 1000000 of foot, for whose baggage there were 50000 camels, and 3000 elephants; but that the sutlers, merchants, and artificers were much more numerous, the whole camp being a moving city containing 5000000 of souls, and abounding not only in provisions, but in all things that could be desir'd. There were 250 *Bazars* or markets, every *Omrah*, or general having one to serve his men.

In short the whole camp was thirty miles about.

These *Omrahs* are oblig'd to maintain a certain number of horse and foot at their own expence; but the *Mogul* assigns them the revenues of countries and provinces, whilst they continue in that post. Some of them make a million and a half a year of these *Giaghers*, or fees; others less, according to the number of soldiers they are to maintain. But the princes of the blood have the best, some of which are worth a million and a half of *Roupies* a month. They are not only oblig'd to serve in war, but to attend the king at all times, tho' he only goes abroad to divert him. To this purpose they all keep spies at court, for upon every failure a *Gari* is taken from them, which is 3900 *Roupies*, or less, proportionably to every man's pay.

Tho' these generals are in so fair a way to heap wealth; yet when they are found faulty, as keeping a smaller number of soldiers than is their *quota*, they are punished by pecuniary mulcts. And tho' they should combine with the commissaries that mulster them, it would avail but little: Because when they die the exchequer is their heir, and only a bare subsistence is allow'd the wife, and for the children, they say the king will bestow more riches on them, than he did on their father, whensoever their faithful services shall deserve it. These generals command every one his own troops, without being subordinate to another; only obeying a lieutenant of the king's, when he is not there in person, call'd *Gium-Detol-Molk*, who receives the king's orders, to communicate them to the generals. Hence it is, that they being lazy and undisciplin'd, go upon service when they please, and there is no great danger. Many *Frenchmen* belonging to the army, told me it was a pleasure and diversion to serve the *Mogul*, because they that will not fight, or do not keep their guards, are subject to no other penalty but losing that days pay, that they are convicted of having transgress'd; and that they themselves did not value honour much in the service of a barbarous king, who has no hospital for the wounded men. On the other side, there being no prince in the world that pays his soldiers better; a stranger that goes into his service soon

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grows rich, especially an *European* or *Persian*; but once in, it is a very hard matter to get a discharge to go home to enjoy what is got, any other way than making an escape. The country not affording so many horses as are requisite for so great an army, they bring them out of *Persia*, and *Arabia*, some at 1000, or 2000 *Roupies* purchase, and the lowest at 400. And because no barley grows in *Indostan*, they give them four pounds of boil'd lentils a day, and in winter they add half a pound of butter, and as much sugar, four ounces of pepper, and some dry straw. *With the Author's leave, he seems here to impose upon the Reader, or he himself impos'd upon worse than Tavernier was with the Crabs.*

Horses.

Elephants.

It is also a vast expence to maintain so great a number of elephants; for every one of them eats at least a hundred and forty pounds of corn every day, besides leaves, green canes, sugar, and pepper, so that the king allows seven *Roupies* a day for every one. He has 3000 throughout his empire, and three general elephants. Each of these has half a million of *Roupies* allowance a month, which are spent in keeping 500 other elephants that are under him, and 200 men that look to them. At this time there were but 500 belonging to the king in the field; besides those belonging to the princes and *Omrabs*, who keep some 400, some 200, and others more or less.

Mogul's son.

Sunday the 20th, going to the tents of the king's eldest son, whose name was *Scialam*. I found about 2000 soldiers horse and foot drawn up, expecting the prince, who came from his father's quarters. Waiting, I saw his son come out and mount a horseback to go meet his father; as soon as he saw him, he alighted in token of respect. *Scialam* was sixty five years of age, tall, and full-body'd, with a thick long beard, which began to be grey. Having such a title to the crown, many thousands of the soldiers are of his faction; who being imprison'd, continu'd resolute, refusing to receive any other pay, notwithstanding he reliev'd them but meanly.

The king's quarters.

Monday the 21st, by the means of a christian of *Agra*, and an eunuch his friend, I had the fortune to be admitted to a private audience of the king. In the first court of the king's quarters, which had two doors, in a large tent I saw kettle-drums, trumpets eight spans long, and other instruments, which use to sound at certain hours of the day and night, according as occasion requires; and that day made their noise

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before noon. There was also a gold ball between two gilt hands, hanging by a chain; the king's ensign, which is carry'd on the elephants, when they march. I pass'd on into the second court, and then into the royal tents, and king's apartments, adorn'd with silks and cloth of gold. Finding the king in one of these rooms, sitting after the country manner, on rich carpets, and pillars embroider'd with gold. Having made my obeisance after the *Mogul* fashion, I drew near, the same christian being my interpreter. He ask'd me of what kingdom of *Europe* I was, how long I had been come thence, where I had been, and what I came to his camp for, whether I would serve him, and whither I design'd to go? I answered accordingly, that I was a *Neapolitan*, and came thence two years before; during which time I had seen *Aegypt*, the *Grand Seignior's* dominions, and the *Persian* monarchy, that I was now come into his camp, only out of curiosity to see the greatest monarch in *Asia*, as his majesty was, and the grandeur of his court and army; that I should have reckon'd it a great honour to serve him, did not affairs of the greatest importance call me home, after seeing the empire of *China*. He then ask'd me concerning the war betwixt the *Turk* and *European* princes in *Hungary*, and having answer'd to the best of my knowledge, he dismiss'd me, the time of the publick audience drawing near. I return'd into the second court, enclos'd with painted calicoes, ten spans high all about. Here on the side next the king's apartment, the tent to give audience in, was supported by two great poles, being cover'd on the outsidcs with ordinary red stuff, and with finer within, and small taffeta curtains. Under this tent was a square place, rais'd four spans above the ground, enclos'd with silver banisters, two spans high, and cover'd with fine carpets. Six spans further in the middle was another place rais'd a span higher, at the angles whereof there were four poles cover'd with silver, reaching to the top of the tent. Here stood the throne, which was also square, of gilt wood, three spans above the rest; to get up to it there was a little silver footstool. On it there were three pillows of brocade, two to serve on the sides, and one at the back. Soon after the king came leaning on a staff forked at the top, several *Omrabs* and abundance of courtiers going before him. He had on a white vest ty'd under the right arm,

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GENELLI
1695.

GEMELLI according to the fashion of the *Mabometans*, to distinguish them from the *Gentiles*, who tie it under the left. The *Cira* or turban of the same white stuff, was tied with a gold web, on which an emerald of a vast bigness, appear'd amidst four little ones. He had a silk fish, which cover'd the *Catari* or *Indian* dagger hanging on the left. His shoes were after the *Moorish* fashion, and his legs naked without hose. Two servants put away the flies, with long white horse-tails; another at the same time keeping off the sun, with a green umbrella. He was of a low stature, with a large nose, slender, and stooping with age. The whiteness of his round beard, was more visible on his olive-colour'd skin. When he was seated they gave him his scimiter and buckler, which he laid down on his left side within the throne. Then he made a sign with his hand for those that had business to draw near; who being come up, two secretaries standing, took their petitions, which they deliver'd to the king, telling him the contents. I admir'd to see him indorse them with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his chearful smiling countenance seem to be pleas'd with the employment.

The Mogul gives audience.

Review of the elephants.

In the mean while the elephants were review'd, that the king might see what condition they were in, and whether the *Omrabs* they were committed to, managed them well. When the *Cornaccia* (that is he who rides them) had uncover'd the elephant's crupper, for the king to view it, he made him turn his head towards the throne, and striking him on it three times, made him do his submission as often, by lifting up and lowering down his trunk. Then came *Scialam's* son and grandson, who having twice made their obeisance to the king, each time putting their hand to the ground, on their head, and on their breast, fate down on the first floor of the throne on the left. Then *Azam-Scia* the king's son coming in, and making the same submissions, he fate down on the second step, which we said was rais'd

above the other. These princes wore silk vests with flowers of several colours, *Cira's* adorn'd with precious stones, gold collars, jewels, rich sashes, scimiters, and bucklers hanging by their sides. Those that were not of the blood-royal, made three obeisances.

On the right hand, without the tent, stood a hundred musketeers and more mace-bearers, who had clubs on their shoulders with silver globes at the ends. These were clad in cloth of several colours. There were also several porters with staves in their hands, that no person might go in without being introduc'd.

On the left of the tent were the royal ensigns held up on spears by nine persons, clad in vests of crimson velvet, all adorn'd with gold, and with wide sleeves, and sharp collars hanging down behind. He that stood in the middle held a sun; the two on his sides two gilt hands; next them stood two others, each holding two horses tails dy'd red. The other four had the spears cover'd, so that there was no seeing what they held. Without the enclosure of the royal tents, several companies and troops of horse and foot stood at their arms; and elephants with vast standards, and kettle-drums on them, which were beaten all the time. When the audience was over, the king withdrew in the same order he came out; so did the princes; some getting into *Palancines*, and others mounting stately horses, cover'd with gold and precious stones. The *Omrabs*, who had stood all the while, return'd also to their tents, follow'd by many elephants, some with seats on them, and some with colours flying, and attended by two troops of horse, and two companies of foot. The *Cattual*, who is like a provost-marshal against thieves, rode with a great trumpet of green copper, eight spans long, carry'd before him by a *Moor* a-foot. That foolish trumpet made me laugh; because it made a noise much like that our swineherds make, to call together their swine at night.

CHAP. III.

The Artifices, and cruel Practices of the Mogul now reigning, to possess himself of the Empire.

EXperience has long since made it notorious enough, that the succession of this great monarchy rather depends on force than right; and that, (if it so happen, that the sons expect their father's death) they at last deter-

min the title of birth-right by the event of a battle; but this *Mogul* we have spoken of, added fraud to force, by which he destroy'd not only his brothers, but his father.

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He de- vides his sons.

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Scia-grown p and con ther, ar was imp inaccessi ing to thinking another remove tan Sugia Aurenge rad Bakse he gave first went like sove keeping and mai of awing princes. design'd where the of the c pass throu a throne rabs; for governme of respect The re on Scia that he w

They arm against him.

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When *Scia-geban* had reign'd forty years, more like a father than a king, being at the age of seventy years, fitter for any thing than love; he became desperately amorous of a *Moorish* young woman. His unruly passion prevailing, he gave himself up to entirely to her, beyond what became his age, that being reduc'd to extreme weakness, and despairing of his recovery, he shut himself up for three months in the *Aram*, without shewing himself to the people, according to custom. He had six children; four of them sons call'd, *Dara*, or *Darius*; the second *Sugiab*, that is, valiant prince; the third *Aurenge Zeb*, that is, ornament of the throne, and the last *Morad Baksee*. The two daughters were *Begum Sabeb*, that is, supream princess; and *Rausenora Begum*, that is, lightsome princess, or light of princesses. They take these names, because there being no titles of earldoms, dukedoms, or the like, as is us'd in *Europe*; they cannot like our princes take the name of those lands, for they all belong to the king, who gives all those that serve him assignments at pleasure, or pay in ready-money. For the same reason the *Omrabs* names are such as these that follow, *Tbunderer*, *Breaker of Troops*, *Faithful Lord*, the *Wise*, the *Perfect*, and the like.

*He de-
scribes his
sons.*

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gol. Tom.
1. p. 20.*

Scia-geban seeing his sons marry'd, grown powerful, aspiring to the crown, and consequently enemies to one another, and in such a condition that it was impossible to shut them up in the inaccessible fortresses of *Govallor*, according to the antient custom, after much thinking, for fear they should kill one another before his face, he resolv'd to remove them from court. He sent *Sultan Sugiab* into the kingdom of *Bengala*; *Aurenge Zeb* into that of *Decan*; *Morad Baksee* into *Guzaratte*, and to *Dara* he gave *Cabul* and *Multan*. The three first went away well pleas'd, and acted like sovereigns in their governments; keeping to themselves all the revenues, and maintaining armies under colour of awing the subjects, and bordering princes. *Dara*, being the eldest, and design'd for empire, remain'd at court, where the father feeding him with hopes of the crown, permitted all orders to pass through his hands, and allow'd him a throne below his own among the *Omrabs*; for having offer'd to resign up the government to him, *Dara* refus'd it out of respect.

*They arm
against
him.*

The report being spread abroad, upon *Sciab-geban's* shutting himself up, that he was dead, his sons immediat-

ly arm'd to contend for their father's *GENELLI*
kingdom. The cunning fox *Aurenge* 1695.
Zeb, whilst things were in this confu-
sion, that he might the better surprize
his brother, gave out, that he had no
pretensions to the crown, but had cho-
sen to become a *Fachir*, or poor, to serve
God in peace. At the same time he
writ to his brother *Morad Baksee* ac-
quainting him, that he had always been
his real friend, and had no pretensions
to the crown himself, being a profess'd
Fachir; but that *Dara* being unfit to
reign, and a *Kafar* or idolater; and
Sultan Sujab a *Refesist*, or heretick, an
enemy of his fore-fathers religion, and
unworthy of the crown, he thought
none but *Morad* deserv'd it, to whom
all the *Omrabs* being acquainted with
his valour, would willingly submit. As
for himself, provided he would give him
his word, that when he came to the
throne, he would leave him in peace
to pray to God in some corner of the
kingdom the rest of his days, he would
not only endeavour to assist him with
his advice, but would join his forces
with him to destroy his brother; in
token whereof he sent him 100000 *Rou-
pies*; advising him to come with all ex-
pedition to make himself master of the
fort of *Suratte*, where the treasure was.
Morad Baksee, who was neither power-
ful nor rich, freely accepted his offer
and money, and began immediately to
act like a king, promising great rewards
to those that would side with him; so
that he rais'd a powerful army in a short
time. Then giving the command of
three thousand men to *Scia-Abai*, a va-
liant eunuch, he sent him to besiege the
castle of *Suratte*.

Dara would have reliev'd it, but for-
bore it to attend his father in his sickness,
and curb *Sultan Sugiab*, who after sub-
duing the kingdom of *Bengala*, where
he was governour, was advanc'd with a
powerful army into the kingdom of *La-
bor*. He sent his eldest son *Soliman Sec-
cur* against him with considerable forces;
who routed his uncle, and drove him
back into *Bengala*, and leaving good
garrisons on the frontiers, he went back
to his father *Dara*.

On the other side, *Aurenge Zeb* sent
his son *Sultra Mahmud*, son-in-law to
the king of *Golconda*, to *Emir Gemla*,
who lay by order of *Sciab-geban*, at
the siege of *Kaliana*, to desire him to
meet him at *Daulet-Abad*, where he
would communicate a matter of great
moment to him. The *Emir*, who was
well acquainted with *Aurenge Zeb's* ar-
tifices, excus'd himself, saying, his fa-
ther

GENELEE
1695.

ther was not yet dead ; and that all his family was left at *Agra*, in the hands of *Dara*, as hostages for his fidelity ; for which reason he could not assist him without the ruin of what he held most dear. Having receiv'd this answer, *Aurenge Zeb* was no way discourag'd, but sent *Sultan Mazum*, his second son to the *Emir* ; who manag'd things so well, that he perswaded him to go with him to *Dolet Abad*, with the flower of his army, he having made himself master of *Kaliana*. *Aurenge Zeb* receiv'd him with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and honour ; calling him *Baba*, and *Babagi*, that is, father, and lord and father ; and after giving him an hundred embraces, taking him aside he told him, it was not reasonable that his family being in *Dara's* hands, he should venture to do any thing for him publicly ; but that on the other hand there was no difficulty but might be overcome. I will therefore propose a method to you, said he, which will not appear strange to you, when you think on the safety of your wife and children ; which is, that you permit me to imprison you, which all the world will think is in earnest, believing you are no man that will take it in jest, and in the mean while I will make use of part of your troops, of your cannon, and some of your money, which you have so often offer'd me, and will try my fortune. The *Emir*, either because he was a sworn friend to *Aurenge Zeb*, or on account of the great promises he had made him at other times ; or else by reason he saw *Sultan Mazum* well arm'd standing by him, and *Sultan Mahmud* looking upon him with a stern countenance ; submitted to all his will, suffering himself to be confin'd to a room. The news being spread abroad, his men ran to arms to rescue him, and being very numerous would have done it, had not *Aurenge Zeb* appeas'd them with fair words, promises, and gifts ; so that not only the *Emir's* troops, but most of *Sciab-geban's* seeing things in confusion, sided with him. Having therefore possess'd himself of the *Emir's* tents, camels, and baggage, he march'd to take *Suratte* ; but hearing within a few days that the governor had already surrendered it to *Morad Baksee*, he sent to congratulate with him, and tell him what had happened with *Emir Gemla* ; what forces and money he had ; and what secret intelligence at court ; desiring him, that since he was to go from *Brampur* to *Agra*, he should endeavour to meet, and confer with him by the way.

This fell out to his mind, the two armies joining with much satisfaction. *Aurenge Zeb* made *Morad Baksee* fresh promises, protesting over again that he did not aspire to the crown ; but only come to help raise him to the throne, in opposition to *Dara*, their common enemy. They both mov'd towards *Brampur*, where coming to a battle with the army of *Sciab-geban*, and *Dara*, *Dara's* forces de-
located, which came to hinder them passing the river *Ogene* ; the generals *Kajem* and *Cham*, and *Geffon-jenghe* were overthrown by the valour of *Morad*, with the slaughter of eight thousand *Ragipu's*.

Morad Baksee flush'd with the success ^{Himself routed.} of the battle, coveted nothing but fighting ; using all possible means to overtake the enemy ; whilst *Aurenge Zeb* grown vain, encourag'd his soldiers, giving out he had thirty thousand *Moguls* of his party among *Dara's* forces. Having taken some rest, they fought the second battle at *Samongber*, where *Morad Baksee*, tho' wounded by the general *Ram-jenghe-rulle*, fighting courageously, kill'd him. Whilst the event of the battle was still dubious, the traitor *Calil-ullab-kan*, who commanded thirty thousand *Moguls*, with whom he might have routed the enemy, did not only go over to *Aurenge Zeb*, but falsely perswaded *Dara* to come down from his elephant, and get a horse-back, and this to the end that the soldiers not seeing him, might suppose he was kill'd, and so dismay 'em. It fell out as he design'd, for being all seiz'd with fear, they fled to escape *Aurenge Zeb*. Thus *Dara* on a sudden lost the victory he had almost gain'd, and was overthrown ; and seeing himself forsaken, was forc'd to fly to save his life. So that it may be said, that *Aurenge Zeb*, by continuing steadfast on his elephant, secur'd to himself the crown of *Indostan* ; and *Dara* was thrown out of the throne by coming down from his. A diversion fortune often takes, to make the greatest victories depend on the most contemptible accidents. The unhappy *Dara* returning to *Agra* in despair, durst not appear before his father, who, when he took his leave, had said to him, *Be sure Dara never to come into my sight unless victorious*. Nevertheless the good old man did not omit to send to comfort him, and assure him of his affection.

Four days after, *Aurenge Zeb*, and *Aurengi Morad Baksee* came to a garden a small ^{Zeb came to Agra.} league from the fort of *Agra* ; and thence sent an ingenious and trusty eunuch to pay their respects to *Sciab-geban* ; and to tell him they were very much

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much troubled at all that had happened, being compell'd to it by *Dara's* ambition; but were most ready to obey his commands. *Sciab-geban*, tho' he well knew how eager his son was to reign, and that there was no trusting to his fair words; yet shew'd a good countenance to the eunuch, designing to intrap *Aurenge Zeb*, without coming to open force, as was then proper to have done. But he, who was thorough skill'd in all frauds, took his father in the same snare; for putting off the visit from day to day, which had been agreed upon between them by the eunuch, spent the mean time in gaining the affections of the *Omrabs* underhand. When he thought things were ripe, he sent his eldest son *Sultan Mahmud* to the fort on pretence to speak to *Sciab-geban* from him. This bold young prince coming to the gate, fell with his men that lay in readiness upon the guards, and putting them to flight, went resolutely in, and made himself master of the walls. *Sciab-geban* perceiving he was fallen into the snare he had laid for his son, try'd to bribe *Sultan Mahmud* with the offer of the crown, but he, without being mov'd, carry'd the keys of the fort to his father, who made the same governor *Ekbarkan*, governor of it. He presently shut up the old king with his daughter *Pegun Sabeh*, and all the women; so that he could neither speak nor write to any body, much less go out of his apartment. As soon as this was done, all the *Omrabs* were oblig'd to make their court to *Aurenge Zeb*, and *Morad Baksee*, and to declare for the first of them. He being now well establish'd, took what he thought fit out of the king's treasure; and leaving his uncle *Scia-best-kan* governor of the city, went away with *Morad Baksee* in pursuit of *Dara*.

The day they were to set out of *Agra*, *Morad Baksee's* friends, and particularly his eunuch *Scia-Abas*, told him, that since he was king, and *Aurenge Zeb* himself gave him the title of majesty; he should send him against *Dara*, and stay himself with his troops about *Agra* and *Debli*. But he had so much confidence in his brother's promises, and in the mutual oath of fidelity they had taken to one another upon the *Alcoran*, that despising all good counsel, he set out towards *Debli*, with *Aurenge Zeb*. At *Maturas*, four days march from *Agra*, his friends again endeavour'd to convince him, that his brother had ill designs in his head; and advis'd him to forbear visiting him, tho'

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it were but that day, upon pretence of *Gemelli* indisposition; but he continuing incredulous, and in a manner infatuated with his sweet words, did not only go, but staid to sup with him. The false wretch *Scias Morad Baksee* shew'd him all manner of kindness, even to the wiping off his sweat with his handkerchief, always talking to him as king, and giving him the title of majesty; but as soon as he saw him overcome by the fumes of *Sciras*, and *Cabul-wine*, he arose from table, and encouraging his brother to carry on the debauch with *Mircan*, and other officers there present, went away, as if he had gone to take his rest. *Morad Baksee*, who lov'd drinking, making himself drunker than he was, at length fell asleep; which was what *Aurenge Zeb* expected, in order to take away his scimiter, and *Gemder* or dagger. Then returning into the room, he began to upbraid him in these words, *What a Shame, what a disgrace is this! for a King as you are to be so debauch'd, as to make himself thus Drunk? What will the World say of you, and of me? Let this base Man, this Drunkard be bound Hands and Feet, and shut up, to digest his Wine.* This was immediately executed, and *Morad Baksee's* commanders being offended at his imprisonment, *Aurenge Zeb* pacify'd them with gifts and promises, and took them all into his pay. His unfortunate brother was shut up in an *Ambri*, which is a little wooden house they set on an elephant to carry women, and so convey'd to *Debli*, to the little fort of *Salemgerber*, seated in the middle of the river.

Having secur'd *Morad Baksee*, he pursu'd *Dara*; leaving *Sultan Mahmud*, and *Emir Gemla* to destroy *Sultan Sujab*. But *Mahmud* aspiring to those things he ought not yet to have aim'd at, and being naturally proud, fell at variance with *Emir Gemla*, about commanding in chief, which he pretended to belong to him alone; and now and then let slip some words of contempt and threatening against him, and such as did not become a dutiful son. Then fearing that his father on account of his ill behaviour had given orders to the *Emir* to secure him; he with-drew with a few followers to *Sultan Sujab*, making him great promises, and swearing to be faithful; but he fearing some contrivance of *Aurenge Zeb*, and the *Emir's* eldest son, caus'd all his actions to be observ'd; so that *Mahmud* in a few months return'd to the *Emir's* camp. Others say it was a project of *Aurenge Zeb's* to send him to his uncle, to ruin them both,

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1965. GEMELLI or at least a specious pretence to make sure of him; because afterwards, besides the threatening letters he writ to recal him to *Debli*, he caus'd him to be arrested upon the river *Ganges*, and sent close shut up in an *Ambri* to *Gavaleor*.

Aurenge Zeb having perform'd this work, sent to warn his other son *Sultan Mazum* to continue in his duty, unless he would be serv'd in the same manner; because it was a nice point to reign, and kings ought to be jealous of their own shadows. Then going to *Debli*, he began to act as king; and whilst the *Emir* press'd *Sugiah*, who made a brave opposition, securing the passage of the river *Ganges*, he contriv'd to get *Dara* into his power by fraud, forcing him to quit *Guzaratte*. He made the *Raja Gessen Sangbe* write a letter to tell him, he would speak with him about a matter of great moment on the way to *Agra*. *Dara*, who had gather'd an indifferant army, unadvisedly came out of *Amed-Abad*, and hasten'd to *Amire*, eight days journey from *Agra*. Here, two late discovering *Gessen Sengbe's* treachery, and seeing no possibility of returning so soon to *Amed-Abad*, which was thirty four days journey distant, in summer, with scarcity of water, and through the hands of several *Raja's*, friends to *Jessam*; he at last resolv'd, tho' he knew himself to be inferior in forces, to fight him. In this battle *Dara* was betray'd, not only by *Scia-Navazekan*, but by all his officers, who fir'd his cannon without ball, so that he was forced to fly to save his life, and to cross all the countries of *Raja's* there are from *Amire* to *Amed-Abad*; without tents, or baggage, in the hottest season, and with only two thousand soldiers, who were most of them stripp'd by the *Kullis*, peasants of the country, who are the greatest thieves in *India*. Being come with so much difficulty within a day's journey of *Amed-Abad*, the governour, who was corrupted by *Aurenge Zeb*, sent him word to come no nearer, for he would find the gates shut. *Dara* much concern'd at this news, and not knowing what to resolve on, he bethought him of a powerful *Patan*, call'd *Gion-Kan*, whose life he had twice sav'd, when *Scia-geban* had commanded him to be cast to the elephants for rebellion. Him he purpos'd to repair to, notwithstanding his son *Sapece-Kub*, and his wife's dissuasions. Coming thither he was at first courteously receiv'd; but the next morning the false and ungrateful *Patan* fell upon him with many arm'd

men, and killing some soldiers that came to his assistance, bound him, his wife and son, seizing all their jewels, and money. Then letting him on an elephant, with an executioner behind, who was to kill him if he attempted to escape, he conducted him to the camp at *Tatabakar*, where he deliver'd him up to the general *Mirbaba*, who caus'd him to be carry'd in the same manner to *Agra*, and thence to *Debli*. When he was come to the gate of that city, *Aurenge Zeb*, and his council differ'd in opinions, whether they should carry him through the city, or not, in order to send him to *Gavaleor*, and at last it was resolv'd to fet him scurvily clad, with his wife and son, on a pitiful elephant, and so carry him through the city, with the infamous *Patan* by him. In the mean while *Aurenge Zeb* was inform'd, that all the city was incens'd against him, on account of his many cruelties; and mis-doubting the first, he summon'd his council, to determine whether it was better to send him to prison, or put him to death. Many were of the first opinion; but *Dara's* old enemies, especially *Nakim Daud*, a physician, flattering the tyrant's inclination, cry'd out aloud, it was convenient for the safety of the kingdom, that he should die, and the more, because he was no *Musliman*, but a *Kaiser*, or idolater. *Aurenge Zeb* readily comply'd, immediately ordering that *Sapece-Kub* should be carry'd prisoner to *Gavaleor*, and *Dara* put to death by the hands of a slave, call'd *Nazar*. He going in to execute the barbarous command, *Dara*, who was himself dressing some lentils for fear of poison, foreseeing what was coming upon him, cry'd out to his son, see he comes to kill me. Then taking a kitchen knife, he would have defended himself; but the executioner fell on, and throwing him down, cut off his head, which was carry'd to the fort to *Aurenge Zeb*, and he ordering it to be put into a dish, wash'd it with his own hands, to be sure it was his brothers, and when he found it was, began to lament, saying, *Oh unhappy Man; take it out of my sight, and let it be bury'd in the Tomb of Humagon*. At night he caus'd his daughters to be put into the seraglio, and afterwards sent her to *Scia-geban*, and *Begum Sa-His* *beb*, who desir'd it; and *Sapece-Kub* was secur'd, carry'd to *Gavaleor*. *Gion-Kan* was rewarded for his treachery; but was kill'd in a wood as he return'd home, to prove that men love the treason, but hate the traitor.

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There was none left of *Dara's* family, but *Soliman Seekub*, who was not easily to be drawn from *Serenagber*, had the *Raja* kept his word; but the underhand practices of the *Raja Gessen Sengber*, the promises and threats of *Aurenge Zeb*, the death of *Dara*, and the neighbouring *Raja's*, made him break his faith. *Soliman* understanding he was betray'd, fled over desert mountains, towards the great *Tibet*, but the *Raja's* son overtook and stopp'd him, wounding him with a stone; after which he was convey'd to *Debli*, where he was shut up in *Selengber*, with *Morad Baksee*, not without tears of all the *Omrabs*.

Aurenge Zeb perceiving there were poems handed about in commendation of *Morad Baksee's* valour, it rais'd such a jealousy in him, that he presently contriv'd his death. *Morad*, at the beginning of the war had kill'd one *Sajed*, a very wealthy man at *Amed-Abad*, only to seize upon what he had. The tyrant made his sons appear in a full assembly, and demand that prince's head, in revenge for their father's death. Not one of the *Omrabs* oppos'd it, as well because *Sajed* was of *Mabomet's* family, as to comply with the will of *Aurenge Zeb*, whose invention they knew that was. Accordingly they were permitted without any manner of process, to have *Morad's* head cut off; which was immediately perform'd at *Govaleor*.

There is now none left to oppose *Aurenge Zeb*, but only *Sultan Sujab*, who tho' he held out some time in *Bengala*, yet was at last forc'd to submit to his brother's power and good fortune; for the *Emir Gemla* pursuing him with his forces into the islands the *Ganges* makes near its mouth, forc'd him to fly to *Dake*, the last city of *Bengala* on the sea side. Here, having no ships to commit himself to the ocean, and not knowing which way to escape, he sent his eldest son *Sultan Banché* to the king of *Aracam* or *Mog*, a heathen prince, to pray him to give him protection for the present in his country, and in the proper season a vessel to carry him to *Moka*, he having a mind to go to *Mecca*. The king of *Aracam* presently sent a number of galleasses or half galleys with *Sultan Banché*, and a civil answer as to the rest. *Sujab* went aboard with his women, and being brought to that king, was well receiv'd; but when the season came he perform'd not his word of furnishing him a ship to go to *Mecca*; but appearing every day more cold to him, began to complain that *Sujab* did not visit him, and tho' *Sultan Banché* often made his

court with great presents, yet it avail'd nothing. Then asking one of *Sultan Sujab's* daughters in marriage, and finding she was not immediately granted him, the barbarian was so enrag'd, that he oblig'd the poor fugitive prince to act a desperate part. He thought with three hundred soldiers he brought from *Bengala*, and the assistance of the *Mabometans* of the country whom he had corrupted, to break into the palace, kill all he found, and make himself king of *Aracam*; but the day before he was to put this in execution, the design was discover'd, and he oblig'd to fly towards *Pegu* to save his life, tho' it was impossible to come thither by reason of the vast mountains and forests he was to pass through. That same day he was overtaken by the king's men, and tho' he defended himself with much bravery, killing a great number, yet so many fell upon him, that at last he was forc'd to submit to his fate. *Sultan Banché* who was not gone so far, made his defence too, but being hurt with stones, and encompass'd on all sides, was taken, with two little brothers, a sister and his mother. As for *Sultan Sujab* himself, there are different accounts; some say he was wounded on the mountains, only four of his men being left about him, and that an eunuch having dress'd the wound on his head, he fled across the woods; others will have it that he was found among the dead, but not perfectly known; others that he was afterwards seen at *Mafipatan*; others near *Suratte*; and others in fine, that he was fled towards *Persia*; so that by reason of these different accounts, *Aurenge Zeb* one day in jest said that *Sujab* was turn'd pilgrim. The most receiv'd opinion is, that he dy'd in the fray, if he was not kill'd by robbers, or wild beasts, of which those forests are full. After this disaster all his family was imprison'd, and the king took his eldest daughter to wife; but another conspiracy of *Sultan Banché* being afterwards discover'd, he was so irrag'd that he caus'd them all to be put to death, even to her that was his wife and with child. The men were put to the sword, and the women starv'd to death.

The unnatural war being thus at an *Exact* juncture, after it had lasted through the ambition of rule, among the four brothers from the year 1655 till 1660, *Aurenge Zeb* remain'd peaceable possessor of that vast empire; for after so much blood shed, and so many enormities committed, it was easie to cause himself to be declar'd king with the consent of all the great ones. The greatest obstacle he found

GEMELLI was, the grand *Cadi* who was to put him in possession, and pleaded, that according to the law of *Mabomet* and that of nature, no man could be declar'd king, whilst his father was yet living, much less *Aurence Zeb*, who had put to death his eldest brother *Dara*, to whom the crown belong'd after the death of his father *Scia-geban*. To overcome this difficulty he assembled the doctors of the law, and told them, that as for his father he was unfit to rule, by reason of his age; and for his brother *Dara's* death he had caus'd him to be executed for contemning the law, by drinking wine, and favouring infidels. Adding threats to these reasons he made the *Mabometan* casuists agree, that he deserv'd the crown and ought to be declar'd king. The *Cadi* still opposing him, he was depos'd and another put in his place, who for the kindness receiv'd, consented to all that was requir'd of him.

Aurence Zeb accordingly coming to the *Mosque* on the 20th of *October* 1660, seated himself on the richest throne that ever was seen in the world, being the same that was begun by *Tamerlane* and finish'd by *Scia-geban*, receiving there the homage of all the great men, as is the custom of the country. Afterwards there was great rejoicing at *Jehanabat* and throughout all the kingdom.

His penance.

Aurence Zeb considering the heinousness of the crimes he had committed for the compassing of his ends; voluntarily impos'd on himself a rigorous abstinence, not to eat for the future any wheaten-bread, fish, or flesh; and to live upon barley-bread, rice, herbs, sweet-meats and such things; nor to drink any sort of liquor but water.

Is reproved by the King of *Persia*.

Ambassadors from the prime princes of *Asia* and *Africk* came to his court to congratulate his accession to the crown; but he was much offended at the letter sent him by the king of *Persia*, upbraiding him with the murder of *Dara*, and imprisonment of *Scia-geban*, as being actions unworthy a *Mussulman*, and the son and brother of a *Mussulman*; and reflecting on him for the title he had assum'd of *Alem-Guire*, that is, lord of the world, concluded challenging him in these words, *Since you are Alem-Guire, I send you a Sword and Horses that we may meet.*

Scia-geban dies *Tax*. l. 2. p. 252.

Scia-geban dy'd in the fort of *Agra* about the end of the year 1666, and *Aurence Zeb*, who had long with'd to be deliver'd from that continual reproach of his tyranny, went thither immediately to secure all his father's jewels. He receiv'd his sister *Begum Sabe* into

favour, because she having an influence over her father, being his wife and daughter, had preserv'd to him so many jewels of incredible value, when *Scia-geban* offend'd that he had sent for them whilst he was living, to adorn the throne he had usurp'd, was about to reduce them to powder in a mortar. Besides she had given him much gold, and set out the *Mosque* he went into before his entering the fort, with rich carpets. She was afterwards carry'd in honourable manner to *Jehanabat*, and there dy'd, with suspicion of being poison'd.

If we now look back into the life of *Scia-geban*, we shall find that he was punish'd by the hand of God as he had deserv'd, for the wrong he had done his nephew *Bulaki*, usurping the crown from him.

Gebangbir, king of *India*, son of *Ac-Singh* ^{an ulap-er.} *bar*, and grandson of *Humagion*, after having reign'd twenty three years peaceably, was disturb'd by the ambition of his sons, who thought that life lasted too long, which obstructed their getting into power. The eldest rais'd a mighty army about *Labar* to possess his father's throne before it was his due; the king to punish his presumption march'd against him with numerous forces, and defeating his troops, brought him away prisoner with those great men that had espous'd his cause. But being of a merciful disposition, and unwilling to imbrue his hands in the blood of his son, whom he could not but love, he was satisfy'd with holding a red hot iron to his eyes, and keeping him in that condition about him; designing to raise his son *Sultan Bulaki* to the throne. But *Sultan Curom*, who afterwards took the name of *Scia-geban*, believing that he as second son to *Geban Gbir*, ought to be prefer'd in right before his nephew; resolv'd to leave no means unattempted to cast him down and raise himself, without expecting his father's death. He conceal'd his wicked design under the cloak of a counterfeit obedience, till he gain'd his father's good will; and when he thought himself well grounded in his favour, desir'd he would give him leave to carry his blind brother into the kingdom of *Dacan*, where he was governor; saying, he should by this means take out of his sight a displeasing object, and his brother would live more peaceably. The king not diving into *Curom's* design, consented to it; but he having got the poor prince into his hands, contriv'd to make him away in such manner, that no man could imagine he had been so cruel as to poison him. This done he chang'd

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chang'd his name into that of *Sciab-geban*, that is, king of the world, and raising a numerous army, set forward to make war on his father, who was justly provok'd, and the more for his son's death. *Jebanguir* went out in person with a great strength, against the wicked and ambitious *Curum*; but age and grief, to see himself so much wrong'd, ended his days by the way, and made it easie for the other to compass his designs. However *Jebanguir* before his death recommended his grandson *Sultan Bulaki* to *Ajuf-Kan*, generalissimo of his army, and prime minister of state, and to all the great officers, commanding them when he was dead, to acknowledge none for their true and lawful sovereign but *Bulaki*; and declaring *Sultan Curum* a rebel, and incapable of succeeding in the throne. Besides he made them swear, and particularly *Ajuf-Kan*, that they would never consent that *Bulaki* should be put to death; which he afterwards faithfully perform'd, but not to settle him on the throne, having design'd that for *Scia-geban* his son-in-law. The death of *Jebanguir* being known, all the great men acknowledg'd the young *Sultan Bulaki* for their king. Two of his cousins, soon perceiving the wicked design of *Ajuf-Kan*, were the cause of their own deaths, and his losing the crown, by discovering the secret to him; because he being unskill'd in the mystery of reigning, ask'd the question of *Ajuf-Kan* himself, who having sworn he would ever be faithful to his king, privately contriv'd the death of the two princes. Then considering that the king having notice of the conspiracy, it was dangerous to defer the execution of it, and finding himself powerful in the number of his followers, he gave out that *Scia-geban* was dead, and his body would be carry'd to be bury'd at *Agra*, with the bones of *Jebanguir*, as he had desir'd before his death. He himself brought the news to *Bulaki*, persuading him

when it was to be done, to go two leagues out of *Agra* to meet the body, that honour being due to a prince of the blood, tho' an enemy. *Scia-geban* came himself in disguise, and when he was in sight of the army near *Agra*, was laid on a bier, and carry'd as if he were dead. All the principal conspirators came with *Ajuf* into the tent, where he was laid, as it were to do honour to the dead prince, and when they saw the young king was come out of *Agra*, uncovering the bier, they made *Scia-geban* stand up in the presence of all the army, and declaring him king with a loud voice, they, and all the rest by their example, swore fealty to him. *Bulaki* receiving this dismal news by the way, being in a consternation, had no hopes of safety but in flying; which was easy to be done, because his enemies thought not proper to pursue him. He wandered about *India* a long time, becoming a *Facbir*; but at last tir'd with that painful employment, he retir'd into *Persia*, where he was nobly receiv'd and entertain'd by *Scia-Sofi*. *Scia-geban* being left without any rival, yet fearing the factions there might be for the lawful king, by degrees, put to death all those that were well-affected to his nephew, making the first years of his reign famous for cruelty. Thus his being in his life-time depriv'd of his kingdom by his son, is to be look'd upon as a just judgment of God, which the longer it is defer'd the heavier it falls.

These are the methods of securing the throne of *Indostan*, not found out by any ill custom of that people, but proceeding from the want of good laws, concerning the title of birth-right. Therefore every prince of the blood thinks he has a sufficient claim to the crown, and exposing himself to the cruel necessity of overcoming to reign, sometimes involves an infinite number of lives in his own ruin, that another may be the more securely establish'd.

CHAP. IV.

The Genealogy of the Great Moguls, and other Things the Author observ'd at that Court.

THE vast empire of the *Mogul*, which in the *Indian* language signifies *White*, contains all the country between the rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*. It borders on the east with the kingdoms of *Aracan*, *Tipa*, and *Assen*; on the west with *Persia*, and the *Ubeck Tartars*; on the south of it is the great *Indian* oce-

an, and some countries held by the *Portuguese*, and other petty kings; and on the north it reaches to mount *Caucasus*, and the country of *Zagotay*; on the north east of it is the kingdom of *Butan*, whence the musk is brought. So that the length of it from *Bengala* to *Candahor* is no less than six months journey,

GENELLI and its breadth from north to south at 1695. least four.

The first that laid the foundation of this mighty monarchy was *Tamerlane*, otherwise called *Teymour*; who by his wonderful conquests from *India* to *Poland*, far surpass'd the renown of all former commanders. He had one leg shorter than the other, and was therefore call'd the lame; and here we may take notice of his sharp saying to this effect, to *Bajazeth* emperor of the *Turks*, whom he overthrew and took prisoner. Causing him to be brought into his presence the same day, and looking him steadily in the face, he fell a laughing; whereat *Bajazeth* offended said, *Do not laugh at my ill fortune Tamerlane; know that it is God who bestows kingdoms and empires, and that all that has befallen me to day may happen to you to morrow.* *Tamerlane* without the least concern answer'd, *I know very well Bajazeth, that it is God who bestows kingdoms and empires. I do not laugh at your misfortune, but because, considering your countenance, I perceive that these kingdoms and empires are very inconsiderable things with God; since he bestows them on such ugly fellows as we are; you a squinting clown, and I a lame wretch.* *Tamerlane* was not of mean extraction, as some imagine, but of the race of *Scia-guis Cham*, king of *Tartary*. He was born at *Samarcand*, a country of *Zagatay*, or of the *Usbeck-Tartars*, where he was afterwards bury'd.

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p. 78.
Teixeira
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p. 162.
Tamerlan's
Successors

Mirumxa his son succeeded him in the throne; his successor was his son *Mabomet*; and *Mabomet* *Mirza Sultan Abuid* his son, who was kill'd by the *Persians* in the year 1469. *Mirza Sultan Hamet* son to him, ascended the throne next, and dy'd in 1495. The next was *Hamet's* son, call'd *Sultan Babir*, which signifies brave prince, who in 1500 was dethron'd by *Kay-bek Cham* an *Usbeck*, but recover'd the kingdom again, after wandering a long time about *India*, and was the first *Mogul* that became so very powerful. He dy'd in 1532.

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His son *Homagion*, that is, the fortunate, succeeded him, who conquer'd the best and wealthiest kingdoms in *India*. *Kirkan* his general rebell'd and forc'd him to fly to the king of *Persia*; by whom being assist'd with 12000 men under the command of *Beuran-Cham*, he defeated the rebel, and recover'd his kingdom; then dy'd in 1552.

After his death, his son *Gelaladin* commonly call'd *Akbar*, ascended the throne. He reign'd 54 years, and dy'd in 1605, since the birth of *Christ*, and 1014 of the *Mabometan Epoch*, leaving the king-

dom to his son *Sultan Selim*, call'd by another name *Yehan-guir-pashia*, that is, conquering emperor of the world; at his death he left four sons, *Sultan Kofru*, *Sultan Kurom*, *Sultan Perwiz*, and *Scia Daniel*.

Sultan Kurom succeeded his father *Yehan-guir*, by means of the ill practices above-mentioned, and was acknowledged for their sovereign by the great men of the kingdom in the fort of *Agra*, by the name of *Sultan Sciabedin Mubammed*; but he would be call'd *Scia-geban*. Next to him came *Aurence Zeb* ascending the throne of *Indostan*, through such cruel practices. He took the name of *Aurence-Zeb-Alem-Gbire*, that is, Lord of the world, believing he possess'd three parts of it. For this reason he carry'd as his peculiar ensign a golden globe, and had it in his seal; and always tore off one corner of the paper he wrote on, to express that the fourth part of the world was not his. He added to his empire the kingdoms of *Vijapur* and *Golconda*, the kings whereof he kept prisoners in my time, part of the territory of *Savagi*, and of other petty principalities in *Indostan*.

Aurence Zeb labour'd to gain the reputation of being a strict observer of the *Mabometan* law, and a lover of justice. He had so distributed his time, that he could scarce ever be said to be idle. Some days in the week he bath'd before break of day; then having pray'd he eat something: after that, having spent two hours with his secretaries, he gave publick audience before noon, and then pray'd again. This done he din'd, and soon after gave audience again, when followed the third and fourth time of praying. Next he was employ'd in the affairs of his family till two hours after it was dark. Then he supp'd, and slept only two hours, after which he took the *Alcoran* and read till break of day. This was told me by several eunuchs belonging to the court, who knowing their prince was skill'd in negromancy, believ'd he was assist'd by the devil in that painful course of life; else he could not have gone through so much fatigue in his decrepit old age. This might serve as an example to some princes of *Europe*, who are so refer'd, that they give audience but twice a week, and then will not stay a moment to hear their subjects grievances; as if it were not their duty to listen to them with patience. And it is certain the *Mogul* did not feed on such dainties as they do, but on herbs and pulse; fasting every day at those years, tho' made

His
change of
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made of flesh and blood like the Europeans.

His change of life.

After *Aurenge Zeb* had prescrib'd himself this sort of life, he ceas'd to be bloody as before, and on the contrary became so mild, that the governours and *Omrabs* did not pay him the duty they ought; knowing his mercy would never suffer him to punish them. Thus the poor were oppress'd by the great ones, without knowing who to have recourse to; because the king, when advis'd to be less merciful towards those that transgress'd his commands, answer'd, *That he was no God, that his ministers might not contradict him; and that if they misbehav'd themselves, Heaven would punish them.* A government far different from that of *Turky*, and *Persia*, where the stain of disobedience is wash'd away with blood. Those that saw but into the outside, said, *Aurenge Zeb* was a great *Mabometan* saint, who after his death must be put into the martyrlogy of their false sect. But I am of opinion he conniv'd at the failings of his ministers, and *Omrabs*, that they might love the present government, under which they were suffer'd to act as they pleas'd, and consequently there might be no way for any of his sons to usurp the throne.

His continency.

On the other side, to speak the truth, he did not give himself up in his youth to sensual pleasures, as his predecessors had done; tho' according to their barbarous custom, he kept several hundred women in the *Aram*, for ostentation. To this purpose they tell us, that he having pitch'd upon a woman in the *Aram* to lie with him that night, she dress'd herself the best she could to receive that honour. The king coming at the appointed hour into her chamber, instead of going to bed, fell a reading the *Alcoran* all night. The eunuch coming in the morning to tell him the bath was ready, as us'd by the *Mabometans* after they have had to do with women; the woman who had been disappointed cry'd out, there was no need of a bath, because the king had not broke wind; to signify he had been at prayers, which if interrupted by wind, the *Mabometans* are to bath. The king hearing her, went away ashamed, the lady telling him that was no room to pray in; and he never after look'd her in the face. The kings of *Indostan* are at a vast charge in maintaining so many women; for they have many thousands and thousands of *Roupies* a year out of the treasury; some of the best belov'd even to a million and half, which they spend in maintaining a-bundance of elephants, horses and servants.

Besides *Aurenge Zeb's* abstinence, after so many horrid crimes committed, ^{1695.} his table was not maintained out of the revenue of the crown; he said that food was not good, which cost the sweat of the subjects, but that every man ought to work for his living. For this reason he work'd caps, and presented them to the governours of his kingdoms and provinces; who in return for the honour done them, sent him a present of several thousands of *Roupies*. When I was there, his decrepit age rendering him unable to work, he had reserv'd the revenues of four towns for his table. His expence was but small, for a vest of his did not cost above eight *Roupies*, and the fish and *Cira* or cap, less.

He work'd for his bread.

The *Great Mogul's* usual place of residence is at *Agra*, and sometimes at *Dehli*, and *Lahor*, in which cities the king is always guarded by an *Omrab*, with a body of 20000 horse, who incamp about those cities, and this guard is reliev'd every eight days. But when *Aurenge Zeb*, who kept always in the field, was to decamp from any place where he lay with his army, a tent was carry'd before by 120 elephants, 1400 camels, and 400 small carts, to be set up where he was to go, and several thousands of horse and foot went with 70 elephants, to secure the ground to incamp on. Eight other elephants carry'd eight chairs, more like biers, wrought with gold and silver, or gilt wood, and clos'd with cristal. There were three others carry'd by eight men each, in one of which the king went, when he did not mount an elephant, especially if it rain'd, or the way was dusty. All the great men attended him afoot; but when they went out of town, and the journey was long, he us'd to command them to mount a horseback.

Aurenge Zeb got several children. His eldest son (as we said elsewhere) was ^{dren.} *Mabmud*, who following the example of his predecessors, in aiming at the crown before his father his death, proceeded so openly, towards taking away his life, that he thought good to prevent him; and accordingly caus'd him to be poison'd one day, when he went a hunting; and mistrusting he was not really dead, when he was brought to the palace, he cruelly caus'd a red hot iron to be run in from the sole of his foot to his knee.

His child.

Scialam the 2d son, by the death of ^{The 2d.} *Mabmud*, had the right of eldest, and with it, entertain'd the same thoughts the other had done, of destroying his father. To this purpose he once caus'd

a great

GEMELLI 1695. a great trench to be dug near *Aurenge Zeb's* tent, that he might fall into it, as he pass'd by; but he being told of it by an eunuch, escap'd death; and put the wicked *Scialam* into a dark prison, where he continu'd six years, tho' sixty years of age, till a few days before I came into the camp.

The 3d. *Azam-scia*, third son of *Aurenge Zeb*, play'd his part in plotting against his father, with the king of *Vijapor* his kinsman, before he was taken, and lost his kingdom; so natural is it to this race to hate their father. He is now about 55 years of age.

The 4th. The 4th son is call'd *Akbar*, now 45 years of age, more ambitious than all the rest; for being sent by his father in the year 1680, with an army of 30000 men to make war on the *Raja Lionte*, who borders on the kingdom of *Asmire*, belonging to the *Mogul*; instead of subduing him, he suffered himself to be persuaded by that idolater, and by his own ambition, to turn his arms against his own father. Having thus join'd his forces with those of *Raja* against *Aurenge Zeb*, who could never have believ'd it, and making a body of 70000 horse, and a competent number of foot, most of them *Ragipurs*, he came into *Asmire* where his father was. Here whilst he rested his army, much fatigu'd with the long march, the crafty old man having no sufficient force to oppose him, had recourse to stratagem. He therefore sent a confidant of his into the enemies camp, with a letter directed to his son; in which he commended his extraordinary wife conduct in drawing the idolaters to that place, to be all cut off, as had been agreed; and that he would advance the next day and put it in execution. The eunuch had orders to behave himself so, that the enemy growing jealous, might secure him, and intercepting the letter, rely no more on *Akbar*. It fell out accordingly; and tho' he swore upon the *Alcoran*, that it was an invention of his father's to distract them, the chiefs of the *Gentiles* would never believe him. These jealousies kept them so long employ'd, that *Aurenge Zeb*, as he had expected, gain'd time to call his second son to his defence with a powerful army, who being come up, he defeated the *Raja* and *Akbar*. He putting himself, with 4000 horse, under the protection of *Samba*, a *Pagan Roicolet*, *Aurenge Zeb* made war so furiously on the said *Samba*, that he at last took him prisoner, and caused his head to be cut off, for having utter'd some indecent expressions in his

presence. This man's ruin was caus'd by drunkenness; for as he was drinking in his tent with his women-dancers, being told by the advanced guards that the *Mogul's* army was advancing, instead of going to arms, he caus'd their heads to be cut off; saying, they would not dare to come where he was; the same he did by a second centinel. His son, whose head was not full so of wine, sav'd himself with 1000 horse, leaving his father behind, who was carry'd away prisoner, and not long after to his grave.

Akbar escaping this storm, went to *Goa*, where the *Portuguese* furnish'd him with ships to go over to *Ormus*. There he was nobly receiv'd by the *Cham*, and afterwards by order of *Scia-Selem*, then king of *Persia*, attended by many troops of soldiers to the court of *Isfahan*; where he was courteously entertain'd, and had an allowance to maintain him suitable to his quality; as I observ'd in the second part. The old man fearing his son's valour, us'd several arts to draw him out of *Persia*, but with small hopes of success, because *Akbar* was not so weak as to be ensnar'd by his father. Whilst I was at *Isfahan*, some eunuchs told me, they were sent by a certain *Omrab*, who govern'd on the borders of *Candabor*, with a present of several thousand *Roupies* to this prince, which he would not accept, and therefore they were going back with the money. They offer'd to carry me into *India* by land, but I refus'd their kindness. I was afterwards inform'd by others, that this was a contrivance of *Aurenge Zeb*, who had order'd the *Omrabs*, of whom *Akbar* had desir'd to borrow some thousand *Roupies*, to make him a present of them, and to endeavour by fair means to draw him into *India*; which *Akbar* understanding by means of his sister, he refus'd the present. *Aurenge Zeb* took many towns from *Savagi* for having assisted this prince; and continuing the war, had besieg'd him in his court of *Gingi*. The city is seated between seven mountains, each of which has a fort on the top, and can be reliev'd by ways unknown to the *Moguls*, so that they lay before them to no purpose with 30000 horse, and as many foot. I have not heard since I left the country, what was the event of the siege, which had then lasted seven years.

Aurenge Zeb's youngest son is *Sikandar*, now about thirty years of age, and infected like the rest, with the contagious distemper of ambition. Therefore the

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old man, tho' after subduing the kings of *Kijapor*, and *Golconda*, he had no enemies left, but *Savagi*, who is inconsiderable in regard of him; yet fearing, with much reason, the perverse inclination of his sons, he had continued in arms in the field for fifteen years; and particularly four years at *Galgala*, after defeating *Akbar*. He said his father *Scia-Geban* had not so much discretion; for he might have learnt by many years experience, that the kings

of *Indostan*, when they grow old, must keep at the head of powerful armies, to defend themselves against their sons. Yet I am of opinion, that notwithstanding all his precautions, he will come to no better an end than his predecessors. All I have hitherto said, concerning the intestine wars between the *Moguls*, was told me and affirm'd by several soldiers in the camp, who had been eye-witnesses, and some gather'd out of creditable authors.

GENEVE
1695.

CHAP. V.

Of the Government of the Great Mogul.

Four Secretaries
of State.

FOR the better management of publick affairs, and due administration of justice, the king keeps four secretaries of state, who are to acquaint him with all that happens in the empire, and to receive his orders. The first of them is call'd *Bagici*, and has the charge of warlike affairs, and looks that the soldiers be paid, punish'd, and rewarded, as also that the *Omrabs* keep their full complement of men. The second is call'd *Adelet*, who takes care that justice be administred, both in civil and criminal cases, giving the king an account what ministers behave themselves well, and what ill. The third they call *Divan*, and to him it belongs to divide the *Jagors* or fiefs among the *Omrabs*, *Subas*, and other commanders; and to see they do not oppress the inhabitants of the places committed to them with too heavy impositions. The fourth is known by the name of *Cansamon*; who is a treasurer-general, that causes all the revenues of the empire to be brought into the treasury, and every week, lays before the king what every province is worth, and what it yields, and what money remains in the king's coffers.

Distribution
of the
taxes.

There are particular days appointed for these secretaries to inform the king, because a private audience would not suffice for such multiplicity of business. *Monday* therefore is laid aside for the affairs of *Labor*, *Debli*, and *Agra*; *Tuesday* for *Cabul*; *Wednesday* for the king-

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doms of *Bengala* and *Patna*; *Thursday* for that of *Guzaratte*; *Saturday* for that of *Brampour*; and *Sunday* for *Decan*; no business being done on *Friday*, because it is the *Mahometan* festival.

Aurenge Zeb, notwithstanding his continual application to these private audiences with his ministers, yet never fail'd of the publick, except on *Fridays*, for the good of the subjects; and this sometimes he did in three several places, one called *Divanxas*, the other *Gofalxana*, and the third *Adelet*.

The *Great Mogul* is so absolute, that there being no written laws, his will in all things is a law, and the last decision of all causes, both civil and criminal. He makes a tyrannical use of this absolute power; for being lord of all the land, the princes themselves have no certain place of aboad, the king altering it at pleasure; and the same with the poor peasants who have sometimes the land they have cultivated taken from them, and that which is untill'd given them in lieu of it; besides that they are oblig'd every year to give the king three parts of the crop. He never admits any body into his presence, empty handed; and sometimes refuses admittance to draw a greater present. For this reason the *Omrabs* and *Nababs* appointed to govern the provinces, oppress the people in the most miserable manner imaginable.

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C H A P.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Revenues and Wealth of the Great Mogul.

GEMELLI
1695.
Mogul's
great re-
venue.

AN infinite quantity of *Roupies* are continually flowing into the Great Mogul's exchequer; for besides the usual taxes and excessive imposts, the subjects must pay for their land, which is all his. Besides when a general, or any other person who has receiv'd the king's pay, dies, all his goods fall to the king, without leaving the children so much as a maintenance; a custom *Aurence Zeb* condemn'd, when he spoke of his father, and yet all employments both civil and military, are sold. For this reason no family can continue long, great; but sometimes the son of an *Omrah* goes a begging. Add to all this, that tho' in so vast an empire, there be some barren lands, yet there are some kingdoms wonderful fruitful, as is that of *Bengala*, which exceeds *Egypt*, not only in plenty of rice, corn, sugar, and all other necessaries for the support of humane life; but in the richest commodities, as silk, cotton, indigo, and the like. Besides, the country is so populous, that the handicrafts, tho' naturally given to sloath, are forc'd, either by necessity or choice, to apply themselves to work on carpets, brocades, embroidery, cloth of gold and silver, and all sorts of manufactures in silk and cotton, generally worn there; besides those transported every year, by an infinite number of ships, not only into other parts of *Asia*, but into *Africa* and *Europe*.

Gold and
silver cen-
ters in this
empire.

That the reader may form some idea of the wealth of this empire, he is to observe, that all the gold and silver, which circulates throughout the world, at last centers here. It is well known that as much of it as comes out of *America*, after running through several kingdoms of *Europe*, goes partly into *Turky*, for several sorts of commodities; and part into *Persia*, by the way of *Smirna* for silk. Now the *Turks* not being able to abstain from coffee, which comes

from *Hyeman*, and *Arabia Felix*; nor *Persia*, *Arabia*, and the *Turks* themselves to go without the commodities of *India*, send vast quantities of money to *Mocha* on the *Red Sea*, near *Babel Mandel*; to *Bassora* at the bottom of the *Persian* gulph; and to *Bander Abassi* and *Comevon*, which is afterwards sent over in ships to *Indostan*. Besides the *Indian*, *Dutch*, *English*, and *Portuguese* ships that every year carry the commodities of *Indostan*, to *Pegu*, *Tanasserri*, *Siam*, *Ceylon*, *Acem*, *Macassar*, the *Maldiva* islands, *Mozambique* and other places, must of necessity convey much gold and silver thither, from those countries. All that the *Dutch* fetch from the mines in *Japan*, sooner or later, goes to *Indostan*; and the goods carry'd hence into *Europe*, whether to *France*, *England*, or *Portugal*, are all purchas'd for ready-money, which remains there.

I was told, that the *Mogul* receives from only his hereditary countries, eighty *Carores* of *Roupies* a year (every *Carore* is ten millions) they could give me no certain account what the conquer'd kingdoms yield.

There is an author, not well acquainted with this affair, who reduces this monarch's revenue to thirty three millions. Another on the other side makes it infinite, and that alone which he says is kept in the treasury, seems fabulous. But they that will judge of it, by his expenses, must consider that the *Mogul* has dispers'd throughout his empire 300000 horse, and 400000 foot, who have all great pay. At court the daily expence is 50000 *Roupies*, to maintain the elephants, horses, dogs, hawks, tigers, and deer; as also some hundreds of black and white eunuchs to look to the royal palaces, musicians, and dancers. I am therefore of opinion, that next to the emperor of *China*, no monarch in the world is equal to the Great *Mogul* in strength and riches.

CHAP.

Weapons
us'd by the
Mogul.

Arms de-
fensive.

Soldiers
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paid.

Degrees
of Obe-
dience.

Their
number,
and duty.

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CHAP. VII.

Of the Weapons, and Forces of the Great Mogul.

Weapons
us'd by the
Mogul.

THE arms offensive of the *Moguls* are broad heavy swords, bow'd like scimitars; and those made in the country, being apt to break, the *English* furnish them with such as are made in *Europe*, ill-shap'd daggers, which they always wear hanging to their girdle; bows and arrows, javelins, pistols, muskets; and pikes twelve foot long, for the foot; but most of the soldiers have bows and arrows. They have also cannon in their cities, and armies.

Arms de-
fensive.

Their arms defensive, are a round buckler two foot diameter, made of black hides of wild buffalos; with many nails with large heads to ward off arrows or swords; coats of mail, breast-plates, head-pieces, and covering for their arms down to their wrists.

Soldiers
how
paid.

As for the soldiers pay, the *Mogul* manages it after a different manner than all other princes in the world; for he pays them not himself, but gives the *Omrabs Jaghirs*, that is, tenures of lands to maintain a certain number, as was said elsewhere, and this even to the princes of the blood.

Degrees
of Om-
rabs.

The *Omrabs* are divided into *Hazaris*, *Cubzaris*, *Panges*, *Heebets*, *Deb-Hazaris*, and *Duazdebazaris*, of which last sort the king's eldest son was. Their pay is proportionable to the number of horse they keep; besides which, the king allows them a pension for their own use. But they always cheat the soldiers of part of their pay, and by that means grow vastly rich; especially if they happen to have a good *Jaghir*. Some are oblig'd to keep five hundred horse, and have about five thousand *Neapolitan* crowns revenue a month. 'Tis true they spend all they get in presents they are forc'd to make the king every year, upon certain festivals, every man according to his condition; and in keeping so many women, servants, camels, and horses of great value.

Their
number,
and duty.

The number of *Omrabs* throughout the empire is not settled, but they are generally under forty. They are prefer'd to the greatest governments, and chief posts at court, and in the army; and therefore are, as they themselves say, the pillars of the empire. They appear abroad with noble equipages; some on elephants, others a horseback, or on *Palancines*, attended by a considerable number of horse, and by the guards

of their palaces; as also by abundance of servants, some of whom go before to clear the way, others drive away the flies, or keep off the dust with peacocks tails, others carry water to drink, and other things. All that reside at court, are oblig'd to go twice a day to pay their respects to the king; that is, at ten in the morning, and about sun set, in the place where he administers justice; or else they lose part of their pay. They are also to mount the guard once a week for twenty four hours; and that day the king sends them their meat, which they receive with much respect, doing the *Taslim* three times, that is, an obeisance after their manner towards the royal apartment, laying their right hand on the ground, and then on their head. They are also oblig'd to attend the king at all times, as was said above.

The *Manjebdars* are gentlemen, or horse, who have very honourable pay, and is call'd *Manjeb*, but less than the *Omrabs*. They are much respected in the camp, because they may easily rise to the degree of *Omrabs*, and own no superiour but the king. They differ from the others in this particular, that they are not oblig'd to maintain above four or five horse. As for their pay they have one hundred and fifty *Roupies* a month, and sometimes seven hundred, but instead of having them in ready money, they are forc'd to take the old furniture of the king's house, at excessive rates. There is no fix'd number of them, but they are more than the *Omrabs*; there being two, or three hundred of them very often at court, besides those in the provinces, and armies.

The third degree is of the *Rowzinders*, *Rowzindars*, who are also horse, but paid by the day, as their name imports. Their pay is not inferior to that of the *Manjebdars*, but the post is not so honourable. The number of them is very great, and many of them are clerks and under clerks.

The light horse are subject to the *Omrabs*, and those are counted the best, who have two horses branded with their *Omrab's* mark on the leg. Their pay is not fix'd, and depends on the generosity of the *Omrab*, but they stand the *Mogul* in at least twenty five *Roupies* a month, considering the revenues he assigns for their maintenance.

The

GEMELLI 1695.
The foot.
 The foot and musketers are in a miserable condition, some of them having twenty, some fifteen, and others ten *Roupies* a month. They carry their rest ty'd to the musket, which they make but ill use of, for fear of burning their great beard. The artillery is divided into two sorts, the heavy cannon, and the light, as they call it. The heavy consists of between sixty and seventy guns, without reckoning three hundred field-pieces, fix'd on camels, as pederons are on our backs. The other, fifty or sixty small bras guns, which are the 2d sort, are on carriages, with little red banners, each drawn by two horses; a third being led by, to rest sometimes the one, and sometimes the other. Tho' the heavy cannon cannot always follow the king, who sometimes goes out of the road, to hunt, or take some other diversion, the light always does; and when he is near the place appointed to incamp, it is hir'd, that the army may know he is arriv'd. All this artillery, especially the heavy, is under the direction of *Franks*, or christian gunners, who have extraordinary pay; especially the *Portuguese*, *English*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, and *French*, who go from *Goa*, or run away from aboard ships. Some of them formerly had two hundred *Roupies* a month; but now the *Moguls* have learnt somewhat of the art they have less. There is a general of the artillery whose pay is a million a year, out of which he is to keep two hundred men.

Rajapuri. Besides the *Mogul* soldiers, there are the strangers, hir'd of the *Rajas*, who serve the *Mogul* for very great pay, bringing with them a certain number of *Rajapurs*, and doing the same duty as the *Omrabs* do; but with this difference, that they will not keep guard in forts, but in their own tents, that they may not be

shut up twenty four hours. The *Mogul* keeps them in his pay, as also the *Patens*, because they are men of courage; and there are *Rajas* that can raise twenty thousand horse upon occasion; as also to sow discord and jealousies among them, by favouring one more than another, and by that means be the safer from their contrivances, and from the others who are not in his pay.

The soldiers of the country differ neither in offices nor discipline from that already mention'd, but that they never follow the king; but every kingdom keeps its own to be the frontiers against strangers, as the *Persians*, *Ogans*, *Balucis* and others.

All soldiers whatsoever receive their pay duly every two months from the king's treasurer, except those that are paid by the *Omrabs*, as was said before. Nor is there any danger their pay should be kept from them; for all people here, living either by their industry, or by serving the king (for want of private revenues) if they were not well paid, they must either starve, or mutiny. And to say the truth, the greatest wonder in that country is to see so many thousands live on the king's pay. It is not so in *Europe*, for sometimes soldiers have something of their own; or when they want pay, live upon others.

The number of troops they said the *Mogul* kept when I was there amounted to 300000 horse and 400000 foot. Part of these were in the camp at *Galgala*; 60000 horse and foot at the siege of *Gingi*. The third camp was of 7000 horse and 10000 foot; the fourth of 12000 horse, commanded at *Pernala* by *Azam-Scia's* son the king's grandson, and the rest were distributed about the frontiers and in garrisons.

C H A P. VIII.

The Manners, Habit, Marriages, and Funerals of the Moguls.

The Mogul's birth-day.
 There are two principal festivals kept in the court of the *Great Mogul*, the one call'd *Barfagant*, the other *Tol*. The first is on the king's birth-day, or those of the princes of the blood, because *Bars* in the country language signifies year, and *Gant* a knot, and those people every year make a knot in a cord, they either wear about them or keep at home, to know their age. This solemnity is kept with great pomp, all the great ones coming to with the king many happy years with presents of money and jewels. *Sciab geban* was

mightily pleas'd they should present him with gold vessels set with jewels, to hold sweet waters, which he plac'd in the chamber that serv'd for his leud practices. It was set out with looking glasses adorn'd with precious stones, and all the roof sparkling with diamonds. That day the *Mogul* sits on the famous throne begun by *Tamerlane* and finish'd by *Sciab-geban*. It is all over set with diamonds, emeralds, rubies, pearls and sapphires; especially the pearls on the twelve little pillars, which close the three sides, are beyond all that can be imagin'd.

gin'd. Then the roof of it and all other parts is so orderly enrich'd with jewels of inestimable value, all found within the empire, that some make the value of it to rise to fifty millions, but in reality it is not to be valu'd.

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The second festival is that of *Tol*, which in that language signifies weight. Some suppose it to be so call'd because the king weighs himself in a pair of scales, to see whether he is grown fatter; but having ask'd the question in the camp of several credible persons, and particularly of christians born at *Agra* and *Dehli*, who had serv'd there many years, they told me it was a meer romance; for not only *Aurence Zeb*, but none of his predecessors ever weigh'd themselves. 'Tis true this festival is kept in the king's house; but they weigh money, jewels, and other things of value presented by the great men and favourites, which are afterwards distributed among the poor with great solemnity. It is done some days after the *Barfagant*, either sooner, or later, as the king thinks fit.

Descripti-
on of the
Festivals.

The *Indians* are well shap'd, it being rare to find any of them crooked, and for stature like the *Europeans*. They have black hair, but not curl'd, and their skin is of an olive-colour; and they do not love white, saying it is the colour of leprosie. They wash often, anointing themselves after it with rich oils and ointments. They live in low houses, with trees about them, so that their cities at a distance look like woods. There are no inns for travellers among them as was said at first; but in the cities and great towns they have some places call'd *Sarays*, where strangers may have houseroom. They use carts to travel in (which are shut when there are women in them) drawn by oxen, and asses when the journey is short. The great men, and those that are well to pass are carry'd upon elephants, or in *Palanquines*. There is none of them but endeavours the best he can to go to *Mecca*, to become a *Hagi* or saint. They delight very much in hunting, and make use of dogs and tame leopards. They take water-fowl after this manner. They go into the water up to the chin, covering their faces with birds of the same sort they would take, artificially made; then the bird coming near his likeness they draw him down by the legs and stifle him. The *Chinese* and *Mexicans* do the same, as shall be said in its place. Being excellent archers they shoot birds flying, with arrows.

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The *Mahometans* of *Indostan*, tho' barbarous in other respects, are not so deceitful, so proud, or such enemies to christians, as the *Turks*; and a christian may therefore keep them company with safety. The *Pagans* are still more just to travellers. As for courage, neither *Mahometans* nor *Gentiles* have much of it. The best of them are the *Baluccis* borderers on *Persia*, the *Patans* of the kingdom of *Bengala*, and the *Rasbootis* very great thieves.

The languages spoken at court are the *Arabian* and the *Persian*. As for sciences they can make no progress in them for want of books; for they have none but some small manuscript works of *Aristotle* and *Avicenna* in *Arabick*. They hold astrology in great account, inasmuch that the king undertakes nothing without the advice of his astrologers. In physick they have but small skill, and cure several diseases by fasting. They also delight in musick, for which they have several sorts of Instruments.

They spend all they have in luxury, keeping a vast number of servants, but above all of concubines. These being many, every one of them strives to be lov'd above the rest, using all manner of allurements, perfumes and sweet ointments. Sometimes, to heighten their masters lusts, they give him compositions of pearl, gold, opium and amber; or else much wine, that he may require company in bed. Then some drive away the flies, others rub his hands and feet, others dance, others play on musick, and others do other things; and hence it is that for the most part they take the lawful wives place; who sitting near her husband modestly, winks at this affront, till she has an opportunity to revenge herself. These women are committed to the custody of eunuchs, but it is delivering up the sheep to the wolves; so lascivious are the women: And yet they are excusable, because the husbands, tho' they be peasants, lie apart from their wives, and only call them when they have occasion.

The great men have noble structures, with several courts, and the tops of the houses flat, to take the air, and fountains with carpets about them to sit and receive visits from their friends. Inferiors salute laying their hand on their head, but equals only bow their body. In their discourse they are modest and civil; not using so many actions with their hands, nor talking so loud as some *Europeans* do. The table is spread on the ground without napkins or table-

Upp cloth;

GEMELLI
1695.
Their dis-
position.

Language
and learn-
ing.

GEMELLI cloth; nor do they drink till they have done eating. Their greatest delight is to chew *Belle* all day.

Habit.

The vests both of men and women are narrow towards the waist, and hang down half way the leg; under them they wear long breeches down to their ankles, so that they serve for stockings. The foot remains bare, with a sort of flat shoes, like our slippers; which are easily slipped off when they go into rooms, to keep them clean, they being cover'd with carpets. They wrap a very fine piece of muslin or calico about their head, and never uncover it to do reverence to superiors, but bow their body, putting their right hand on the ground and then on the head, as if they said they submitted themselves to be trampled on by them. They generally wear the vest and turban of cotton, but the sash is of silk and gold.

Women.

The *Mabometan* women do not appear in publick, except only the vulgar sort, and the leud ones. They cover their heads, but the hair hangs down behind in several tresses. Many of them bore their noses to wear a gold ring set with stones.

Marriages.

The *Mabometan* Indians marry very young, but the idolaters at all ages. These last may not have several wives at once like the *Mabometans*; but when the first is dead may take another, provided she be a maid, and of the same race, or tribe. The ceremony is thus, If they be persons of quality they make the cavalcade at night with lights, abundance of people go before making a displeasing concert with several instruments, as pipes, kettle-drums, drums as long as a barrel, and copper-plates, which they beat. Then follow abundance of children a horseback, next to whom comes the bridegroom, well clad and mounted, with several *Banians* about him, with their vests and *Civas* dy'd in *Zafran*, and other persons carrying umbrellas, and banners; and having taken a round about the city goes to the bride's house. Here a *Brachman* having said some prayers over them both, puts a cloth between the husband and wife, and orders the husband with his bare foot to touch the wives, and then the wife the husbands, which done the marriage is concluded. When the woman is carry'd home, the goods go before, being for the most part stuffs of several colours, and a cradle for the child that is to be got; all this with the noise of several instruments. Rich people make a hut before their houses, cover'd both inside and outside with stuffs and carpets, to entertain their guests un-

der shelter. Sometimes they treat them for eight days together.

All the women are fruitful, which is caus'd by the air and provisions, and are to easily deliver'd, that some of them go wash in the river the same day. They bring up their children naked till seven years of age, nor do they take much care to teach them to go, but let them tumble about the ground as much as they will, as soon as they are born.

In *Malabar* the women (even those that are of quality and kings sisters) have the liberty to choose a man to lye with them. When a *Naire* or *Gentile* is in a ladies chamber, he leaves his staff or his sword at the door, that others who would go in may see the place is taken up; and no man has the boldness to disturb him. Thus there being no possibility of knowing who is the father of the child that is born into the world, the succession is order'd after another manner; that is, when one dies his sister's children inherit, because there can be no doubt made of the kindred.

When a man or woman has committed such a crime as to be expell'd their tribe; as if a woman had lain with a *Mabometan*, the mult live for a certain time only upon corn found in the cows dung, if she will be receiv'd again.

As to the manner of burying, the most usual is to wash the body first in a river, or pool; then burn it in a neighbouring *Pagod*, and throw the ashes into the same water. In some places they leave them by the river side. The manner of carrying them is also different, according to the fashions of each country. In some the body well clad, and sitting, is carry'd with drums beating, and a long train of kindred and friends; and after being wash'd, is encompass'd with wood. The wife who has been that while near the body singing, and expressing a desire to die, is afterwards bound by a *Brachman* near the dead body and burnt with it; the friends pouring oil on them that they might consume the faster.

In other places the bodies are carry'd cover'd on a bier to the river side; and after they have been wash'd they are put into a hut full of sweet wood, if the dead person has left money to defray the charge; then the woman that is to be burnt, takes leave of her kindred and friends, showing a contempt of death, and sits down in the hut, bearing up her husband on her knees. Then recommending herself to the prayers of the *Brachmans*, desires them to set fire speedily. A barbarous inhumanity! And yet

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yet they make a scruple of killing flies and pismires.

In other places they fill wide deep trenches with combustible matter, where laying the husband's body, the *Brachmans* cast in the woman, after they have sung and danc'd. Sometimes there are maiden slaves, that throw themselves in after their master to show the love they bear him, then the ashes are cast into the river.

There are other places where they bury the husband's bodies with the legs across; they put the woman into the same grave, and when they have cover'd them up to the neck, the *Brachmans* come and strangle her. Those wretched women that refuse to be burnt, are to shave their heads, and remain widows all their lives; are despis'd by their family and tribe, because they have fear'd death, and can never recover their reputation, whatsoever good actions they do, unless some young woman of singular beauty should happen to get a second husband. Yet there are some that transgress the laws of widowhood; and because their kindred expel them, they have recourse to the *Mahometans* or christians, forsaking their own religion. In short, the

Gentiles make the widows honour consist in being burnt with the bodies of their husbands, and if they be ask'd the reason, they can alledge none but antient custom.

Since the *Mahometans* are become sovereigns of *India*, they do not easily consent to this inhumanity, which the *Brachmans* would have held up for their own interest; for as was said above, they who alone may touch the ashes, carry off all the gold and silver the wretched woman had about her. The *Great Mogul* and other princes have commanded the governors of their towns to hinder the practice of this abuse, but they do not so strictly observe it, provided they have considerable presents made them, and thus the difficulty they find in getting the leave, saves many women the dishonour.

The mourning us'd by the *Gentiles* is Mourn- shaving their beard and head, when any kindred within the third degree die. The women break their glass and ivory bracelets they wear on their arms, as they also do at their king's death. Having before spoke of the *Mahometan* ceremonies it is needless to repeat it in this place.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Climate, Fruit, Flowers, Minerals, Beasts and Coin, of Indostan.

HENTS and seasons. *Generally* throughout all *Indostan* the heat is excessive, except near the mountains. We *Europeans* fare ill there because of the seasons differing from ours; because their winter begins in *June* and ends in *September*; tho' there falls less rain at *Goa*. Before, and after winter, there are dreadful storms and hurricanes, three months from the north and three from the south, so that there is no sailing about *India* but six months in the year.

Clear air. Between *Suratte* and *Agra* the metropolis of the *Mogul's* dominions, it only rains at one certain time of the year, that is, during those three months the sun is about the tropick of *Cancer*; the other nine months the sky is so clear, that there is scarce a cloud to be seen above the *Horizon*.

Product. Having spoke of the fruit when I was at *Goa*, there is no need of adding any more. *Indostan* abounds in rice, excellent wheat, and all sorts of grain, vast flocks and herds of cattle, butter and cheese. There being no grapes, the wine is brought out of *Arabia* and *Persia*; or is made in the country of *Rajfins*, which being also brought from

abroad, they steep and boil in water. The common drink of the country is distill'd *Sura*, but not very wholsome.

The flowers are very fragrant, and much better colour'd than any in *Europe*, and herbs. There are many simples, which they carry into *Europe* for physickal uses, which I do not describe, because I will not treat of what others have given an account of.

As for metals the *Mogul's* country affords none but copper, iron, and lead, but the want of others is abundantly made amends for by the rich mines of diamonds and other precious stones. The Diamond is that in the kingdom of *Golconda*, seven days journey east of *Agra*, which the natives call *Gani*, and the *Persians* *Cular*. It is in a plain five miles in compass, between a village and some mountains, which produce nothing at all. They say it was discover'd one hundred and forty years since, after this manner. A peasant sowing in that plain, found such a rich diamond, that tho' he did not understand those things, yet he would carry it to a merchant of *Golconda* who delighted in them. The news was immediately spread about the city, and every one

GISELLI
1695.

Gambeli
1695. one that had money digging in that place, there were stones found from twelve to forty carats; and particularly that great diamond of some hundred carats, which *Emir Gemla*, the king of *Golconda's* general gave *Aurange Zeb* when he came into his service. Afterwards the king took the mine to himself, and now the merchants buy it of him by spans.

How the
diamonds
are found.

The manner of digging the stones is this. First they enclose a spot of ground much bigger than that they buy to dig, with a little wall two spans high; then they dig the ground mark'd out by the king's officers twelve or fourteen spans down to the water, below which there is no hopes of any diamonds, and carry the earth into the aforesaid enclosure in great baskets. When it is all together they fill the place full of water, and leave it so till it is all mud. Then they add more water, and opening the holes, which are at every step in the wall, the mud runs out, and the gravel remains; which is again cover'd with water, if it be not clean. When dry they put it into baskets for the sand to drop through, and then putting it into the same place they beat it with long staves. Then they take it up again and sifting it, they spread it and pick out the diamonds in the presence of the buyer, and of the officers, who take those that are above a certain weight for the king.

Diamonds
in Borneo.

There are diamond-mines at a place call'd *Raolconda*, in the province of *Carnafica*, in the kingdom of *Vijapour*, but they do not work at them. The king of *Succadan* in the island of *Borneo* has some better, but there are few of them, and they are found in the sand of the river *Succadan*.

Other
diamonds.

Besides the birds and beasts *Europe* affords, *India* has others peculiar to it; as for instance the *Gazellers*, of which we have spoke in the two precedent volumes; they have horns a span and a half long, and twisted or spiral. To take them they make use of the tame leopard, or of the male *Gazelle*, thus. They tie him with a rope wound about under his belly; and when they see a flock of *Gazelles* let him go among them. The male that is in the flock, being jealous, comes out to attack him, and his horns being spiral or winding does so intangle himself, that not being able to retire when he would, the hunters have time to take him.

Other
beasts.

There are also wild cows and other wild beasts we spoke of when we gave

an account of the game at *Damam*, camels, dromedaries, rhinocero's, as tall as a large ox, and elephants. There are several ways of taking these; sometimes they dig trenches and cover them, into which when they fall they cannot get out. In other places they carry a female into the woods, just at the time when she is in her lust; at her cries the wild male comes, and couples with her contrary to other beasts, belly to belly, in the narrow place where she was leit. When the male would be gone, he finds the way stopp'd up, and the hunters at a distance, throw over him great and small ropes; so that his trunk and legs being secur'd, they can come near without danger. However they lead him away between two tame elephants, and beat him if he makes a noise. Afterwards he grows tame among the rest of his kind; and then he that has them in charge, teaches him to salute friends with his trunk, to threaten, or strike whom he pleases, and to kill a man condemn'd to that sort of death, with an iron fix'd at the end of a pole, and then the manager fits upon his neck. It is of it self a very tractable creature, when it is not enrag'd or in lust; for then he that rules it is in danger. They quiet him with artificial fire-works, or directing him into a river, where, tho' so large, he swims extraordinary well. The she-elephants carry their young twelve months; they live one hundred years; and carry about three thousand two hundred pounds weight *Spanish*. Those of *Ceylon* tho' smaller, are the most valu'd of any in *India*, because they have more courage, and as the *Indians* imagine, are respected by the others. But those of *Golconda*, *Cochinchina*, *Siam*, and the island *Sumatra* are stronger, and more surefooted on the mountains. It is dear keeping of them; for besides the flesh, they eat paste made of meal with sugar-canes, and other things, they give them *Aquavite* to drink.

There are also stags, lions, tygers, and leopards, which they hunt with good dogs, and several creatures not to be found in *Europe*, of which mention was made among the game of *Damam*.

I must not omit here to give an account of the musk wild-goat found in the country of *Azmer*. Its snout is like a goat, the hair like a stag, and its teeth like a dog. Under the belly it has a little bladder, as big as an egg, full of a thick congeal'd blood, which being cut off, is ty'd up in skin, that the scent may not evaporate. After which the

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Foul.

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Coin.

The
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Vol.

the beast lives but a short time. They are also taken on the cold mountains of the kingdom of *Butan*, in the latitude of 56 and 60 degrees, but the greatest quantity and the best comes out of the country of the *Tartars* bordering on *China*, where they make a great trade of it. The scent is so strong, that having bought a little at *Peking*, it was smelt at a great distance, as if my portmanteau had been full of it, which caus'd some dispute with the customers. They so adulterate it, mixing it with other blood, that when it comes into *Europe*, it is not a quarter musk.

Foul.

As for foul, there are all in *India* that *Europe* affords, and many peculiar to the country. In the woods there are abundance of peacocks, several sorts of parrots and green pigeons. There are most beautiful birds, to be kept in cages, both sightly for their feathers, and pleasant for singing sweetly. I saw some half as big as wheat-ears, all spotted like a tyger. Besides the wild hens, there is a sort of tame ones, whose skin and bones are very black, but they are well tasted.

Coin.

The money coin'd in *Indostan* is, *Roupies*, half *Roupies*, and quarter *Roupies* of silver; as also *Roupies* of gold, worth

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thirteen silver *Roupies* and a quarter, ^{GRANELLI} or six pieces of eight, ^{1695.} *Spanish* money, half *Roupies*, and quarters. On both sorts there are *Persian* characters with the name of the city where it is coin'd, and the king's name on the reverse. There are also copper pieces, call'd *Pesies*, fifty four whereof make a *Roupie* of silver. The *Rajas*, or pagan petty kings, in their dominions coin gold pieces call'd *Pagods*, because they have a little *Pagod* stamp'd on them, and these are worth a zecchine of *Venice*. Both the gold and silver, are much finer than the gold of the *Spanish* pistoles, and silver of their pieces of eight. Foreign coin is also current in the *Mogul's* country; as zecchines, by which there is much got, pieces of eight, *Abassis* of *Persia*, and other sorts; but more particularly in the ports, and places of trade.

They reckon by *Leckes*, each worth one hundred thousand *Roupies*; *Crous* or *Crorores*, which are one hundred *Leckes*; and *Arbs*, that are ten *Crous*. The *Batman*, and *Min*, are weights of fifty five pounds. Another smaller weight is call'd *Goer* or *Keer*, but they sometimes change according to the prince's will.

A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part III.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
INDOSTAN.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the several Religions in Indostan.

GEMELLI
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THis vast empire, besides the natives, is inhabited by *Persians, Tartars, Abyssinians, Armenians, Jews, Christians, Mahometans*, and others; but the most universal religions are the *Mahometan*, and the *Pagan*; for the first is profess'd by the *Mogul*, and the other by the ancient lords and people of the country. Having discours'd fully of the *Mahometan* in the first volume, and these emperors being of the *Turkish* sect, it only remains to give a short account in this chapter of the *Pagan*. All the *Gentiles* in *India* hold the transmigration of souls, like the *Pythagoreans*, by which means, in their opinion, the souls after death receive the reward or punishment of their good or evil actions, being put into good or bad creatures. And therefore they pay singular honour to the cow, by the advice of *Ramak* their legislator, as being creatures that, besides the good they do to men, shall receive the souls of good men. By reason of this same opinion, they take special care of all other creatures; not only forbearing to eat them, but using all means to prevent others killing them; and as was said before, in some cities they have hospitals, where they are at a vast expence in looking after sick creatures.

Tho' they all profess one religion, yet they are divided into eighty four sects, or tribes; each of which has its particular rites and ceremonies; and some peculiar profession or trade, which their children never leave, without they would be for ever reputed infamous; as I was told by a *Brachman*, I sent for on purpose to be inform'd in what relates to them.

The first and principal tribe is that of the *Brachmans*, who are professors of learning, and priests of their religion,

which is divided into ten several sects. The first five feed on herbs, and grain, without ever eating any thing that has life; and are call'd, the first *Maratas*, the second *Telanga*, the third *Canara*, the fourth *Drovaras*, and the fifth *Guzaratti*; the four first eat in one another's houses, but not in those of the *Guzarattes*. The other five sects eat of all living creatures, except fish; and are call'd *Gauri*, *Canogia*, *Triatori*, which are the *Brachmans* of *Goa*, *Gagavali*, and *Pongaput*, none of which eat in the house of another.

In these ten sects, or orders of *Brachmans*, no man may marry out of his own tribe. In the cross line, in which only they may take wives, the prohibition reaches to the seventh degree of consanguinity, or affinity; but the daughter of a brother may marry the son of a sister, that is, her cousin; yet not the contrary, that is, the son of the brother with the daughter of the sister, that the same blood may not come into the family. The *Guzarattis* are not subject to this law.

All these ten tribes of *Brachmans* converse with one another; but if one comes that is not wash'd, he may not touch any body, lest he defile them; it being a precept among them to wash their body morning, noon and night. Their widows do not marry again, and if they will burn themselves with their husbands body, they gain much reputation; such as will not, are look'd upon as cowardly, and infamous.

The second tribe is that of the *Rajapours*, or princes descended from warlike men. These only eat in the house of their own tribe, or in those of the *Brachmans*, in which all the others

may

Transmigration of souls.

Eighty four tribes.

Brachmans the first tribe.

Ten sects of them.

Baniars the third tribe.

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may eat, each according to its quality. The wives of *Rajapours* cannot avoid being burn'd with their husbands, if they have no male issue; and if they refuse, are carry'd by force. Tho' other tribes are allow'd but one wife; the *Rajapours*, as being free princes may have as many as they please. Some of these *Rajapours* border on the lands of *Goa*, for besides *Savagi*, there is *Chiotia*, near *Damam*; and *Grafia*, not far from *Suratte*, both robbers, living among mountains, like beasts. The king of *Portugal* allows *Chiotia* thirty thousand *Mamudis*, which make five thousand five hundred ducats of *Naples*, and the *Mogul* gives the other a like sum out of the neighbourhood of *Suratte*, that they may not rob, but defend travellers against thieves. The king *Penti*, near *Bazaim*, might more properly be call'd king of the woods, he living in them, like an out-law. There is some difference of sects among the *Rajapours*; but they all agree in eating fish, except beef, and tame swine.

The third tribe of *Banians* is divided into twenty sects, none of which marries into the other. They eat nothing that has life, but only herbs and pulse. Almost all these are merchants; and being bred up to it from their infancy, they are much greater cheats than the *Armenians* and *Jews*.

There are two tribes of *Paravous*, the one call'd *Paicara*, the other— [Here the Author wants the Name of the Second] These eat all sorts of flesh, but beef; one of them neither eats with, nor marries into the other; and their wives when the husband dies may marry again.

There are also two tribes of *Sutars*, or timber-men; the one call'd *Concanas*, the other *Guzarattis*. The first eat all sorts of flesh, except beef; the others only fish. They do not marry out of their own tribe, nor do they eat with one another, and the widows marry.

The *Canfars*, or brafiers, are also divided into *Concanas*, and *Guzarattis*, differing even in their trade in some measure, and eat all flesh, except beef. But they do not intermix in marriages, or eat together, and the widows marry again.

The *Gaulis*, who sell milk, and are herdsmen, are another tribe, that eats every thing but beef, and tame swines flesh. Their widows marry again.

The *Malis*, or sellers of flowers, are another tribe, that eat all things with the same exception as the last, and their widows marry again without any dishonour.

The *Sonars*, or goldsmiths, are divided into *Concanas*, and *Guzarattis*, and observe the same as the brafiers.

There is another tribe of *Valuoris*, or gardeners, who eat all flesh, but beef and pork. They neither eat with, nor marry into another tribe; their widows marry again.

The *Columbines*, or peasants make up another tribe. They eat flesh with the same exception, and are divided into *Chodris*, *Matares*, *Pateis*, *Routas*, *Naicbis*, *Morias*, *Gorels*, who go a horseback when they are to be marry'd, and *Doblas*, great wizards, inhabiting the woods, where they eat rats, lizards, snakes, moles, and all sorts of vermin, tho' never so stinking. Their women go naked, only covering their privities with a leaf. These, and other tribes of labouring people do not intermix in marriages, but may eat together, and the women marry again.

The *Batala's* are also country people, who wear a line like the *Brachmans*, being one made up of three, which seems to signify the unity of God in three persons. They eat nothing that has life, but herbs; nor do they marry into other tribes. The widows do not marry again.

The *Bandarines*, who prune the palm, or cocoa-trees, and draw the *Sura* from it, are divided into *Rautis*, *Chodris*, *Sbiadas*, *Kitas*, *Cbaradas*, and other sorts which do not marry into one another; but eat together, and of all sorts of flesh, except beef, and tame swine. The widows marry again.

The *Doblis*, or walwers of linnen, are divided into *Concana's*, and *Guzarattis*. They eat together, but marry each in their own tribe, and eat any flesh but beef and pork. The widows marry again.

The fisher-men are divided into many races, or tribes, call'd *Coles*, *Mavis*, *Purubias*, *Vaitis*, and *Birmassis*. They eat in one another's houses, of all flesh with the usual exception, and the widows marry again.

The *Sotrias* make two distinct tribes, the one call'd *Salunkis*, the other *Coles*. They neither eat nor marry together. They eat flesh like the rest, and their widows marry again. When the elder brother dies, the younger takes his wife; but if the younger dies, the elder does not so.

Those that carry salt, are call'd *Chabaranas*, and make several tribes. They take wives out of any of them, eat flesh as above, and their widows have the liberty to marry again.

The *Bangafalis*, or salt merchants eat all living creatures except beef, twines-flesh, crabs, lobsters, crevisses, and all shell-fish. They do not marry

out

sects. Ten sects of them.

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Malis.

Sonars.

GEMELLI
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Valuoris.

Colum-
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Doblis.

Fishers.

Sotrias.

Chabaranas.

Bangafis.

GEMELLI out of their tribes, but the widows may
1695. have second husbands.

Gantias. The tribe of *Gantias*, who are all traders; eat nothing but fish. Neither marry into, nor eat with another tribe; so that for want of another, a poor man sometimes gets a wife with fifty thousand crowns.

Babrias. In *Suratte* there are *Babrias*, *Catis*, and *Rajapours*, who eat only fish, and wild-flesh. They eat together, but do not marry out of their tribes. Their wives do not marry again, but burn themselves, if they will.

Farajis. The *Farajis*, make sandals like those of the *Recolets*. Eat any sort of flesh, tho' rotten, eat together, and intermix in marriages, without any prohibition; but their tribe being reputed very vile, they are not allow'd to enter the houses of other *Gentiles*, or touch them; and must keep at a great distance.

In the country of the *Naines* of cape *Comori*, they are call'd *Polias*, and as they go along the streets, if they will not venture to be beaten, must cry *Po, Po*, that the other *Gentiles* may take care their very shadow does not touch them, which would defile them, and they would be forc'd to wash.

This custom makes the *Jesuits* that are missionaries there lead a very uneasy life; for being oblig'd to imitate the ways of that tribe, the better to ingratiate themselves with those barbarians, they are forc'd to wash themselves as many times a day as the others do; to feed upon raw herbs; and when two fathers meet in the street, one acting the *Naines*, and the other the *Polias*, they keep at a distance from one another, that they may not be suspected. There is no doubt they convert very many; but abundance of them not being us'd to that hardship, fall into dangerous distempers.

Of all the tribes here mention'd, only the *Brachmans* and *Banians* are so precise about killing of all creatures; that even those that are venomous may bite them without receiving any harm from them; but the others in this case kill them.

Ram a deity.

These *Gentiles* are so blinded with profound superstition, that they do not think it inconsistent to make their gods be born of men, and assign them women; believing they love the same

The *Jogis* are people of all tribes, *Jogis*, who have impos'd on themselves a most painful sort of penitent life. Besides being continually naked, some of them hold up their arms in the air, without ever letting them down; others hold them behind, till in time they cannot move them. Some hang themselves up with ropes; others close their mouths with padlocks, so that they must be fed with liquids; others run an iron-rod through their prepuce, and hang a little bell to it; which, when the silly barren women hear, they run to see, and touch him, hoping by that means to become fruitful.

The *Gentiles* pay so great a respect to these penitents, that they think themselves happy, who can prostitute daughters, sisters, or kind-women to their lewdness, which they believe lawful in them; and for this reason there are so many thousands of vagabond *Fakirs* throughout *India*. When the *Fakirs* meet with *Beragbis* (which is another sort of penitents, differently habited, with their hair and beard shav'd) they fight desperately. They never marry, and eat in the houses of all sects, except the *Polias*. They go into the kitchen, and take what they will, tho' the master be not at home. They come together like swine by beat of a tabor, or at the blowing of a horn, and march in companies with banners, lances, and other weapons, which, when they rest, they lay down by their master. They boast they are descended from *Revanche-Ram*, who wandered about the world poor and naked; and these vagabonds for imitating him, are look'd upon as saints, and live a loose life, with the privilege of committing any crime their brutality suggests.

Now considering so great a number of sects, and such variety of manners, which makes it impracticable for them to be unanimous in government, it is not to be thought strange that so small a number of *Mahometans* should subdue such a multitude of *Gentiles*; since divisions and discord have ever been the most efficient causes in the world to overthrow the greatest monarchies.

CHAP. II.

Of the Opinions and Superstitions of the Idolaters.

These men delight in. They esteem *Ram* a mighty deity, on account of the wonders he wrought whilst living, by means of a monkey, which crossing the sea at one leap, burnt *Rbevan's* palace, and

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and leap'd back again, to which pur-
pose they tell a long and tedious fable.
Among the goddesses they count *Ma-
lachi*, who they say never refus'd any
body that ask'd it, the use of her body;
as if she had perform'd some extraordi-
nary pittance; and so a man call'd *Cun-
funs*, because whilst he liv'd he enjoy'd
sixteen thousand women.

Some of them believe there are *Eli-
sian* fields, and that in order to come
thither, a river is to be pass'd, like the
Styx of the antients, where they are
to receive new bodies. Others are of
opinion the world will end very soon,
after which they shall live again, and
go into a new country. They all believe
there is but one God, who has a thou-
sand arms, and a thousand eyes, and as
many feet; not knowing any better way
how to explain the thoughts of his om-
nipotency. They say they have four books
sent them by God, above six thousand
years since, through the hands of their
prophet *Ram*; two of which books are
shut, and two open; but that they can
only be read by those of their religion.
Besides, that there are seven heavens, in
the highest of which God sits; and that
he does not take notice of the particu-
lar actions of men, because they are
not worthy to be the object of his di-
vine thoughts. They also say there is
a place where he may be seen, as it were
through a far distant cloud. As for evil
spirits they believe they are so chain'd up,
that they can do them no harm.

They talk of a man call'd *Adam*, who
was the first and common father, and
they say that his wife, having yielded to
the temptation of eating of the forbid-
den fruit, made her husband eat too;
but that as the mouthful he took was
going down, the hand of God stopp'd
its passing further, and thence comes the
knot men have in their throat, which
they therefore call *Adam's* apple.

The priesthood among them is here-
ditary, as it was formerly among the
Jews; for, as was said before, when a
Brachman marries, he must take the
daughter of another *Brachman*. They
are distinguishable from all other *Gen-
tiles*, by a string or rope made of three
threads of new cotton, which they wear
hanging about their neck, and wound
about the left arm. It is put upon boys
of nine, or ten years of age with great
solemnity, but never upon girls. This
string or line is to signify the unity of
God in three persons, which they call
Brama, *Vishu*, and *Mayessu*. They will
never eat a bit without they have it on;
and some of them have been known to

fast several days, because their rope
broke before they could get another
of the priests.

When any one is to be expell'd the
tribe of the *Brachmans*, *Banians*, or *Ban-
gasclines*, for some heinous crime, they
take away his line thus. All that are of
the tribe in that place meet before the
Boto, or priest, and accuse the criminal
of such a crime. He replies, and if his
defence be not good, the *Boto* takes away
his line, wipes off the *Tilla*, or colour on
his forehead. Then all the company falls
to chewing of *Betele*, eating of cocoa-
nuts, and smoking tobacco, without
giving the criminal any; only out of
pity they throw him down on the ground
a leaf of tobacco.

If he desires to be again admitted into
the tribe, he must go from house to
house, begging pardon and absolution
of those that voted, making them sen-
sible of his resignation, and soothing
the *Boto* with the present of a cow.
This done, he gives all the tribe a
treat, who receive him again, and the
priest gives him the line and *Tilla*.

All the sects of *Gentiles* on this side
Ganges, are very scrupulous as to eating
with christians, and *Mabometans*, or ma-
king use of the same utensils. But those
beyond *Malaca* make no difficulty of it.

They are so silly, or ignorant as to
conceive a woman may conceive by strength
of imagination; and that tho' they are
many thousand miles distant, and that
for several years, yet their wives ima-
gining they lie with them, may become
with child, and therefore when they hear
of their being brought to bed, they
make great rejoicing.

To this purpose, father *Galli*, prefect
of the *Theatins* of Goa, told me a plea-
sant story. *D. Francis de Tavora*, earl
of *Alvor*, arriving from Portugal, to be
vice-roy of India; news was brought
that his wife, whom he left big with
child, was deliver'd of a son. Among
the rest a *Pagan* merchant went to con-
gratulate him, and thinking to make the
vice-roy a great complement said, *I
wish your Excellency Joy, and hope you
will have News every year of the Birth of
a Son*. This would have put him in a
passion, had not some told him that the
idolaters held that preposterous opinion.
The women are happy, that can take
their liberty, and make their silly hus-
bands believe they conceiv'd by thinking
on them.

When an idolater is dying, his kin-
dred place a cow near the bed, and
shake her tail till the pisses; if it rea-
ches the dying man's face, it is look'd
upon

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1695.

Brachmans
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How re-
ceiv'd a-
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Gentiles
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others.

A foolish
opinion
of theirs.

A pleasant
passage.

Dying
men.

R r r upon

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Gentiles upon as a good token of his future state; otherwise, but particularly if the beast does not piss, the obsequies are perform'd in a very melancholy manner. Besides, they put the cow's tail into the dying man's hand, thinking his soul may go into her body. In short, they believe every man may be sav'd in his religion, and his sect, so he exactly observe God's commandments, and the light of reason; which judgment, tho' false, some divines would follow, were it not condemn'd by the church.

Trial of theft.

The trial upon suspicion of theft among them, is by making the party swim over a river that is full of crocodils, and if he gets over safe, he is reputed not guilty. The *Naires* call this the passage of crocodils.

Naires sorcerers.

These *Naires* are great wizards, nor do they ever expose themselves to any heats of arms, without first consulting the devil. To this purpose they let their hair fly, and draw some blood out of their forehead with a knife; then dancing to the musick of a drum, they call him aloud, and he comes to advise them whether they had best engage their enemy. But when the enemy repents he gave the challenge, and makes a sign to beg peace, they easily grant it.

Women in common.

Their women are in common. When any of them is with her, he leaves his sword and buckler at the door, that every body may know the place is taken up; and therefore there being no certainty whose the children are, they alter the

manner of inheritance, as was said before. But if the women are found to have to do with men of another sect, they become slaves to their queen of *Canara*. When a brother marries, his wife is common to the rest.

By a privilege granted them by their queen, they accompany travellers through those parts that are infested with robbers, and if they happen to presume to rob any man, they all meet, and pursue the felons till they utterly extirpate them. Thus one boy with a rod in his hand makes it safe travelling 't rough-out all *Canara*, tho' it be through woods, and over mountains; and a traveller for a small matter may have one from one village to another.

The superstition of all the *Gentiles* in *India*, makes them murderers of their own children; for it is their custom when the infant will not suck, to carry it into the field; and there they leave it from morning till night, in a cloath ty'd up on high by the four corners, that the crows may peck its eyes out, and this is the reason why there are so many blind in *Bengala*. Where there are monkeys, the danger is not so great, because they being enemies to the crows throw all their eggs down from the trees, and hinder their multiplying. At night the infant is carry'd home, and if he will not suck is expos'd a second, and third time in the field, and at last hated as if it were some snake, or adder, and cast into the river.

CHAP. III.

Of several Pagods of the Gentiles.

Variety of idols. IN all the temples or *Pagods* of these idolaters, which for the most part are round, there are figures of devils, serpents, monkeys, and several monsters hideous to behold. In the villages, where there are not carvers to cut them, they take a stone shap'd like a cylinder, or small pillar, colour'd black, and placing it on a column, adore it instead of an idol, offering to it sacrifice of *Betele*, *Arecca*, and other things; as I observ'd in travelling over dismal mountains, where the country people had made choice, some of a stone, others of a tree, and some of an herb for their idol.

First great place of pilgrimage.

The chief *Pagods*, to which they go in pilgrimage are four; *Giagane*, *Benarus*, *Matara* and *Tripeti*. That of *Giagane*, is upon one of the mouths of the river *Ganges*, where the great *Brach-*

man or high-priest resides. There they adore the great idol *Kesara*, adorn'd with many jewels. Its revenues maintain all that vast multitude of pilgrims that resort thither, on account of the conveniency of the river *Ganges*, walking in whose water they think cleanses them from sin more than any other.

The *Pagod* of *Benarus* is built on the bank of *Ganges*, in the city of the same name, and there is a stair-case from the door of it down to that river, to wash or drink. The vagabond *Fakirs* carry on their backs vessels full of this water stopp'd and seal'd by the great *Brachman*, to prevent all frauds, for several hundreds of miles, to be well paid for it by rich people and merchants: they present it to. At weddings they spend the value of five hundred crowns of it, or more, it being the custom to give

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Fourth pilgrimage.

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Ramanator Pagod.

a glass or two of it about after dinner; which they drink with as great a gusto, as we should do some rich muscadine, or hippocras. The idol is call'd *Bainmadu*, held in much honour by the *Gentiles*, that as soon as the *Pagod* is open'd, the *Brachmans* fall flat on their faces; and some with vast great fans go to drive the flies from about the idol. A *Brachman* marks the forehead of all the pilgrims with a yellow liquor. No women may go into it, but only those of one certain tribe. There is another *Pagod* near it call'd *Riscurdas*, from the name of the idol adorn'd there.

Third pil-
grimage. The *Pagod* of *Matura* is thirty five miles from *Agra*, on the road to *Debli*.

Within it is a place hemm'd in with marble bannisters, with the idol *Ram* in the middle, and two others by him; and both within and without abundance of monsters, some with four arms, and some with four legs; and others with a man's head, and a long tail. They carry this idol upon solemn festivals on a bier, to visit the other gods, or the river.

Fourth pil-
grimage. The fourth *Pagod*, is that of *Tripeti*, in the province of *Canatica*, on the coast of *Cormandel*, and cape *Comori*; it is remarkable for the many buildings and pools about it.

In the kingdom of *Bijnaga*, there is a *Pagod* with three hundred marble pillars in it. A *Portuguese* gentleman, who had liv'd forty years in *India*, and was an eye-witness to it, told me, they formerly laid out ten thousand *Roupies* there every year, in making a cart with eighteen wheels, on which, when the festival of the idol was kept, the *Brachmans* mounted with two hundred impudent women-dancers, skipping in honour of the idol. The cart was drawn by five hundred men, and some idolaters, believing that death the direct road to heaven, threw themselves under the wheels, and were crush'd to pieces. Besides, that when the king of *Golconda* possess'd himself of that country, under the conduct of the general *Emir Gemla*, he found in that temple an infinite number of gold vessels, and three diamonds of an inestimable value; one of which the said *Emir Gemla* presented to the *Great Mogul*; and that this general advancing into the country of the *Naiche* of *Tanjaur*, a *Gentile*, and taking the city of that name, thousands of women threw themselves into wells on account of religion.

He told me further, that near the island of *Ceylon*, there is another small island call'd *Ramanacor*, with a *Pagod* of

the same name; at the entrance where-
of is a trough of black stone, and in it a statue of metal, with the eyes made of rubies; and that the *Gentiles* break over it cocoa-nuts full of water; and lay figs there, to eat them afterwards, as if they were sanctify'd, and drink that water, as holy. Within the further part of this *Pagod*, is another which they open once a year; and there they adore a brazen idol call'd *Lingon*, which is a very leud figure, the parts of man and woman appearing join'd together. Some *Gentiles* wear it hanging about their necks, out of devotion, as the god of nature.

All the *Gentiles* are oblig'd to go once in their life, at least, in pilgrimage, to one of the four principal *Pagods*; but the rich go several times, carry the idols of their places of abode in procession, attended by hundreds of people, and *Brachmans*; who, with long fans made of peacock's feathers, drive away the flies from the idol laying on the bier.

Three days before an eclipse happens, the *Brachmans* having notice of it, break all the earthen vessels, to use new ones afterwards; and run all of them to the river to boil rice, and other things, and throw it in for the fishes, and crocodils; when they find the fortunate hour is come, by their magical books, and several figures they make on the ground with the noise of drums, and latten plates they beat, they cast themselves into the river to wash whilst the eclipse lasts; the *Brachmans* attend the richest persons with clean cloths to dry them, and then make them sit down on a piece of structure six spans square, daub'd all about with liquid cows dung, that the pissmires may not run upon it in danger of being burnt, whilst they dress the rice, and other pulse. They cover several figures made with powder'd lime, on that square with the same dung, and then lay on two or three small sticks of wood to burn several blades of grain, with a great deal of butter; and from the manner of the flame to judge what plenty of rice, and other corn that year will afford.

The chief *Divalis*, or festivals are two, when the moon decreases in *October*, and when she increases in *March*. All those heathen forcerers work wonders by the help of the devil, but particularly their jugglers and tumblers, who, without all doubt, deceive the eye. They plant the stone of any fruit, and within two hours the tree grows up,

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1695.

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GEMELLI up, blossoms, and bears ripe fruit. Others lay the eggs under the hen, and hatch them at the same time; which can be nothing but meer illusion. But I never saw it.

Pagan  
kings.

The princes of Asia that are idolaters, are the kings of Cochinchina, Tun-

kin, Aracan, Pegu, Siam, China, and several Chams in great Tartary; in the islands the king of Japan, and Ceylon, and some royalests of the Malucco islands; as also all the Rajas in the Mogul's empire, but of several sects, some less superstitious than others.

#### CHAP. IV.

The Author continues the Account of what he saw in the Camp of Galgala.

HAVING desir'd a christian captain of Agra, to let me know when an opportunity offer'd of seeing the king of Vijapur, he sent on Tuesday the 22d of March, to appoint me to be at his tent in the morning, that we might go together to the king's quarters to satisfy my curiosity. I went accordingly, and he being ready, we both set out. Being come to the king's tents, we waited for him to pass by, to go pay his respects to the Great Mogul. In short, within an hour I saw the unhappy king, whose name was Sikandar, come with a handsome retinue. He was a sprightly youth twenty nine years of age, of a good stature, and olive colour'd complexion. Aurenge Zeb depriv'd him of his liberty and kingdom, as he did him of Golconda, in the year 1685, upon pretence that he had given Savagi passage through his country, which he could not have hindred, if he would.

Original  
of the king  
of Vijapur's  
misfortunes.

The true original of the king of Vijapur's misfortunes was, that the queen being left a widow, and without children, Savagi, who was offended at the king's deceas'd, for having caus'd his father Nair Savagi, then captain of the guards, to die in a goal, took the field with a small army of scoundrels; and soon made himself master of the fortresses of Rajapur, Rafigar, Crapaton, Dabul, and part of Malabar. Some think that raising the fortifications of Rafigar, he there found a great treasure, which enabled him to continue the war. The queen finding her self in that condition, thought it convenient during the minority of Sikandar, whom she had adopted for her son, and bred up in the doctrine of Hali, before the king's death, to make a peace, tho' dishonourable; leaving to Savagi, the country he had conquer'd, yet to hold of her, and to pay half the revenue as tribute.

At the same time Pamniach, who was tributary to the same crown, took up arms to shake off that yoke; relying on the natural strength of his country, lying between twenty seven in accessible

mountains, call'd *Settais-pale*, among which there are villages, and lands till'd by Gentiles of the vile tribe of Faras. Aurenge Zeb seeing the forces of the kingdom, amounting to thirty thousand horse, and as many foot, employ'd against these rebels, he laid hold of the opportunity, and besieg'd the city and castle of Vijapur; which he took after a vigorous defence of three years, made by Sidi Mansut, a black, who govern'd during the king's minority, and carry'd away Sikandar prisoner, to whom he afterwards allow'd a million of Roupies a year, to maintain him decently.

Tanajia, king of Golconda, who, in my time was sixty years of age, had the same misfortune. His general Emir Gemla being disgusted, invited Aurenge Zeb to invade the kingdom through his means. The ambitious Mogul hasten'd thither, but notwithstanding his intelligence with the traitor, could not compass his design; and was forc'd to return to his country with dishonour. He afterwards again attempted the fortress of Golconda, but the besieg'd making a resolute defence, and an army of seventy thousand horse, and as many foot, keeping Aurenge-Zeb's army in the field within bounds; both sides thought fit to conclude a peace on this condition, that Mahmud, son to Aurenge-Zeb, should take the king of Golconda's daughter to wife, and receive the kingdom as a portion, after the father's death.

When the war with Akbar was concluded, Scialam was sent with a powerful army, to attack Golconda a-new; but he either thinking the conquest difficult, or overcome by Tanajia's promises, to give him his daughter in marriage, and assist him to secure his father's throne; so manag'd affairs, that he obtain'd his father's consent to settle peace, and tho' afterwards he receiv'd never so many repeated commands, could never be prevail'd on to return to the siege, but casting his scimiter at his feet, told him, he was a Mussulman, and could not break the peace he had promis'd to keep.

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*Scialam* thus refusing, *Aurenge Zeb* march'd in person, after he had conquer'd the kingdom of *Vijapor*, with a mighty army to besiege *Golconda*. At his first coming, he secur'd the pass on the river, and *Bagnagor*, where the palace was, and then without staying to fortify it, by the advice of the *Franks* he had in his service, who gave me this relation, he went on to besiege the fortress, whither the king was retir'd. This being built with vast great stones, and encompass'd with a deep ditch, held out a siege of nine months, tho' batter'd by many pieces of cannon, and particularly by three pieces of such a prodigious bigness, that each of them was drawn by five hundred elephants, and two hundred oxen, if we may believe what the soldiers told me; for they could make but a small breach in a fort that was not enclos'd with walls, but with a rock. At length, want of provisions, and distempers that rag'd in the place, besides the presents and promises *Aurenge-Zeb* made, did not only prevail with the defendants to desert to him by degrees, letting themselves down from the wall with ropes in the night, but corrupted the governor, who surrendered the fortress against the king's will; he offering to pay a tribute of three millions, and seven hundred thousand *Roupies*, which *Aurenge-Zeb* refus'd, entering the place victorious in the year 1686. *Azamscia* carry'd away the king prisoner, who having a collar of inestimable value on, presented it to him; but his father *Aurenge-Zeb* perceiving he carry'd him on an ele-

phant, cry'd out to him, because he had not bound his hands behind him. The son answer'd, that he was a king, and he ought to be satisfy'd with depriving him of his kingdom and liberty. Having shut him up in the fort of *Dolei-Abad*, the *Mogul* allow'd him a wretched maintenance of twenty *Roupies* a day; but a son being born to him in prison, which he never had whilst on his throne, in pitty to the infant born at such an unfortunate time, he rais'd his allowance to five hundred *Roupies* a day.

*Pannaich*, who had with considerable forces assist'd the *Mogul* in conquering the kingdom, was rewarded with death, upon very slight jealousies; which enraging his son, he refus'd to pay the tribute, and retir'd among inaccessible mountains; but a few years after, the greater power prevailing, he submitted to pay tribute, and receive a governor appointed by the *Mogul* into his dominions.

*Wednesday* the 23d, I din'd with the captain of *Agra*, who treated me very handsomly, after the country manner. *Thursday* the 24th, I was conducted to a neighbouring *Pagod*, to see a penitent, who held up his arms, the joints being hardned, or knit together, so that he had no use of them. *Friday* the 25th, I look'd out for some company to go back with me to *Goa*, because the *Begarian* of *St. Stephen* and my interpreter were both fled; but could find none. I spent my time in vain on *Saturday*, also seeking for company.

## CHAP. V.

*The Author's return to Goa, the same Way he came.*

THE season was now so far advanc'd, that to spend any more time at *Calgala*, would have made me slip the opportunity of going over to *Cbina*; therefore bearing patiently with my *Indian's* running away, I made the best of it, and resolv'd to venture all alone thro' a country invested with robbers and enemies to christianity. Having heard mass on *Sunday* the 27th, I mounted but very melancholy; and believing when I came at night to *Edoar*, I should find the caravan of oxen for *Bardes*, or some christian of *Goa*, was disappointed of both. Setting out thence on *Monday* the 28th, I came before noon to the village of *Rodelki*; where desiring a *Gentile* by signs to make me a cake of bread, the knave instead of wheaten flower made it of *Ma-*

*chini*, which is a black seed, that makes a man giddy, and so ill-tasted, that a dog would not eat it. Whilst it was hot, necessity made me eat that bread of sorrow; but could not swallow it cold, tho' I had none for three days. At night I lay near the *Pagod* of *Mandapour*.

*Tuesday* the 29th, meeting the caravan of oxen beyond *Onor*, I travel'd with it till sun-set; but being necessitated to alight, and the caravan going on, I lost sight of it, the night growing dark. Then being left alone in the open field, without any thing to eat, or place to take shelter, and in much dread of robbers, I laid me down among the bushes.

*Wednesday* the 30th, when day appear'd, I went on alone, without any knowledge of the road, but what the

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GEMELLI  
1695.

track of the oxen shew'd, and came betimes to *Beligon*. This city tho' made up of mud-houses thatch'd, is very populous, because of its trade. It has a large *Bazar* and a good fort, considering it belongs to *Moors*, all built of stone, and encompass'd with a deep ditch full of water; but it has little canon in proportion to its bigness, and garrison. Here I expected to have found the caravan of oxen belonging to *St. Stephens*, or at least to hear some news of it; but no body understanding me, I was disappointed. *Thursday* the last of the month, a *Mogul* conceiving what I could not express, conducted me to *Sciapour*, a mile from *Beligon*, where I found the caravan ready to start for *Bardes*: The *Canarines* going to it, who were subjects to *Portugal*, shew'd me a great deal of kindness; and finding I was spent with three days want, plentifully provided me with fowl and rice; but could get no bread, because the natives do not eat any. The worst of it was, I must set out with them immediately, and tho' a *Canarin* help'd to hold me a horseback, because of my weakness, yet it went very hard with me. That night we lay in a wood near the village of *Jambot*, belonging to a *Say* or prince of the same name; the *Mogul* permitting some lords to possess these barren countries for a yearly tribute.

*Friday* the 1st of *April*, after a few hours riding we pass'd by some cottages, where were the officers of the custom-house and guards of the roads, who are worse than thieves. That night we lay on the mountain, near some little huts of the country people; of whom I could not buy a chicken, or any thing else to support me.

*Saturday* the 2d, we went down the steep and tedious mountain of *Balagati*, and travell'd all day through *Savagi's* country. The guards, who like *Banditti* lay skulking about the woods, stop'd me, and by signs ask'd, whether I could shoot out of a musket, or understood the art of gunnery; and answering by signs that I did not, they at last let me go, fearing the *Portuguese* should stop their people at *Gua*, because I pass'd for a *Portuguese*. Having travel'd a few miles further, we lay in the field, and had an ill night of it, near a lake.

*Sunday* the 3d, being *Easter-day*, after several hours travelling, we pass'd by the *Mogul's* guards and custom-house. There I was again detain'd; not because they had any need of gunners or soldiers, but to make me pay toll like a beast; at length some idolaters telling

them, the *Portuguese*, who were but a mulker shot from thence would do the same, they let me go.

I went away to *Tivi*, and thence to fort *St. Michael*, where the castellan and his wife perceiving I was sick, would not suffer me to go any further; but by all means would have me be their guest; sending away immediately to *Pumburpa*, a farm of the *Theatins* for a *Ballon*, or *Andora* to carry me to *Goa*.

As the *Ballon* or boat was coming, an unmannerly *Portuguese* soldier carry'd it away by force, and there being no *Andora* to be had, returning thanks to the captain and his wife, for the favour they had shew'd me, I desir'd them to order a soldier to bear me company to the aforesaid farm. They were much displeas'd at the *Portuguese* rudeness, and caus'd his captain to punish him, and perceiving I would stay no longer with them, sent a soldier of the castle to convey me; who brought me to *Pumburpa* on *Monday* the 4th at sun-setting. Here I was very lovingly receiv'd by the factor, who gave me a good supper, and after it an easy bed to rest me.

*Tuesday* the 5th, I cross'd the canal in a *Ballon* or boat, and return'd to *Goa* to the aforesaid monastery of fathers in a very ill condition. The father *Presest* seeing me so sick, told me that had happened because I would not take his advice; I answer'd *Hæu patior te- lis vulnera scilicet meos*. Both he and father *Hippolitus* endeavour'd to recover me with good souls, to which the best sauce was their kindness; and thus I recover'd my sitting spirits. Weakness oblig'd me on *Wednesday* the 6th to hire four *Boes*, or porters to carry me in an *Andora*, to see what remain'd worth observing in *Goa*. They were all four satisfy'd with fifteen pardaos, which are worth six crowns of *Naples* a month.

*Thursday* the 7th, I went to visit the S. Francis body of *S. Francis Xavierius*, at the church of *Bon-Jesu*, or good Jesus, being the profess'd house of the *Jesuits*. The church is indifferent large and arch'd, but has nothing of good architecture, being more like a great hall than a church. It has an high altar, with two on the sides, all well gilt; and on the left a chappel, where the precious body of *S. Francis* lies. It was in a crystal coffin, within another of silver, on a pedestal of stone; but they expected a noble tomb of porphyry stone from *Florence*, order'd to be made by the great duke. Since, with the pope's leave, the saints arm was cut off, the rest of the body has decay'd, as if he

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had refented it; and therefore the *Jesuits* for nine years past, do not shew it to any but the vice-roy, and some other persons of quality. Being told as much at my first coming to *Goa*, I so far prevail'd, as to have the vice-roy use his power with the provincial; and he not knowing how to refuse him, would at least defer the favour till that morning; shewing me the holy body, with the church shut, cloath'd in its habit, which is chang'd every year.

Friday the 8th, I went to see the church of the *Italian Carmelites*, on a pleasant hill. Tho' small, it is very beautiful, and arch'd, as are all the churches in *India*, with six chappels, and an high altar, well gilt. The monastery is handsome and well contriv'd, with excellent cloisters and cells, and a delicious garden, in which there are *Chinese* palm-trees which yield a pleasing shade, with their low and thick leaves. There are also two cinnamon trees, like that of *Ceylon*. At present it is decay'd from what it was, before the *Italian* fathers were confin'd by the king's order, because only one *Portuguese* father cannot take so much pains. The first had been again receiv'd into favour, but four of them dy'd at sea, coming from *Portugal*.

Saturday the 9th, there being some apprehension of the coming of *Arabian* ships, all the religious men and priests went down arm'd by order of the archbishop to the fort of *Aguada*, to make good that pass among the soldiers.

Sunday the 10th, I went to pay my respects to the vice-roy, who receiv'd me very courteously, and discours'd with me in *French* about two hours, about news from *Europe* and *Asia*, and when I took my leave made me very civil offers.

Monday the 11th, the commodore, a small vessel, and a fireship sail'd out of the harbour for the gulph of *Persia*, to assist the king of *Persia* against the *Iman* of *Masfate*, who, with five ships had burnt the *Portuguese* factory, and several houses; robb'd the custom-house, and carry'd away four pieces of cannon there were in the fort, with the arms of *Spain* on them, brought thither from *Ormus*. The king of *Persia* had then ninety thousand men ready to send into *Arabia Felix*, against the *Iman*.

There are three palaces at *Goa*, for the use of the vice-roy. The chief of them, call'd the fort, near the church of the *Theatins*, and *Vasco de Gama's* gate, has the prospect of the channel, and consists of excellent apartments, and a royal chappel. In the hall of

Vice-roy's  
palaces.

it are the pictures of all the vice-roys and governours of *India*, and in another all the ships and vessels that ever came out of *Portugal*, since the first discovery of those countries. In the same are kept the courts of judicature, or exchequer, and others, and they coin money, such as *Pardaos* of silver, and *St. Thomases*, and *Pardaos* of gold. The small money is made of a metal brought from *China*, which is neither copper, nor latten, nor lead, nor pewter; but a substance differing from them all, not known in *Europe*, and call'd *Tulunaga*, which they say has some mixture of silver. The *Chinese* use it to make great guns, mixing it with brass. Of this, as was said, they make a very low sort of coin at *Goa*, call'd *Bazaruccos*, three hundred and seventy five whereof make a *Pardao*, whose value is four *Carlines* of *Naples*; and yet any small matter, or frigate, may be bought for one of these.

The vice-roys do not live in the aforesaid palace, because of the ill air, but in that call'd *Powder-house*, or the powder-house, two miles from it, at the entrance of the city, as was said elsewhere. Being at first design'd to make powder in, it was not fit to entertain a vice-roy; but has been enlarg'd by degrees. The third is the fort of *Pangi*, near the fort of *Gaspar Diaz*. The vice-roys have not liv'd in it for many years past, and at present the garrison soldiers are quarter'd in it.

Tuesday the 12th, news was brought of the loss of a ship of the *Portuguese* fleet, which had run upon some rocks in the port of *Varfava*. My *Armenian* servant being indispos'd, I purg'd him with the excellent *Rhubarb* I bought in *Persia*, where the best in the world grows, and he was soon well.

Wednesday the 13th, I went with the fathers to divert me at the farm of *Pum-burpa*, and Thursday the 14th, enjoy'd the good company of some friends that came thither from *Goa*. Friday the 15th, we went a walking in the noviciate of the fathers of the society, opposite to the said county house. Walking there on Saturday the 16th, I pity'd so many poor christians and idolaters, who live in wretched cottages under the cocoa-trees, to make them fruitful, man's breath helping them to bear; without hopes of ever removing with their family from the place where they are born, because if they go to another place, their matters bring them back by force, worse than if they were slaves. Sunday the 17th, after dinner, we went to see a farm of the

Augusti-

GEMELLI  
1695.



GENELLI 1695. Augustinians close by, where an ingenious father had built a good house, and furnish'd it handsomely.

Monday the 18th, we went a fishing on the channel, which does not only abound in all other sorts, but several kinds of shell-fish, and particularly oysters, so large that the very fish of some of them weighs half a pound; but they are not so well tasted as ours. The Portuguese use the shells in their windows instead of glass, making them thin, and transparent. Tuesday the 19th, after dinner, we return'd to Goa.

Our lady of the cape.

Wednesday the 20th, two vessels from Macao, loaded with Chinese commodities arriv'd in the port; and Thursday the 21st, I went aboard one of them, call'd the *Pumburpa*, to see several rarities it brought. Friday the 22d, I went in an *Andora*, to visit our lady *del Cabo*, or of the cape, standing on the point of the island of Goa, where the Franciscans have a good church and monastery. Here night overtaking me, I was forc'd to lie in the monastery, and return'd to Goa, on Saturday the 23d.

Sunday the 24th, I heard mass at the Augustinians, to visit my friend and fellow-traveller for several months, father Francis of St. Joseph. Monday the 25th, I went over to divert my self to a little country house, seated on the island of *Bardes*, where on Tuesday the 26th, I saw the convoy of several vessels return from *Canara*, with a good stock of rice, because the islands of Goa do not produce enough. Wednesday the 27th, I took the air in a boat upon the channel.

Thursday the 28th, was the procession of *Corpus Christi*, which is made here with much solemnity in April, because of the storms, and great rains in June. Before it went a soldier a horse-back in bright armour; then follow'd an image of St. George in wood, about which some persons in masks danc'd; and after them six cannons, with six silver maces, and lastly, six gentlemen carry'd the canopy.

Friday the 29th, I went to see a lion brought the vice-roy from *Mozambique*, who was about to send it as a present to the emperor of China. And still continuing to divert my self after my late sufferings, on Saturday, the last of the month I saw the powder-house, where they were then actually making powder.

Sunday the first of May, I went to the cathedral to hear some indifferent musick, on account of the festival of St. Philip and Jacob; and Monday the 2d, din'd with father Francis, being invited by him, because the time of my departure drew near. On Tuesday the 3d, fa-

ther Hippolitus Visconti took care to change what money I had into pieces of eight, because there is a great deal lost by carrying gold into China; and a Portuguese merchant well skill'd in that trade, made a small purchase of diamonds for me, they being cheap at Goa. Wednesday the 4th, I went with father Salvador Galli, father Visconti, and the general Salzette, to speak to Jerom Vasconcellos, captain of the vessel call'd *The Holy Refary*, bound for China. For their sakes he undertook to carry me; but refusing to find me provisions for my money, I was forc'd on Thursday the 5th, to lay in a stock for so long a voyage. Friday the 6th, I went to the church of the miraculous cross, to beg of God a good voyage, and Saturday the 7th, diverted my self on the channel. Sunday the 8th, some friends din'd with me, and Monday the 9th, I din'd with father Francis, and after drinking to my good voyage, we took leave of one another with much concern. Tuesday the 10th, I went to the powder-house to pay my respects to the vice-roy, and desire him to give me a letter of recommendation to the general of China. He granted it very civilly, offering to do me any other kindness.

My Armenian servant refusing to go to China, on Wednesday the 11th, I bought a *Cafre*, or black slave for eighteen pieces of eight, and there being a necessity to get a license to ship him off, because we were to touch at Malacca, where the Dutch hereticks command, I went on Thursday the 12th, to the inquisitors to have it pass'd. They made a great difficulty of granting it, and dispensing with the prohibition they themselves had been authors of; alledging that some *Cafres*, who had been shipp'd at other times, being taken, had turn'd *Mabometans*. Friday the 13th, I took leave of my friends, the vessel being already fallen down to the mouth of the channel, in order to sail very speedily; and Saturday the 14th, having return'd thanks, and bid adieu to the father Theatins, I went aboard with my goods. There speaking to the captain, to order my equipage and provisions to be taken aboard, he order'd it to be deliver'd to the master's mate, for him to dispose of it as the pilot should direct, he having undertaken to keep me by the way, I putting my provision to his. This done, I return'd to the farm of *Pumburpa*, to have the satisfaction of lying ashore one night longer.

Sunday the 15th, I went over to the island *Cbaron*, where the noviciate of the Jesuits is, to hear mass. Meeting there with

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Mon evening Ferreira cabin, who father Jofeph his mission had been linefs pop they had shops and doms, to stians, who municate Jesuits of ing to Ch went in t Goa, call'd lion above-

The fa such esteem that at n visit those ships, and two visits. tunity, he the captain ous gentlen see the wo use me well but little who was b got the Po places I fou wards me, try-men; n merit, or q vice-roy wa and the ve Paraos, wh oars, and the city pi the vessels b fore the fort we lay all blew hard.

Wednesday continuing, hopes it wo hours before the ships to Paraos. Bu Vol. IV.

with some Italian fathers, who were bound for China, aboard the same vessel, they very civilly shew'd me all the house. The church is small, and has three altars well gilt; but the sacrifice has curious chests of drawers about it

made of Indian wood, varnish'd, with the apostles painted on it. The house is small, and the cells for thirty novices very little. I din'd in the farm of the Augustinians, and lay that night in that of the Theatins.

GEMELLI  
1695.

## CHAP. VI.

*The Author's Voyage to Malacca.*

Monday the 16th, the vessel being under sail, I went aboard. Towards evening came aboard father Emanuel Ferreira a Portuguese, missionary to Tunchin, who wore a reverend long beard; father Joseph Condoni, a Sicilian, going to his mission of Cocchinechina, which fathers had been summon'd to Rome, by his holiness pope Innocent the 11th, because they had refus'd to obey the French bishops and vicars apostolick in those kingdoms, to the great scandal of the christians, who saw the church-men excommunicate one another, and eight other Jesuits of several nations, who were going to China; besides ten others who went in the vessel of the merchants of Goa, call'd Pumburpa, which carry'd the lion above-mention'd.

The fathers of the society are in such esteem and reputation in India, that at night the vice-roy came to visit those that were aboard the two ships, and stay'd till mid-night in these two visits. Laying hold of this opportunity, he himself recommended me to the captain, telling him, I was a curious gentleman, that travell'd only to see the world, and therefore he should use me well. His recommendation had but little effect, because the captain, who was bred in China, had quite forgot the Portuguese civility, which in all places I found they practis'd more towards me, than towards their own country-men; nor did he value another man's merit, or qualifications. As soon as the vice-roy was gone they weigh'd anchor, and the vessels were tow'd by several Paraos, which are long boats with sixty oars, and Ballons, which are smaller; the city pilots being aboard, to carry the vessels beyond the flat, which is before the fort of Gaspar Diaz, near which we lay all Tuesday, because the wind blew hard.

Wednesday the 18th, the same wind continuing, and the city pilots having no hopes it would fall, weigh'd anchor two hours before day, and began to have the ships tow'd again by the Ballons and Paraos. But the wind rising, to avoid

the rock, they both run upon the sand. There being danger that the ship might split at the flood, it being then ebb, every one endeavour'd to carry off his goods, especially money, and to get it ashore; and it would go hard with the city pilots, if once the vessels were stranded, and they did not fly. I put my baggage aboard a coaster, and leaving my slave with my provisions, went to Goa for a new licence from the inquisition, to put the black aboard the coaster, in case the ships that were stranded should be rendered unfit to perform their voyage; which I got with some difficulty for the reasons above alledg'd.

Whilst I was still at Goa, the vice-roy gathering abundance of Paraos and Ballons, went in person to get off the vessels with the flood; which being done, they came up again to take in as much water as they had thrown over board to lighten themselves. The honest pilot, and master's mate of our ship had also thrown over the passengers provision and fruit, but not their own; which afterwards they did eat till they were ready to crack. Taking leave again of the fathers Galli and Visconti, I return'd aboard with my baggage, but was not told they had thrown overboard three great baskets of wine full of Mangos, for had I known it, I would have provided other fruit.

We got not out on Thursday the 19th, through the fault of the city pilots; but about break of day, on Friday the 20th, the wind blowing fair at N. W. our vessel call'd the Rosary, the Pumburpa, and four coasters put out to sea. The Jesuits, as they were the first that went off, so would they be the last to return aboard. The same fair wind continu'd Saturday the 21st, and Sunday the 22d.

Monday the 23d, the pilots by observation found we were in the latitude of Cocbin. We had great rains, and stormy winds every day and night, but they did not last above an hour. They call these tempests Sumatras, from the island of that name. Holding on our course south on Tuesday the 24th, the

T t t pilots

GENEVE 1693. pilots judg'd we were in the latitude of cape *Comori*; which is like that of *Good Hope*. It is to be observ'd, that in this place they find a most unaccountable work of nature; which is, that at the same time it is winter at *Goa*, and all along that coast, it is summer upon all the opposite coast, as far as the kingdom of *Golconda*, and thus in a few hours they go from winter to summer; which is experimentally known to be true every day, by the natives of *Madure*, *Tiar*, *Tanjaur*, *Ginge*, *Madrajapatan*, the people of the *Naiques*, and other *Pagan* princes.

*Wednesday* the 25th, making an observation, we found our selves in the latitude of cape *Galli* in the island of *Ceylon*, which was joyful news to all aboard, as being then sure they should continue their voyage; for had the south wind started up before we reach'd that place, we could have gone no further, but must have run away to northward, as happen'd to two ships of *China*, which let out in the year 1693, and put in to refit after the storm, the one at *Damam*, and the other at *Bombaim*. On the contrary, being once in the latitude of cape *Galli*, no wind could put us by our voyage. We were here, according to the pilot's computation, six hundred miles from *Goa*.

C. v  
island.

The island of *Ceylon* besides its rich cinnamon, which is carry'd all the world over, has the best elephants, as was said above, and a mountain that produces rock crystal, of which at *Goa* they make buttons, beads, and other things.

B. v  
kingdom.

*Thursday* the 26th, we found our selves in the latitude of 6 degrees opposite to the bay of *Bengala*; and all the mouths of the river *Ganges* running into it, whilst at the same time the natural current of the water is from south to north, that sea is very rough. This made the ship often lie athwart the waves, and kept us all continually watching for fear. This kingdom of *Bengala* is accounted the most fruitful the *Mogul* has, by reason of its rivers. It has a great trade for silk, callico, and other stuffs. Finding our selves in this latitude we stood to the eastward, and on *Friday* the 27th, were off the *Maldiva* islands. *Saturday* the 28th, the same fair wind continu'd, but with the same rolling. *Sunday* the 29th, the wind held on, and a sailer dying was thrown over board. *Monday* the 30th, we were becalm'd, but *Tuesday* the last of the month the wind came up again, blew harder on *Wednesday* the 1st of *June*, and held fair on *Thursday* the 2d.

*Friday* the 3d, we were in sight of the island of *Nicobar*, the wind blowing fresher. This island pays a tribute of a certain number of human bodies to the island of *Andemaoon*, to be eaten by the natives of it. These brutes rather than men, use, when they have wounded an enemy, to run greedily to suck the blood that runs. The *Dutch* are witnesses of this cruelty of theirs; for they going with five ships to subdue them, and landing eight hundred men, tho' they were well intrench'd to defend themselves against those wild people; yet they were most of them kill'd, very few having the good fortune to fly to their ships.

*Sieur Francis Continbo*, general of *Salzette*, told me, that the chief motive the *Dutch* had to attempt the conquest of that island, was a report spread abroad, that there was a well in that island, whose water converted iron into gold, and was the true philosophers stone. The ground of this rumour was, an *English* ship putting into that island after a dreadful storm, where they observ'd that a little water which an islander carry'd, being spilt upon an anchor, that part of it which was wet with it, turn'd into gold; and asking him where he had that water, he told them out of a well in the island, after which they kill'd him, I can neither affirm nor deny that there is such a well; but only declare this story was told me by father *Emanuel Ferreira*, and by *Continbo* a knight of the order of *Christ*, before father *Galli* at *Goa*, who had also heard of it before. No man in *Europe* or *Asia* can give any more certain account of it, because those people have no commerce with any nation in the world.

*Saturday* the 4th, the fair wind continuing, we came off the point of *Achem*, where the *Malay* sea begins, so call'd from the *Malayes* inhabiting those islands. *Achem* is on the easternmost point of the island *Sumatra*; a country not govern'd by a king, as *Tavernier* thinks, but always by a queen; the males being excluded that inheritance, by the laws of the kingdom. There are other kings and princes in this island, part *Mahometans* and part *Gentiles*; whose subjects are near as barbarous as the people of *Andemaoon*, particularly the inhabitants of a mountain call'd *Bata*, that is, rock, not far from *Achem*, who cruelly play for one another's lives. When the game is done, the winner binds the loser, and stays all day for some body to buy him, when if none comes he kills and eats him; as *Continbo* told me, who had been up the said island of the kingdom of *Achem*.

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chem. The natives firmly believe that if a dying man eats a roasted cuckoo, he secures his passage to heaven; so that it is a good trade to carry those birds into the island, which is very fruitful and rich. In it is found much gold dust (which makes some suppose it to be the *Aurea Obergonejus* of the antients) tin, iron, camphire, sulphur, white sandal and pepper. The *Dutch* every year buy fifty thousand *Picos* of pepper, every *Pico* is one hundred and thirty pounds *Spanish*, which they sell to the *Moors*; who like it better than any other, because being smaller, they put it into their *Pilau* whole. The air of the country is bad, especially for strangers.

*Sunday* the 5th, the wind fail'd us near this island, as it always uses to do; so that as much time is spent, by reason of the continual calm between that place and *Malaca*, which are but two hundred and fifty miles asunder, as in one thousand five hundred there are from *Goa* thither, as the pilots say. Besides, the calm and the current is contrary, and rather put ships backward than forward, for which reason we perceiving there was too much water to anchor, were forc'd to draw to shore, for here we always run close under it to drop our anchor, that we might not lose way when the contrary current met us.

*Monday* the 6th, the calm continu'd, and I lost the pilot's table, for he would not find me any longer; and what most vex'd me was, that of thirty souls I brought from *Goa*, I had eaten but seven, and all the rest were flown; a misfortune travellers are expos'd to. The wind freshning on *Tuesday* the 7th, we sail'd almost due south, and leaving behind the island called *dos Degradados*, or of banish'd men, where the governours of *Achem* confine criminals, we came opposite to that call'd *da Rainba*, or the queens; recovering fifty miles the current had carry'd us back. But *Wednesday* the 8th, we were not only becalm'd, but not being able to anchor, the stream carry'd the ship six miles back.

*Thursday* the 9th, we drew towards the aforesaid island with little wind, and came to an anchor late in eighteen fathom water, a mile from land. *Friday* the 10th, we weigh'd and dropt anchor three several times for want of wind, as was also done by the ship *Pumburpa* and an *English*-man. *Saturday* the 11th, the wind blew fresh betimes, and carry'd us forward. We call'd to some *Malayes* belonging to the island, who were fishing, but they would not come; and two that gave ear to us kept at a great

distance for fear. Having given them some biscuit and vessels to fetch water, they were never seen more. These inhabitants of the island live worse than beasts; and their low cottages cannot possibly be seen, because of the thick green trees about them, as is usual all along this coast we had hitherto run. I was told there were none but cottages at *Achem*, and that only the queen's palace, she being then an old woman, is of timber, with a poor mud fort.

Eighty miles beyond *Serra da Rainba* or the queen's mountain, the current is not always contrary, but runs six hours one way and six the other. The heat here is excessive, because the storms call'd *Sumatras* and the rains, which never fail in the bay, are here rare and more gentle. The wind ceasing on *Sunday* the 12th, the boat was sent ashore for wood and water, but found none of the latter.

*Monday* the 13th, we advanc'd as far as the point of *Targiapour*, where a good river falls into the sea, a place grateful to sailors, because from thence forward the current is not so rapid. *Tuesday* the 14th, we made but little way, first with the land and then with the sea breeze; but we were worse afterwards, for the wind wholly ceas'd on *Wednesday* 15th. *Thursday* the 16th it blew very faintly; and *Friday* the 17th there was none at all.

*Saturday* the 18th, we made some way *Poleveira* in sight of the island *Poleveira*, but the wind failing, could not reach it till *Sunday* the 19th, when we lay off it. The compass of it is two miles, and it has abundance of trees and a good brook; but no inhabitants. The next night we were well wash'd by a great shower of rain; for at this island the *Sumatras* begin again and hold to *Malaca*, never failing either by day or night.

*Monday* the 20th, the contrary wind hindered us making much way, but what we gain'd in sight of the two small islands the *Portuguese* call *as duas Irmaas*, or the two sisters, because they are near together. *Tuesday* the 21st, we lay off the island *Aru*, beset with many rocks, and *Wednesday* the 22d, crossing the strait drew near the continent; so that on *Thursday* 23d, we were opposite to mount *Pulporjar*. *Friday* the 24th, we sail'd along the coast, which is thick cover'd with trees, and subject to a petty king that lives in the woods like a beast. *Saturday* the 25th, we met several *Chinese* vessels call'd *Somas*, loaded with rice and bound for *Achem*. They carry'd four sails made of mat, two of them on the sides from the main-mast, like the wings of a bird when

GENELLI when it flies, extended by two great poles, another at the foremast, and the fourth at the beak. The shape of the vessel is very odd, for the head is as wide as the stern. Towards evening we were near cape *Racalo*.

Sunday the 26th, when we were in

sight of *Malaca*, the wind started up contrary, and hindred us entering the port, so that we were forc'd to cast anchor; but on Monday the 27th, we anchor'd on the shore of the city. Soon after I went ashore with the captain, and took a lodging in an inn.

## CHAP. VII.

## An Account of what is worth observing at Malaca.

Malaca  
city.  
Maff. Hist.  
Ind. l. 5. p.  
117. & 118.

**M**alaca is seated on the southernmost part of the antient *Cerberonesus*, in 2 degrees, and 20 minutes latitude, and therefore the days and nights, are always equal. The Portuguese under the command of their general *Albuquerque* took it from the king of *Ikor*, but not without the expence of much blood; but in the year 1640, it was taken from them by the Dutch, after they had defended it bravely for six months. The antients thought *Malaca* was an island by reason of the many channels running across its land; but the exactness of the moderns, has discover'd this error. The houses are of timber, and for the most part the walls and roofs cover'd with mats, but there are such abundance of palm and other trees all about, that at a distance, it looks more like a wood than a city. It is inhabited on both sides of the river by Portuguese *Cbrijlians*, *Gentiles* of several parts, *Moors*, and *Chinefes*, for which reason, when the governor puts out any order, it is writ in those four languages, besides Dutch. It contains about five thousand souls, most of them Portuguese catholicks, better instructed in matters of faith, than any in *Europe*; there being children ten, or twelve years old, that answer to questions concerning religion, as solidly as a divine could do; and this because of the continual passing of missionaries of the society through this place to *China*, *Tunbin*, *Cocbinchina* and other parts. But the Dutch forbidding them the exercise of the catholick religion, they are forced to have it in the woods, with much danger; and to bear patiently with the excessive taxes laid on them, more than the *Jews* and *Mabometans*. Yet there is no danger they should become protestants, but on the contrary some Dutch have been known to abjure, through the means of their wives. It was no small comfort to me, to see such good christians among *Infidels* and *Calvinists*. But their heavy sufferings make them wish for a change of government, and to be under some catholick prince.

Tuesday the 28th, I went into the fort. The fort, on the right hand, entering the channel. It is about a mile in compass. There are six small towers furnish'd with sufficient cannon, and a ditch towards the sea and channel. The two gates are one towards the river, and the other towards the south cape. The governor of the city commands in it, and has under him a garrison of one hundred and eighty soldiers. In the midst of it is a rising ground, on which stood the church and monastery of the *Jesuits*, when it was possess'd by the Portuguese; but the Dutch pull'd down the dormitories, leaving only the church for their own use, and a tower adjoining to it, to put up their colours. Within the same fort was the church of the *Misericordia*; but that having been batter'd by the cannon, serves now for a Magazine.

The climate is temperate, as has been said, and the soil fruitful, because it never misses any day being water'd by a shower of rain. It produces almost all the sorts of fruit found at *Goa*; but the cocoa-nut, is three times as big. When gather'd green they call it *Lagna*, and the water of it serves to drink; but when full ripe, it has a pulp, like an apple, tender, and well tasted; which is not found in the cocoa-nuts of *Goa*.

The *Durion* of *Malaca* is also very famous, and strangers when once us'd to its smell, are so fond of it, that they cannot be without it. The tree is very tall, and the fruit grows out of the thick part of the branches, like the *Jacca*. It is almost round, and resembling the fruit of the pine-tree. When ripe it is yellow, with some points standing out about it; and the pulp within soft, and white, and divided into six parts, with as many stones, which when dry, are eaten like other kernels. It smells like a rotten onion, but has an excellent taste; so that when the nose is once us'd to the first, the palate is well pleas'd with the second.

The *Mangustan*, a wild fruit, is very good, round, and as big as an apple, with

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with six streaks on the top like a star. When ripe it is yellow without, with white divisions within, like cloves of garlick: But soft and sweet. The rind powder'd and drank in water, stops the bloody flux.

*Jamboa.*

The *Jamboa* is a fruit, as big as a large melon, and has the rind, shape, and colour of an *Adam's apple*; but the quarters of it are like those of an orange, and of the same taste. There are white, yellow, and red, according to the several sorts of trees; which is like the *Taranja* describ'd among the fruit of *Goa*.

*Affampaja.*

The *Affampaja* is an acid fruit, growing at the foot of the Indian canes, good to pickle, as big as a walnut, of an earthy colour without, and white within, with a stone in the middle.

*Romania.*

The *Romania* is as big as a green walnut, cool, and good to make the same sort of sauce.

*Sagu.*

The *Sagu*, so highly valu'd by the *Portuguese*, is the root of a tree, that grows on the coast, and the *Malayes* carry to sell at *Malaca*, whence by reason of its goodness, it is transported to *India*, *China*, and other places still further distant. It is rarely well tasted made into a sweet-meat; it is also good in broth, and its clouded seeds dissolv'd, thicken like glew.

*Bacciam.*

The *Bacciam* is a wild fruit, like a *Mango*, and sharp to make sauce.

*Hib.*

There are also several sorts of herbs differing from ours, and among the rest the *Gnama* and *Celada*, which taste like boil'd fellyery.

The port of *Malaca*.

The city *Malaca* gives laws to all ships that pass the streight, obliging them to pay anchorage, whether they put into the port or not. *Spanish* and *Portuguese* ships pay one hundred pieces of eight each, others less. The *Dutch* are so hard upon these two nations, because they say they paid as much, when the *Portuguese* were masters of it. The *English* are not only free from this burden, but much honour'd; for two ships of theirs saluting with eighteen guns, the fort answer'd with nineteen, whereas our two vessels saluting with seven, they return'd no answer; tho' the *Punburpa*, put out the arms of *Portugal*. The port of *Malaca* is very safe, and has a great trade from east and west; and therefore the *Bazars* of the city are furnish'd with the best rarities of *Japan*, *China*, *Bengala*, the

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coast of *Coromandel*, *Persia*, and other kingdoms.

I saw such beautiful parrots there, that a painter could not draw any thing so fine: Some of them had all the body and wings red, and the legs green. Others, call'd *Noros*, the body red, the head black, or dark blue, and the wings and legs of a light blue. Others were of an ash colour, with green wings. And others white, with a yellow tuff, call'd *Cacatus*; and these are taken in the islands of *Ternate*, *Ambon*, *Macassar*, and *Java*; but they are less than those of *America*.

*Wednesday* the 29th, they shew'd me a *Casuares*, black bird they call *Casuares*, twice as big as a *Turkey* cock, with bones in the wings, like whalebone, and the beak and feet like an ostrich. Its eggs are white and green, and is taken in the island of *Java*.

*Thursday* the 30th, I eat a rare fish, *Balanca*; call'd *Balanca*. Underneath it is like a crab, at top like a tortoise, and has the head arm'd with a sword; boil'd, it tastes just like a crab; the male and female are always found coupl'd. Tho' there are such rarities at *Malaca*, it is dear living there, a piece of eight a day being little enough.

The dominion of the *Dutch*, reaches but three miles round the city; because the natives being a wild people living like beasts, they will not easily submit to bear the *Holland* yoke. They are call'd *Menancavos*, very great thieves, *Mabometans* as to religion, and such mortal enemies to the *Dutch*, that they do not only refuse to have any commerce with them, but cut them in pieces, whenever it is in their power. And this is the reason, why the plains of *Malaca*, abounding in *India* canes, they cannot be cut without much precaution, for fear of those barbarians. Their king call'd *Pagarivoyon*, has his residence at *Nani*, a village made with mats ill put together, in the thickest of the wood. No better account can be had of their country for want of commerce with them.

Along the same coast, lives another sort of half men, call'd *Salitter*, *Mabometans*, as well as the others, in boats and moveable houses. They are both fisher-men and pirates along the coast; a robust sort of men, govern'd by a chieft they call *Palimajatti*, like *Banditti*.



## CHAP. VIII.

*The Description of the dangerous Streight of Sincapura, and of the People Inhabiting about it.*

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I Might easily have gone to *Manila*, aboard the vessel call'd *Polaco*, which came into the port; but I voluntarily let slip that fair opportunity, being desirous to see *China*. In order to it, going all again aboard the *Portuguese* vessels on *Friday* the 1st of *July*; as we were ready to sail, our voyage was retarded by some words that pass'd between the pilot and master's mate. The first of them went away aboard the *Pumburpa*, and all the day, and part of the night being spent in sending and proving, the captain would have me draw up a form of protestation, to be notify'd to the pilot. He could not be prevail'd upon to return to the ship, so that we were forc'd to sail with another, after mid-night.

Fermoso  
river.

*Saturday* the 2d, in the morning we anchor'd, the wind being contrary; which lasting all *Sunday* the 3d, we made little or no way. *Monday* the 4th, we run up on a bowling, and found our selves at night opposite to a great mountain, over the river *Fermoso*. This is a deep river, whose source is many and many miles up the country. On its banks grow abundance of excellent *Indian* canes, which the inhabitants of *Malaca* cut to trade. Some of them are thick, without any knot, to serve for walking staves, and others slender, and eighteen spans long, which cut are put to many uses, as to make bed-steads, outward doors, chairs, stools, baskets, ropes, pack-thread, and sewing-thread; for when split thin, the threads bow every way without breaking, and are proper to sew with.

*Tuesday* the 5th, we lay at anchor, and made but little way on *Wednesday* the 6th, because the wind was contrary. *Thursday* the 7th, the same cause made us lose, rather than gain ground; and it had been worse on *Friday* the 8th, had we not dropt anchor again after weighing. *Saturday* the 9th, we were quite becalm'd. *Sunday* the 10th, the wind coming up pretty fair, we left the island *Pulpisson*, and two other small rocks a-stern. The first is so call'd, because shap'd like a fig, for in the *Malaye* language *Pul* signifies an island, and *Pisson* a fig.

*Monday* the 11th, we pass'd by the island *Pulcariman*, which, tho' large, is not inhabited any more than the rest.

Then we came to an anchor at the mouth of the streight, before sun-set, both because the wind was contrary, and because we founded all the way; for tho' the good pilots of *Macao* sail that way twice a year, yet they never remember any thing of it. On the left, going from *Malaca*, the mouth is four or five fathom deep, and fix or seven on the right.

There are abundance of other islands <sup>Many islands.</sup> between *Sumatra*, and cape *Ikor*, which are not set down in the maps; tho' some of them are so large that they are call'd kingdoms. Some of them belong to the king's of *Jambi*, and *Palumbon*, islands adjoining to *Sumatra*, on the coast opposite to *Malaca*, where the *Dutch* have a factory, and some to the king of *Rioo*, on the right of the streight of *Sincapura*; all three kings *Mabometans* as to their religion, and *Malayes* by descent.

This multitude of islands makes abundance of streights, all dangerous to pass; <sup>the streights</sup> but particularly that of *Sincapura*, where we were, which yet is most frequented by the natives, to go to, and return speedily from *Siam*, *Cochinchina*, *Tunbin*, *Manila*, *China*, *Japan*, and other kingdoms of *Asia*. The other call'd *del Governador*, or the governours, is so deep, that very often there is no anchoring in it; but being much wider than the other, the *European* ships, that is *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, and others, use it very much. The other streights are call'd of *Carvon*, *Durion*, *Javon*, and *Ikor*; besides many more, which take name from the islands that form them. That of *Ikor* is only passable betwixt the continent, and the islands, where a long channel ends, which leads to the metropolis of the same name, consisting of cottages, and thence to the sea of the *Contracosta*, or opposite coast. The *Dutch* have a factory at that court to trade for pepper.

*Tuesday* the 12th, we enter'd the mouth <sup>Sincapura</sup> of the streight of *Sincapura* betimes, which is a quarter of a league over at first; but further in wider, tho' enclos'd by so many islands, that they are a meer labyrinth to ships; which those who have not seen it before, think they shall never get out of, seeing land on all sides. The second mouth is but half so wide as the first, but only a mile in length,

Salitter,  
Malayes.

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length, and all the distance between the two mouths is eight miles. This narrow passage is rendered the more dangerous by the violent setting of the water backwards and forwards at ebb and flood. In other respects the eye is delighted with a beautiful green of so many islands adorn'd with tall and thick trees, which are never left naked like ours in Europe in winter.

*Salittes, Malayes.*

The Malayes, call'd *Salittes*, live along this channel, in portable and floating houses. They dwell on the water in boats cover'd with mats, with canes interwoven in the middle to lie on; nor are they disturb'd either at their brutal solitude, the ill air, or the dreadfulnefs of the neighbouring woods. They are ingenious at fishing, which they live on, either angling, or striking the least fishes through with spears made with bamboo. Some of them came to our ships side, with their women and children in their floating-houses to get vessels, iron, knives, tobacco, and other trifles, in exchange for fish; they having no knowledge of money. They are not satisfy'd if they had the value of a hundred pieces of eight in exchange, they are so mistrustful, false, and wicked; but upon any slight occasion strike their spear in any man's body, or else a small knife call'd *Crisi*, they wear by their side. They are subject to the king of *Ikor*, who therefore has a custom-house for fish in the midst of the channel. We came to an anchor near it by reason of the calm.

*The coast of Ikor.*

*Wednesday* the 13th, we got out of the strait, leaving behind us on the right the cottages cover'd with mats, set up on poles; and keeping along the coast of *Ikor*, where I said the other mouth of the channel of that name was; the wind came up contrary, which oblig'd us to cast anchor near that barbarous country.

The kingdom of *Ikor*, as I said abounds in pepper, a sort of white copper the Portuguese call *Calein*, Indian canes, rice, *Arecca*, cocoa-nuts, and other things, which keep up its trade with other nations; particularly with the Dutch, who therefore use all their endeavours to hinder others from resorting thither, allowing no vessels to pass by *Malacca*, without the governor's leave. The inhabitants of *Ikor*, and the *Salittes* wear a garment to their waste; and from thence down, both men and women cover themselves with a linnen cloth. The women wear their hair dishevel'd without breadding; but the men shave their heads, and beards, only keep-

ing long whiskers. Instead of a turbant, they tie a small linnen rag, like a fillet, about their foreheads.

*Thursday* the 14th, the wind being contrary, we anchor'd off cape *Romania*. *Friday* the 15th, we sail'd along the coast of *Romania*; leaving a long row of islands on the right, that sea being all over full of them. About evening we pass'd by *Pedra Branca*, or the white rock, so call'd by the Portuguese, being a small white rock rising a little above the water, and so plac'd in the middle of the channel, with two others adjoining to it, that it has split many Ships that were unacquainted with it.

The Portuguese told me, That a coun-tryman of theirs being to go that way in a ship of his own, laden with much gold, and other rich commodities; he was continually asking of the pilot, when they should be past it; and thinking every hour an age till he was out of that danger, repeated the question so often, that the pilot grown weary of him, said they were already beyond it. Then he, distracted with joy, broke out into these execrable words, *That God could not now make him poor*. But he went not unpunish'd, for the ship soon struck upon the white rock; and having lost all, he only sav'd his life to be the more miserable.

*Saturday* the 16th, holding on our course with a brisk gale, we got out from amidst so many islands, which stretching out towards the south, along the strait of *Banca*, which is the way to *Batavia*, left us a clear and open sea, our course being eastward. The wind freshning, carry'd us away from cape *Ikor*, towards the island *Borneo*, which is under the equinoctial. The aforesaid cape *Ikor* is the end of a long coast reaching to *Bengala*, which afterwards turns away, and forms the *Contracosta*, or opposite coast, as far as the kingdom of *Siam*, where there are several other dominions, and among the rest that of the *Patanes*, ever govern'd by a woman, like those of *Acchem*, and *Canara*. This country abounds in camphir, pepper, ivory, *Cagulaca*, a sweet wood to burn, cocoa-nuts, *Arecca*, white and stain'd calicoes, and birds-nests, and has a vast Trade with the neighbouring kingdom of *Bengala*, by way of the *Isthmus*. The queen is a *Mabometan*, and tributary to the king of *Siam*. We sail'd on merrily towards the island of *Pul-lao*, much wish'd for by us; when at night we were surpriz'd in a great *Sumatra*, or tempest from the north; which drove us so violently towards the south,

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GENELLI south, that on Sunday the 17th, at break  
1695. of day, we were in sight of the island  
of Borneo, and of those call'd Siantones,

which lie off it, and are inhabited by  
Malayes.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of the Island Borneo, being an Abstract of the Account given of it to the  
King of Portugal, by Father Antony Ventimiglia; and of the Mission in-  
stituted there.*

Borneo  
island.

THE island of Borneo, being the largest in the world, containing rarities of inestimable value, and almost unknown to Europeans, because all possess'd by Mahometan kings and princes, who do not suffer strangers to go up the country, to trade with the idolatrous natives, who are tyrannically oppress'd by them, that they may secure to themselves the wealth of the island, in exchange for poor baubles those wretches stand in need of; for these reasons the reader will not think it amiss that I should interrupt the relation of my travels, with a short abstract of the account given of this place to the king of Portugal, by father Antony Ventimiglia, a Theatin of the city of Palermo, the first missionary that ever had the fortune to pierce into the heart of that island; not translating it word for word from the Portuguese, which would make it too tedious. The Portuguese original, which I have by me, deserves entire credit; for there is no doubt to be made, but that so zealous a religious man as he was, writ no more than what he saw.

The citizens of Macao frequenting the port of Manjar-Massen, in the island of Borneo, the king of that name several times declar'd to some captains, and particularly to Emanuel de Araujo Garces, that he should be well pleas'd the city of Macao would settle a factory in that port, for the security of trade; and that besides forwarding and assisting them in all that lay in his power, he would allow a church to be built for the free exercise of the christian religion. These Offers wrought no effect upon the people of Macao, as being perfectly well acquainted with the changeable temper of those Mahometans; but Andrew Coelho Vieira, general of the city, having acquainted Don Roderick de Acoffa, governor of Goa, with the matter; he consulted with three knowing persons, whether the settlement of such a factory was for the service of God, and their king; and understanding it would be very advantageous, tho' the townsmen of Macao sent a messenger of theirs to obstruct the performing of it, yet in the year

1689, he gave the necessary orders for settling the factory in the name of that city; enjoining Joseph Pinheiro, a rich citizen of Macao, who was then at Goa, to take that affair upon him. He accepted of it to please the governor, tho' he had always endeavour'd to obstruct it.

Before this was resolv'd on, Luis Francis Coutinho was come to Goa, and knowing how zealously the fathers Theatins desir'd to be employ'd in some mission, to which no other Order had any right of elder claim, that they might the better sow the seed of the word of God on their own ground, and gather the harvest of propagating the holy gospel, and converting the poor sheep that were stray'd from the flock of Christ; he acquainted them with the willingness the king of Manjar-Massen express'd to allow the christians a church, and how little inclination the city of Macao had to settle the factory, and that no mission had ever been in that island. Those fathers thought Luis Francis an angel sent from heaven, hearing him propose a method for the compassing of their design; and therefore without hesitation, with the approbation of others, they resolv'd to take upon them the charge of that mission; and the more, because to take off the impediment proceeding from the poverty of their order, which may neither have any possessions, nor beg, Luis Francis readily offer'd to be at the expence of sending over father Antony Ventimiglia, who earnestly press'd to go thither.

The good man being furnish'd with all necessities for his own use, at the expence of Luis Francis, his benefactor and companion; and by divine providence with what was necessary for the exercise of his mission, he set out from Goa on the 5th of May 1687, to the great grief of the people who lost to worthy a person. He arriv'd at Malacca on the 12th of June; where he landed, rather to exercise the godly function of converting some renegadoes, and feed those people with the word of God, than to seek any ease to his own

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distemper. He went aboard on the 20th, with so fair a wind, that he was ashore again on the 13th of July at Macao, with *Coutinbo*. There he continu'd six months, five of them in a hermitage of *Augustinians*, call'd, *Our Lady of the Rock*, seated on a hill; and the rest of the time in their monastery; employing himself all the while in hearing confessions, and other pious acts. He found an opportunity to sail for *Borneo* on the 11th of January 1688, and had so good a voyage, that he arriv'd at *Manjar-Massen* on the 2d of February. They ran up the river, and anchor'd in the port on the 5th. During this time they were inform'd of the slaughter made by the *Mabometans* aboard a vessel of *Siam*, under some false allegations; and in another of the coast of *Coromandel*, on pretence that they had hurt some of the natives in a fray of their own contrivance. Several Christians, and particularly *Portuguese*, were kill'd. This news no way daunted, or cool'd the zeal of father *Ventimiglia*; but placing his confidence in God, made no doubt of overcoming all difficulties.

Whilst he was devoutly employ'd in the ceremonies of the holy week, a *Moor*, who was captain of two galleys seeing so much wax spent, sent him some gold dust, which he would not accept of. The good father was inflamed with the desire of applying himself to the conversion of the *Gentiles*; and seeing himself idle, and confin'd in that port, he earnestly entreated captain *Emanuel Araujo Garces*, with whom he came from *Macao*, that according to his promise he would endeavour to bring him to the speech of some of the *Pagan Beajuses*, not far distant from thence. The other fed him with hopes. But heaven, which never fails to prosper good wishes, brought four of those *Beajuses* to them, out of curiosity to see their ship. They desir'd a cannon might be fir'd, which being done to please them, they went away frighted at it. This short visit the more inflamed the desire of father *Antony*, so that he pined for grief, seeing no hopes of making some acquaintance, and staying among them; because the *Mabometans* being against their growing familiar with strangers, endeavour'd to dispatch christian ships with speed, and sometimes with insolvency. At last a sailor one day brought him two *Beajuses*, who were going up the river; and he, the more to allure, treated them very affectionately; gave them some devout things,

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and perceiving that as they took their leave, one of them seem'd to have a mind to a pair of shoes, and the other to a cap belonging to two of those that stood by, he prevail'd with those persons to give them those things. The *Gentiles* went away so well pleas'd, that coming into their own country, they made others have a mind to obtain some of those gifts, and see the good religious man; and accordingly on the 3d of May two others came, but in company with a *Moorish* spy, who prevented the acquainting them with the end they were sent for. After some time they were dismiss'd, with each a pair of beads about his neck. Others came afterwards; and father *Ventimiglia* taught and us'd them to honour the cross.

On the 27th of March, all the merchants aboard the ship, having dispatch'd their business with no small profit; and bought so much pepper, and other spice, that tho' the ship was one of the biggest that sail'd those seas, they were fain to leave some ashore, they set sail, carrying away father *Antony* against his will, he having more mind to stay there; notwithstanding the captain, and other persons of note, representing to him the perfidiousness of those barbarous *Mabometans*, and promis'd to bring him back the next year to his beloved *Beajuse*. They arriv'd safe at *Macao* on the 27th of June. There, tho' several religious men offer'd the father to entertain him in their monasteries; yet he chose to go lie at night in the solitude of his hermitage; employing himself all day in the city, in hearing confessions, and sowing the seed of the word of God.

The season of the year to sail for *Manjar-Massen* being come, tho' he did not like this interrupted method, yet he set out on the 8th of January 1689, carrying along with him a *Chinese*, who had been a slave to *Coutinbo*, and a *Beajuse* whom the *Moors* the year before had sold to *Frutuoso Gomez*, they being both discharg'd by their masters for this purpose. He had a good voyage, and arriv'd in that port on the 30th, at such time as the *Beajuses* were at war with the *Moors*; which tho' it troubled, did not make him desist from his enterprize. On the 25th of February, he hir'd a *Lentine*, that is, a small but convenient vessel to live in, and have the better convenience of conferring with the *Beajuses* by the way of the river, without the disturbance there was aboard the ship. and the hindrance he met with the year before from the *Moors* at land; and he succeed-

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GEMELLI 1695. ed so well, that there began presently to resort to him some of the *Beajufes* from the neighbouring villages subject to the *Mabometan* king; if it had been for nothing else, at least to see their countryman *Laurence*. Many of them came on the 10th of *March*, when he had begun a nine-days devotion aboard the vessel, in honour of *St. Joseph*, adorning the cabin decently with hangings and lights. The next day came a venerable old man, with his daughter, grand-daughter, and an antient matron to visit the religious man, who had converted his boat into a handsome house and chappel, and receiv'd them very affectionately, acquainting them with the design that brought him a second time into such remote and strange parts, which was to show them the way of salvation, by instructing them in our holy faith. They were pleas'd with the father's words, and assur'd him he should be honourably receiv'd by them all. From that time forward more of the *Beajufes* began to resort to the vessel, and to call the good man their *Tatum*, that is, grand father; a name among them of great honour; conversing with him very familiarly and lovingly, and bringing their wives and daughters, tho' they were very jealous, to kiss his hand and habit in a very modest and courteous manner. At these visits they always presented him with some fowl, a basket of rice, some pieces of sweet wood, or a mat of those they work most curiously; or else herbs, sweet roots, wood, or other things, and he refusing to take it, they left it before his cabin, so that afterwards he receiv'd it, rather than displease them; provided it was not gold, precious stones, or any thing of value. The nine-days devotion so happily begun, ended with a general joy and applause, and what is most to be admir'd, even of the *Moors* themselves; for a cross twenty spans high was put into a boat, and being carry'd about the river with many lights, as it return'd to the *Lentine* or vessel where the father resided, was saluted by all the cannon of two vessels of *Macao*. This was follow'd by a visit from an *Anga*, who was chief or governour of a village, with all his family; which he made with so much civility and respect, that the father thought fit to repay it the next day, attended by thirteen *Portuguese* belonging to the ship. The governour and all his people receiv'd him in a very solemn manner, with drums beating and other musick of the country, and dancing, as if it had been one of their kings. The old *Anga* pro-

strated himself on the ground to kiss his habit, and all the rest, men, women, and children, great and small follow'd his example. The good man receiv'd them in his arms to gain their affection, and make way to their conversion, to which they seem'd well dispos'd. In short, the *Anga* desir'd to be baptiz'd immediately; protesting he would follow him dead or alive, so powerfully the divine grace wrought upon his heart. He added, that he believ'd that all the rest of the *Beajufes* would give him the respect which was due; and that the more to convince him, he would go in person to acquaint the *Tomangun* and *Damon*, two sovereign princes in the heart of the island, one of whom was his son-in-law. It was agreed he should come the next day to the *Lentine*, that matters might be resolv'd on with the advice of captain *Emanuel d'Arango Garces*. The *Anga* being tir'd with the rejoicing after his *Tatum* went away, could not be as good as his word on the 24th, but fail'd not to come on the 25th, attended as before. Father *Antony* gave him a good dinner, and some small curiosities of *Cbina*; and it was resolv'd he should send by means of the same *Anga* some present to *Tomangun* and *Damon*, and because he could not perform the journey without leave of the *Moorish* king, as being his subject, the aforesaid captain *Emanuel* being so much in the king's favour, undertook to obtain it. The king liv'd in a village at a considerable distance on the river, and things fell out so that the captain could not go thither for several days following to get his leave; so that the *Anga* was weary of expecting, desir'd father *Antony* to send him the present for the princes, and he would go without the *Moorish* king's leave, which oblig'd the father to go visit him the next day, and deliver him the present, consisting in things of small value, as flowers, dishes, rings, glass-bracelets, and the like, in two little boxes; to which he added an embroider'd picture of our blessed lady, and another of *St. Gaetan*; hoping they would touch the hearts of those infidels, to bring them into the true way of salvation. The *Anga* coming to the princes, deliver'd the presents, and telling them the cause of his coming, was receiv'd with such joy, that they presently fitted out a hundred gallies and *Paraos* there were in their rivers, and among the rest one fourteen fathom long to bring their beloved *Tatum*. This little fleet being come to the mouth of the river where their dominions ended, stopp'd

stopp'd the *Beajufes* they did not kiss him sent to the river who the *Anga* who the came to his disgra of his brother tell him go to his carry him good fat Not long ther *Ventur* mon, com kets of I and full of eagle- which are cause of them. H much edic ral things coming to look'd up God; for small fleet the river, was sent b the faith. Things mour ran that the selves amo of gold an of their obstructed *Moorish* king to, that he tum the be clusion. E order'd it, night a son of *Damon*, came to the *Emanuel d'Arango* stand, that a month w selves, yet fail'd, that to the infidel he was gon board their then agreeo nestly desir gagement v arm; and of being fur



stopp'd there because of the war between the *Beajufes* and the *Moors*; and thence they dispatch'd the *Anga* with the *Moorish* king's embassador, who had been sent to conclude a peace with those princes, to obtain leave to come into the river where the *Lentine* was. Whilst the *Anga* was thus employ'd, *Damon*, who thought every hour an age till he came to father *Antony*, sent a kinsman of his disguis'd to visit him, in a little *Parao* of one oar; and a few days after sent his brother with twelve of his guard, to tell him if he thought fit, they would go to him in spight of the *Moor*, and carry him into their country; which the good father did not think convenient. Not long after this the *Anga* came to father *Ventimiglia* with a present from *Damon*, consisting of two curious little baskets of *India* cane and straw interwoven, and full of sweet herbs and roots, bits of eagle-wood and other sweet woods, which are only given to great men, because of the esteem those people make of them. He also told him the princes were much edify'd at his contempt of temporal things, and the zeal he shew'd in coming to their country. And that they look'd upon it as a special providence of God; for as they came down with their small fleet, they saw a fiery globe on the river, by which they understood, he was sent by God to enlighten them with the faith.

Things being in this posture, a rumour ran among the *Moors* of *Manjar*, that the christians had insinuated themselves among the *Beajufes* with presents of gold and silver, to possess themselves of their country, which not a little obstructed their coming in; which the *Moorish* king was then ready to consent to, that he might by means of the *Tatum* the better bring the peace to a conclusion. But the divine providence so order'd it, that on the 4th of *June* at night a son of *Tomangun*, and another of *Damon*, attended by their uncles came to the *Lentine*, and calling captain *Emanuel d' Araujo*, gave him to understand, that tho' they had waited above a month with much trouble to themselves, yet they would stay till his ship sail'd, that he might not be left expos'd to the infolency of the *Moors*, and when he was gone would take their *Tatum* aboard their galleys, wherein both of them agreeing, one of the princes earnestly desir'd a knife, to ratify his engagement with blood drawn from his arm; and soon after departed for fear of being surpris'd by the enemy.

At this time came a cousin of the *Sindum*, the most powerful prince among the *Beajufes*, living in the upper part of the island, about business of his own, who tho' he had pass'd through the dominions of *Tomangun* and *Damon*, knew nothing of what was doing. Being inform'd of what had happened when he came into the *Anga's* territories, he went directly to the ship and thence to the *Lentine* to see father *Ventimiglia*. He there complain'd of the princes, who had not acquainted his kinsman the *Sindum*, and therefore he was not come with a present from him, as knowing nothing of his being there; but that nevertheless the *Sindum* being at peace with the king of *Manjar*, he would without any impediment from the *Moors*, carry away the *Tatum* in his *Parao*, or in any other that was in the river to his own country, or into that of the other princes, provided he would promise after some stay there, to repair to the *Sindum*; who, as soon as he heard of him, would certainly come to visit him; and lastly desir'd the father not to depart without him.

On the 10th came six other *Beajufes* upon hearing the fame spread abroad of the *Tatum*, from fifteen days journey distance. They also earnestly intreated him, that he would please to go comfort them in their country, after he had been with the aforesaid princes, and were never satisfy'd for four hours together with kissing his hands, and laying them to their faces. The present they brought was two cocoa-nuts, two small bags of rice, a little oil, three little bunches of sweet herbs; a great hollow *Bamboo* cane full of a thing like butter, which they gather from a tree, and a little wax; for which a return was made them in small curiosities of *China*.

But the enemy of mankind being ever ready to disturb those that employ themselves in the service of God, for the good of their neighbours; the good man suffer'd much before he got into those countries; because all the people belonging to *Macao*, and particularly *Emanuel d' Araujo*, endeavour'd to dissuade him from that enterprize, alledging, that all those frequent visits and caresses of the *Beajufes*, were counterfeit, and only design'd to bring him to an untimely end; and that they could not leave a person in such danger, that might gain souls for heaven elsewhere. The pious man understanding by these words, and perceiving by other tokens, that they intended to obstruct his entering the country, as they had done the year before, he spoke to the



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the captain with some resentment, laying the loss of those souls to his charge. It was no wonder he should be so much concern'd at the opposition made by the Portuguese, since in a letter of his he delivers himself to this effect. *That he would certainly have for the present deferr'd enjoying the glory of Heaven, that he might serve in that Vineyard of our Lord till the end of the World, without any other Reward, than fulfilling his holy Will.* Therefore he look'd upon every small accident as a great obstacle to his entrance, which was of such consequence for spreading the faith in that large and unpolish'd country; being resolv'd to die rather than quit his enterprize.

On the 25th of June the ship got without the flat to a place, where it was in a readiness to sail for Macao; and he having said mass, all that were present weeping, the captain Emanuel d' Araujo went away to his ship with five Portuguese, and father Antony taking leave of them departed to his mission with four servants, which were the Chinese that had been slave to Luis Francis, Laurence the Beajus, a sailor born in Bengala, and another who offer'd to bear him company. There were also with him two Beajuses related to Damon and Tomangun, who coming with four others sent by those princes to the captain, to invite him to be present when they intended to ratify the peace and friendship already establish'd with their blood; stay'd behind to attend the father. His departure was the more remarkable for carrying along with him a curious cross of incorruptible wood, on the foot whereof the arms of Portugal were carv'd in half relieve, with these words about them, *Lusitanorum Virtus, & Gloria.* To signify the zeal and great actions of the Portuguese nation for the exaltation of the holy cross, and propagating the gospel; to fulfill the divine oracle deliver'd in the plain of Ouzique to king Alphonso Enriquez.

Leaving the ship they took their way towards the river of the Beajuses, and coming to the mouth of it on the 26th, found there twenty three Paraos with eight hundred men aboard ready to receive them; among whom was he that had the cap given him, who had always extoll'd the courtesy of the Portuguese. Some of them went into the small boat to convey it up to that in which Damon and Tomangun were, who both afterwards went over into that where father Antony was, to cast themselves at his feet. Tomangun signaliz'd himself in this action; for without stirring an inch from him, he

exhorted two youths his sons, and all his followers to imitate him, because they did this to their true lord. Damon being seated between the servant of God and Tomangun, acquainted the company, that the apostolick religious man was come from remote countries, to teach them the true and holy law, without which they could not be sav'd; and that his profession being remote from all that was temporal, he coveted nothing but to put their souls in the way to heaven. Tomangun and all the rest answer'd with an unanimous voice full of joy, that they desir'd nothing more, and did promise to keep and secure him with all possible respect and honour; and would before have ratify'd their engagement with the blood of their arms, had not the father hindered them. Then he deliver'd them the holy cross, which they all worship'd, to be erected in the church, they promis'd to build out of hand in their dominions; declaring they would for the future put themselves under the protection of the crown of Portugal. After spending some time in such like conversation, they all went into Damon's Parao, seating the father on a place rais'd above the rest; to which he condescended the better to gain their affections and their souls to heaven.

This was the beginning of the new mission in Borneo, to settle which father Antony apply'd himself with such zeal, that in six months time he baptiz'd 1800 of the Beajuses; and Luis Francis Coutinho, who having spent forty days in their river, pierc'd into the upper part of the island, declar'd that he found the children of those Beajuses, as well instructed in the catholick religion, as if they had been born in christendom.

Now as for what concerns the island of Borneo, 240 miles distant from Malacca, it is cut across by the equinoctial line, and is 1650 Italian miles in compass. The borders, or rather the coast all about, is inhabited by Moors call'd Malayes, who having lorded it for many years, are fully settled there with kings of their own; but further up the country Paganism, call'd Beajus, prevails; and tho' India had been 200 years discover'd, the preaching of the gospel had not reach'd them till this time, they being generally look'd upon as barbarous, wild, and unfit for conversation.

The Moors are govern'd by several Their kings, the chief of which are those of Manjar or Manjar-Massen; of Succadan, in one of whose rivers there are excellent diamonds found; of Borneo, and others. The Beajuses have no kings, but only

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only princes and other chiefs. Those that are subjects to the king of *Manjar*, or border upon him, pay a tribute.

Ports.

There are several ports in the island, but the most frequented is that of *Manjar-Massen*, for its spice, but especially by the inhabitants of *Macao*. It is form'd by a large river of fresh water, three miles over, and fourteen fathom deep at the mouth. Three days journey up it, there are three little islands; the biggest of them is two miles long, and the *Portuguese* have thoughts of building a fort on it, to settle a factory there. The other two are smaller and nearer to the land; and consequently not so fit for that purpose.

Product.

All the country is fruitful, and abounds in rice, which is better than any other in *Asia*, and the fruit, besides its great plenty, differs in colour, taste and bigness from ours in *Europe*. There is also great store of cassia, wax, camphire (the best in the world) black and white pepper, call'd *Natian*, gum and several good dyes. It also produces many sorts of sweet herbs, roots of black wood, and another root that smells like eagle-wood, and *Calumbacch*. There are vast woods for building of ships, where they also make much pitch and rosin for several uses. Metals are slighted, because they know not how to run them; but they gather much gold-dust among the sand of several rivers in the island. There are abundance of birds-nests, well known to those that have read and so highly valu'd by the *Chinese*, and others, that they give three hundred pieces of eight a *Pico* for them, which *Pico* is about an hundred weight; being perswaded they contribute much to the generative virtue, and are a provocative, as being naturally hot. These are nothing but nests built by the swallows, which in *India* are of an ash colour, in the clefts of steep rocks; whence they are pull'd down with long poles by men in boats. It is like a very fine paste; some think it is made of the flaver of these birds; others believe it is a sort of clay; I have as much of it as may serve curious persons to exercise their talent on. For this same reason the sensual *Chinese* give forty pieces of eight a *Pico*, for the skins of sharks found in those seas about the island. This is the reason that the *Macarines* at their great entertainments swallow much gold in a few mouthfuls; because they eat nothing but the little finews, as they do of venison.

Birds and fish.

It exceeds all other countries, in variety of most beautiful birds; and as for beasts, there are very strange ones not at all known in *Europe*. Among the

rest there is one so strange that it must not be pass'd by in silence. It is call'd a *Beypus* or wild man; because it much resembles man in weeping, and other exterior actions that express some passions. That which I saw was as big as a monkey, and not being able to bear its great belly on its legs, dragg'd its hinder quarters on the ground. When it removes it t. its mate along, to lye upon, as a man would do. The apes in this island, are of several colours, some red, some black, and others white, call'd *Oncas*, which are most valu'd. They have a black list, which from the top of the head turns down under their snout, and makes a graceful ring. Father *Salvador Galli* told me he had sent one for a present to the great duke of *Tuscany*, who expected it with impatience; but that it dy'd by the way. There is another creature in the island, that has a fir much like a cat. The *Beajufes* take the richest *Bezoar* stones in the world from the *Bezoar* stones. They wound them slightly with darts shot out of trunks, in some part that they may not die of it; then they growing sick with the hurt, those stones breed in their bowels, where they are found, when they kill them.

The *Beajufes* are generally very superstitious; being much addicted to auguries. They do not adore idols, but their sacrifices of sweet-wood and perfumes, are offer'd to one only God, who they believe rewards the just in heaven, and punishes the wicked in hell. They marry but one wife; and look upon any breach of conjugal faith, either in the man or woman, as so heinous an offence, that every one contrives the death of the party transgressing, either by themselves or their friends; and therefore the women are very modest and reserv'd; especially the maidens, who are not seen by their husbands till the wedding-day, when the women receive their portion. They are enemies to fraud and theft, and grateful for benefits receiv'd. Among themselves they live lovingly and friendly; and therefore when every man has gather'd what he sow'd for his own use, the rest on the mountains and vallies is in common, without any distinction of particular right. They are also well inclin'd in their pleasures, and seek honour in hunting; at which sport they endeavour to get some sharp horns, to polish and wear them as an ornament at their girdle. This girdle is no other but a long slip of linnen, which turns between their thighs to cover their privities, and one end of it hangs down before, and

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GEMELLI 1695. the other behind. The peasants make a fort of cloths of the barks of trees, which being afterwards wash'd and beaten, are as soft, as cotton; and those trees being within the dominions of the *Malaye Moors*, they expose themselves for the bark to their tyranny and insolence.

Habits. Some of them go naked, and others wear a small doublet made of the same bark; which they dye of any colour. On their heads, to keep off the heat of the sun or rain, they wear a cap of palm-tree leaves, shap'd above like a sugar-loaf, long, and with flaps hanging down.

Weapons. The weapons they use are knives, made like the *Cangjars* of the *Moors*, and *Zampittes*, that is, trunks about six spans long, out of which they shoot little wooden darts, with an iron head at the one end, and cartouch, or hollow paper at the other, blowing into which they shoot it out with a vast force; and sometimes, the point being poison'd the wound, is mortal. They also shoot birds with pellets through them.

The *Beajuses*, as to their persons, are of a dark complexion, well-countenanc'd and strong.

The *Moors* in the island. The *Malaye Moors*, who live, as was said, along the coast of that island, and oppress some of those wretched people, are faithless, inconstant, covetous, treacherous, and great thieves. Besides their swords, they have some few fire-arms to make use of at sea. They also go naked; only some of them are cover'd with a piece of cloth wrapp'd about their waste, and hanging down like a half-petticoat. Their heads are wound about in a folded hankerchief, but when it rains, they add to it a cap made of palm-tree leaves.

Houses. Their houses are in boats call'd *Paraos*, as are those of the *Beajuses*, on the aforesaid river of *Manjar-Massen*; or rais'd upon five pieces of timber on its banks, that they may be safe against floods. But the king of *Manjar* lives several days journey up the country, in a miserable condition, because his kingdom has been long divided among several branches of the royal family, to give them a sufficient maintenance.

Factory destroy'd. The factory we spoke of at first had an unhappy end; for being settled there upon the conditions propos'd by the *Moors*, particularly that the city *Macao* should always have a fund there of forty thousand pieces of eight (only for them to rob:) Two years after, when there were four ships in the port, the infidels resolv'd to secure them, and plunder the factory. A great number of them assembling to this purpose, went aboard

the ships, some pretending business, and others only to see. Being friendly admitted, when they thought it a proper time to execute their design, they all drew their *Crisps*, or poison'd knives, and every one endeavour'd to murder the sailor he was treacherously talking with, so that they kill'd most of those that were in three ships, as also two captains, two pilots, and a master's mate. But the fourth ship, which belong'd to captain *Emanuel Araujo de Gares*, (aboard which was a prince, and brother of the king's,) seeing the slaughter aboard the others, prevented the *Moors*; and killing all that were aboard, with its cannon, oblig'd the others to quit the ships they had made themselves masters of. The *Moors* that were not kill'd swam ashore, for many of them perish'd, the fray being bloody on both sides. There were not men enough left aboard the aforesaid three vessels to sail them, but *Emanuel d' Araujo* divided his men among them, providing them the best he could to return to *Macao*. Next, the *Moors* went to plunder the factory, which had been the end they at first design'd, whence the factor, who was sick, flying, was the cause of his own death. From that time the citizens of *Macao* would not trade any more at *Manjar*, seeing there is no truth, or honesty in those *Moors*.

The *Dutch* had no better success with *Da* their factory they settled there thirty five *da* years since, fearing, that if others bought *da* the pepper of that island, they should not be able to sell that of the company at their own rate. The *Moors* murder'd the chief men of their factory with one of those poison'd darts we said they shot out of trunks; and he that commanded, instead of the dead man, demanding satisfaction some days after; they answer'd, that the murderer had withdrawn himself into a country-house not far distant, with abundance of his kindred; and they were not strong enough to deliver him up, and therefore they thought it convenient they should all go with their joint forces to attack him. The *Dutch* suffering themselves to be taken in the snare, went, and were all butcher'd; upon which news, two ships of their nation, that were in the port, fled with all possible speed.

Father *Antony Ventimiglia* in his letters demanded companions should be sent him to cultivate that mighty vineyard of our lord, and that the king of *Portugal* would grant him power to honour some princes, and great men among the *Beajuses*, with the title of *Don*, the more to oblige, and allure

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allure them, because they shew'd themselves to be lovers of honour; but it pleas'd Almighty God, to reward his labours with the Glory of Heaven, in the height of his zeal; there being intelligence that he dy'd in the year 1691, which has been confirm'd by some of the Church Stuff, and some books belonging to him,

found at Manjar. Father Gregory Raucos, Genelli 1695. a Theatin, I found at Goa, further told me, his body had wrought miracles, and therefore the *Reajuses* kept it very honourably in a cottage, whither a leper once resorting among the rest, they put him to death.

## CHAP. X.

*The Author gives an Account of what happened to him, till his Arrival on the Coast of Cochinchina.*

TO return to the place where we left off, I must inform the reader, that the storm on the 17th, would not suffer us to draw near the island of *Pullaor*, as the pilot would have done; but the wind falling a little on Monday the 18th, we drew near, and that was all, for we were altogether becalm'd in sight of it. This always flourishing and green island, which is but five miles in compass, produces more plenty than any other of its bigness of cocoa-nuts, whose trees grow amidst the rocks, *Arecas*, figs, *Gambayas*, *Ananas*, and other sorts of fruit, which the natives exchange for earthen ware. The mats made here, are so very fine and curious, that they are sold for fifteen, or twenty pieces of eight each, to make presents to the *Cbineses*, who put a great value on them. It is subject to the king of *Ikor*, from whose dominions on the continent it is but sixty miles distant. Near *Pullaor* there are two rocks, which produce good fruit, and six miles from it a desert island call'd *Pulimon*.

Tuesday the 19th, the wind came fair with a *Sumatra*, or storm of rain, which lasted an hour, as usual. Steering our course towards *Pulocondor*, three hundred and sixty miles distant, we sail'd through a better sea than we had done during the whole voyage, as being clear of rocks and flats, and we were not so much toss'd, so that tho' the vessel ran swift we were at our ease.

Tho' we were so near the line in the dog-days, we felt no great heat, but to me it felt more like spring; and tho' I had not provisions, and other necessities as I could wish, yet God be prais'd I enjoy'd perfect health; notwithstanding some sailors were fallen sick, as were father *Procana* of *Turin*, and a brother of *Tunchin*; however, the society does not suffer their religious to want.

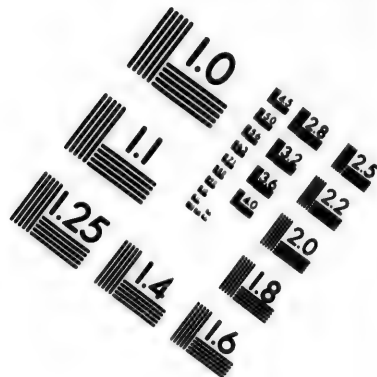
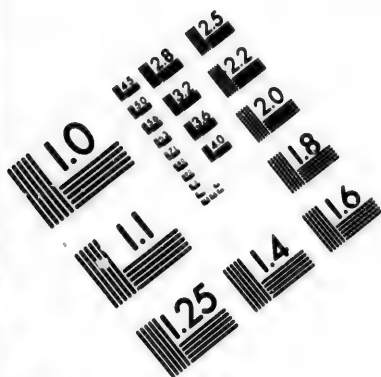
The fair wind continu'd all Wednesday the 20th, carrying us a-cross the gulph of *Siam*, into which falls the great river that leads up to that court, after running

one hundred and twenty miles all the way, inhabited on both sides; all the houses which are of wood being rais'd upon strong timbers, or canes; that the inhabitants, when the floods swell two fadoms high in *August*, *September*, and *October*, may go out at their windows into boats, and gather the rice that floats on the water.

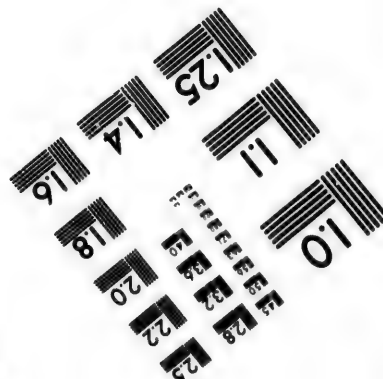
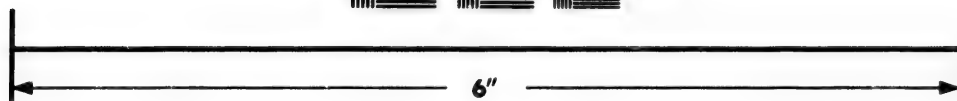
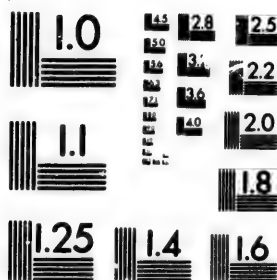
Thursday the 21st, in the morning, the wind came about to the east, but at noon as it was before. Friday the 22d, we came in sight of *Pulocondor*, an island belonging to the king of *Cochinchina*, but not inhabited; some *Cochinchinese* repairing thither at certain times of the year to cut wood, and gather the product of the island, as *Indian* wheat, figs, and oranges. It is eight miles long, and proportionably broad. It was abandon'd because of the continual *Sumatras*, or storms of rain, no day ever elapsing without a very violent one, as we found by experience. All the vessels bound for *Manila*, use to make this island.

Saturday the 23d, at sun-rising, we were off the five hills, the Portuguese call *Cinco Chagas*, or the five wounds, which are before the mouth of the river of the king of *Camboya*, up which, two hundred and forty miles, is the metropolis of that kingdom, call'd *Pontay-pret*. Ships go up to it, because the river at the mouth has three fadom water, and seven near the city. The Portuguese call this mouth *Caranguajo*, or crab; and the other two near it, the one of *Malaca*, and the other of *Pantiemas*, at which the barks of *Siam* pass. The king of *Camboya* is tributary to him of *Siam*, and uses to change his court, when he takes possession of his crown, out of a vain superstition not to live where his predecessor dy'd, which he may easily do, because the metropolis is worse than other places, all made up of ill-contriv'd cottages, cover'd with mats, or at best with boards. At present the kingdom is divided between two brothers, one of whom keeps in the mountains, the other in the aforesaid city. They make





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GEMELLI war upon one another, the one supported by the king of *Siam*, the other by him of *Cochinchina*.

The inhabitants of the kingdoms of *Camboja*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, shave all their head, leaving some on the crown like that of the mendicant lay-brothers. They pull up their beards by the root with nippers, that they may not grow again quickly. Their colour is like an olive, and they are hard to be remov'd from their tenets; for father *Candoni* told me, that in four years he liv'd at *Camboja*, he baptiz'd none but a miller, who was marry'd to a christian woman of *Cochinchina*.

*Champa*.

At sun-set we were on the coast of *Champa*, the king whereof, we were told, had shaken off the yoke of subjection to him of *Cochinchina*, and made war upon him.

The same day we pass'd by the *Faral-bao de Tigre*, so call'd by the *Portuguese*, because several ships of theirs have been lost there, and among the rest that of *Matheus de Brito*, who, saving his life by swimming, left this for a rule to other pilots to pass between the said rock, and the continent, but not to come where there are but ten foot water; and when they draw near the *Faralbao*, in the open sea, not to come to fourteen fathom, but to keep on between sixteen, and nineteen, because he was wreck'd between ten, and fourteen fathom, where the rock under water lies.

Sunday the 24th, we sail'd with a fair wind along the same coast of the kingdom of *Champa*, and in sight, and south of the bay and port of that name; whither several nations resort to buy elephants teeth, eagle-wood, and other commodities. At the mouth of it is a rock, between which, and a high mountain the ships must pass. In the *Malay* language they call that mountain *Panderon*, that is, king, and *Pulssin*; the *Portuguese* give it the name of *Rabo de Alacrao*, where begins the dangerous channel that must be pass'd going to, and coming from *China*. From this mountain, till sixty miles beyond *Pulcalan*, there is a continual row of flats three

hundred miles in length, where several ships are cast away every year; for which reason pilots must be upon their guard to avoid them, and keep always in sixteen fathom water. The worst of it is, that if any misfortune happens, the *Cochinchinese* galleys seize not only the goods, but even the very vessels, that only lose or spring a mast; and therefore many of them scour the coast all the year, to gather wrecks, nor is there any hope of escaping them when there is a calm, because they are well provided, and the *Cochinchinese* brave men with fire-arms.

All this country of *Malaca*, *Camboja*, *Siam*, *Champa*, *Cochinchina*, and *Tunquin*, abounds in elephants, of which the *Siamites* particularly make a great trade, carrying them by land to the opposite coast, and port of *Tenazarim*, belonging to the king of *Siam*, near the gulph of *Bengala*; where merchants buy, to transport them by sea into the dominions of *Mabometan* princes.

At sun-set the wind blew so hard, that it might be call'd a storm; and continuing so all night, set us very forward. Monday the 25th, we sail'd with a fair wind along the coast of *Cochinchina*; but in the afternoon we had the usual storm of rain, with such a stiff gale, that had not the current been against us, we had made much way. Nevertheless, about sun-set we happily pass'd the true *Varela* (so call'd to distinguish it from the false one, lying further in on the side of a mountain, on which another rock rises a fathom, and is call'd the *Pagod*) for the high wind soon abating, the sea was not very rough.

Tuesday the 26th, the same wind continu'd, and we held on our course, still near the aforesaid coast, the weather as fresh as spring. However, most of the *Cafres*, or blacks were fallen sick; which they attributed to the difference between this climate, and theirs, the first being like that of *Europe*.

Wednesday the 27th, we were quite becalm'd.

## CHAP. XI.

### An Account of the Kingdoms of Tunquin, and Cochinchina.

I Believe the reader will not be displeas'd, if after a tedious relation of a voyage, I divert him a little with some account of the kingdoms of *Tunquin*, and *Cochinchina*, off which we now

lay becalm'd; and the more, because I receiv'd it from good hands, that is, from father *Emanuel Ferreira*, who liv'd there twenty years, and from two *Tunquinese* he carry'd with him, clad in the habit

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Vol. IV.

habit of the society; as also from father *Joseph Condani*, of the same society, who liv'd twelve years in *Cochinchina*.

*Tunquin.*

The kingdom of *Tunquin* is tributary to *China*; but the tribute which formerly was considerable, ever since the year 1667, has been reduc'd to a small acknowledgment of a few horses every year.

The kingdom of *Cochinchina* was once united to that of *Tunquin*, and came to be parted as follows. The *Bua*, or emperor of *Tunquin* (call'd *Aramu*) in the country language, is so far from conversing with his subjects (who may not look him in the face upon pain of death) that he does not talk with the prime minister, who governs in his stead; for he acquaints him with all that occurs by the mouth of the eunuchs, and receives his orders the same way; under pretence that it does not become so great an emperor, as he is, to meddle with matters of government, but to take his pleasure in the *Aram*, amidst his concubines, and leave the cares of the crown to others. A governour about three hundred years since, perceiving this custom, made him an easy way to possess himself of the empire, it being no hard matter to bring the soldiery, and great men, who receiv'd all from him, to his side; so contriv'd his business, that leaving the *Bua* the bare name and shadow of a king, he usurp'd all the rest. From thence forward *Tunquin* had two sorts of kings; the lawful call'd *Bua*; and the usurpers call'd *Cbiras*, or governours; who allow the *Bua* a competent maintenance, and sometimes refuse it; as happened some years since, when the *Bua* demean'd himself so much as to give a visit to the chief of the *Dutch* factory residing at *Tunquin*.

Foreign ambassadors deliver their credentials to none but the *Bua*, as he of *Holland* did, not long since. When the *Bua* has a son born, there is great rejoicing throughout all the country, which is not done for the other's children.

One of the *Cbiras* dying (above an age ago) he left a son under age, heir of the kingdom, under the tuition of his son-in-law; but he aspiring to the crown, laid such plots against the life of the king, that his wife, to deliver her brother out of his hands, caus'd a confidant of hers to carry him into *Cochinchina*, attended by part of the nobility. With their assistance he possess'd himself of *Cochinchina*, killing the governour at an entertainment, and afterwards reduc'd a considerable part of the kingdom of *Champa* under his dominion,

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making the rest tributary; but now <sup>GEMELLI 1695.</sup> that kingdom has shaken off the yoke, and refuses to pay the tribute.

The tutor having usurp'd the kingdom of *Tunquin*, there began such a bloody war between the two kinemen, that it still lasts between their sons, and with such fury, that neither men, nor letters, are permitted to pass out of one kingdom into the other, and tho' they are unequal in strength (the king of *Cochinchina* bringing but fifty thousand men into the field, and he of *Tunquin* one hundred thousand) yet the *Cochinchineses* being the better soldiers, and defended by a ridge of mountains that part the two kingdoms, they make their party good with the *Tunquin*es. They both own that shadow of an emperor, call'd the *Bua*, for their lawful sovereign; receiving embassies in his name, and giving out commissions subscrib'd, in the reign of *Bua*, &c.

The *Cbiras*, or governour of *Tunquin*, following the custom of his ancestors, governs his kingdom, like the *Bua*, by a prime minister, who, without speaking to him, receives his orders from the eunuchs, giving audience but very rarely, or suffering himself to be seen by the people. But this reserv'dness at present does not so much proceed from pride, or gravity, as for fear of the continual disorders of the kingdom. For this same reason he does not allow his subjects to build high houses, that they may not offend him, but they must all be low, except his palace; and every man upon pain of death, must get out of the way when the king passes, going to divert him either on an elephant, or in his *Palancbine*.

Now let the reader consider what credit is to be given to *Tavernier*, when he tells us, his brother was very familiar with the king of *Tunquin*, and that he gives publick audience to his people every day. The *Dutch* can testify in this particular, who receiving daily wrongs from the ministers and eunuchs, who take more than is due for the customs; yet could never speak to the king, and make their complaints, so that at last they were forced to make use of a trunk, by means whereof a *Dutch*-man conveying himself near the king's apartment, told him all the matter in the *Tunquin*ese language. They succeeded as they desir'd, for the king gave order to redress their grievances; directing, that for all the commodities the *Dutch* import, they should pay nothing, but only make a present of *European* cloath, salt-peter, and a few other things; and that their goods be

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not

GEMELLI not search'd in the custom-house. Where-  
upon father *Ferreira* told me, that it be-  
ing very difficult to import beads, images  
of saints, and other things of devotion  
out of *Europe*; he brought them in con-  
sign'd to the *Dutch* factory. The king  
of *Cocincina* is not so reserv'd, but is  
seen by, and converses with his people,  
and much more with strangers.

Customs  
and man-  
ners.

The king of *Tunquin*, and his sub-  
jects act in all respects contrary to the  
*European* princes, and their people; for  
when the princes of *Europe* go by wa-  
ter, they sit in the stern, whereas the  
king of *Tunquin* sits in the head of the  
boat, saying, the king must be the first  
that goes ashore. He keeps fifty boats  
curiously gilt, with sixty men to row  
in each, all of them youths, about one  
age, who all dip their oars at once,  
being guided, or directed by a man's  
hand, like a master of a choir. The  
king keeps with his head towards the  
chamber door, whereas *Europeans* lay  
their feet that way. The *Tunquineses*  
write from the top of the paper to the  
bottom, and from the right to the left,  
just contrary to us. They also write  
their name at the top of the letter, as  
was once us'd by the *Romans*, saying,  
*J. N. send you Greeting, &c.* Among  
christians, thieves are hang'd, but in *Tun-  
quin* beheaded, tho' of mean birth; and  
on the contrary, persons of quality are  
strangled with a rope, drawn by twelve  
men, six on a side; after which they  
burn the feet of the party executed, to  
see whether he his dead or alive. As  
in *Europe* we print, joining of letters,  
so in *Tunquin*, *Cocincina*, and *Cbina*,  
the manuscript is pasted on a very smooth  
board, and then with a sharp pointed  
pen-knife they cut the letters just as they  
are written, and so they go through the  
whole composition, which they can af-  
terwards print as often as they will with-  
out any trouble. When their kindred  
die, the *Tunquineses*, and their neighbour-  
ing kingdoms mourn in white, as we  
do in black, which last colour they wear  
for state, as the noblest.

When the kings of *Tunquin* and *Co-  
cincina* marry, they cause the noblest  
and most beautiful maids to be brought  
from all parts of their kingdom, and  
having made their choice, send back the  
rest. The first of these two, generally  
keeps three hundred concubines.

Habit.

The habit us'd in those kingdoms is  
a long garment or vest. On the head a  
tall round black cap; but that of the  
soldiers and peasants, falls down a little  
on the back. They let their hair grow  
long, like *Europeans*, and so their beard.

The women wear the same sort of gar-  
ment down to their feet, their hair loose,  
and their face bare. They are beauti-  
ful, tho' of a dark complexion, and  
great lovers of strangers.

As to religion, they are idolaters; <sup>Religion.</sup>  
but easily converted, and when convert-  
ed steady in the faith, and this both  
*Tunquineses*, and *Cocincineses*. And fa-  
ther *Ferreira* assur'd me, that when, by  
reason he was persecuted for some years  
by the king, he was forc'd to wander a-  
bout in disguise, the poor country people  
would sometimes travel a months jour-  
ney from one province to another, to  
confess and hear mass. These idolaters  
are not so precise, as those of *Indostan*;  
but eat all sorts of flesh, even to cats  
and dogs.

The kingdom of *Tunquin* is plain, <sup>Defin.</sup>  
like *Lombardy*, and very fruitful. It <sup>tion.</sup>  
is divided into eight provinces, which  
are *Sudong*, which in the country lan-  
guage signifies eastern province; *Sunan*,  
or the southern; *Subak*, or the nor-  
thern; *Sutag*, or the western; *Ngbean*  
*Bocin*, half of which belongs to the  
king of *Cocincina*, the river *Songen*  
dividing their limits. The seventh *Su-  
anquam*; and the eighth *Taynguien*.

The metropolis where the king re-  
sides, call'd *Keclio*, is four days jour-  
ney from the sea, with a river running  
up to it. There are in it, none but  
low houses made of *Bambao*, whereof  
there is great plenty in their fields. Fa-  
ther *Ferreira* told me this *Bambao*, every  
fifty years produces a seed, of which  
the peasants make bread. The city is  
large and populous; there being streets  
three miles long in it, and markets. The  
kingdom is inhabited by an infinite num-  
ber of people; which is the occasion of  
so many commotions, for there is scarce  
a year, but some great man is put to  
death, who has headed a mutiny; to-  
wards which the reservedness of the  
prince, contributes very much. The  
kings of *Bau*, a country abounding in  
musk, and of *Lau*, which produces  
store of elephants, are tributary to this  
king.

*Cocincina* in the country language, <sup>Cocin-</sup>  
call'd *Tlaon-Kuang*, is divided into five <sup>china de-</sup>  
provinces, viz. *Moydin*, *Dincat*, *Kegue*, <sup>trib'd.</sup>  
*Tlenquan*, and *Fumoy*. The king resides  
in the city of *Champelo*, one days jour-  
ney from the sea, in the province of  
*Kegue* or *Keboe*, which in that language,  
signifies a flower. It is large and popu-  
lous, as is all the kingdom, tho'  
mountainous. Both this and that of  
*Tunquin* are water'd by many rivers,  
which make them abound in rice and  
sugar.

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Pulcatan  
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sugar. Besides in *Tunquin* there is abundance of silk; and in *Cochinchina* musk, pepper, gold, and cinnamon, and great store of birds-nests. But these which are taken in summer, belong to the queen, for her privy-purse, and therefore the subjects are forbid trading in them, as also in *Calambuch*, which is kept for the king. This sweet wood is found in bits

in the heart of a tree, when rotten.

Both kingdoms produce abundance of melons, cocoa-nuts, atas, figs, ananas, jacas, and other sorts of *Indian* fruit. They also gather from a tree, or rather a shrub in *Cochinchina*, a large leaf, call'd *Tea* or *Cha*, which they lay fattens, and therefore soldiers are there forbid the use of it.

GEMELLI  
1695.  
Fruit.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Author continues his Voyage to Macao.*

Pulcatan  
island.

**T**uesday the 28th, before break of day we were near the island of *Pulcatan*, 360 miles from *Pulcandor*, where they cross the gulph of *Aynan* to discover the islands of *Macao*, equally distant. *Pulcatan* is a small island three miles about, inhabited by *Cochinchineses*, and sometimes govern'd by a *Mandarine*; it is near the continent, and to the mountain call'd the *Horse's Saddle*.

Having sail'd fifty miles to get over the flats which we said ended beyond *Pulcatan*, and then as many more, we directed our course to the northward. The mouth of the river that runs up to *Champelo*, the court of *Cochinchina*, call'd by the *Chinezes*, *Sayfo*, is a little beyond the aforesaid island. There is another more to the northward for lesser ships, and call'd *Toran*.

**Friday** the 29th, the fair wind continuing, carry'd us on a great way smoothly, though the sea was rough. But here we were very much afraid of those winds they call *Tifones*, or Hurricanes, which blowing furiously on all sides, sometimes carry away the masts, and what is worse, the men, if they do not keep under deck. The first remedy in these cases is to cut down the mast, and let her run, trusting in God; for the mischief is irresistible, and in a moment sinks ships, or else drives them on the coast of *Cochinchina*.

**Saturday** the 30th, the same wind continuing till noon, afterwards came fairer, and set us very forward; and so it did on *Sunday* the last day of the month; so that on *Monday* the first of *August*, we were off the island *Aynan*, belonging to the province of *Canton*; at the furthest point whereof begins the shore of the river of *Tunquin*, call'd *Bassa*, from seven neighbouring villages.

**Tuesday** the 2d, we came near the island of *St. John*, vulgarly call'd *Sanchan*, so famous for the glorious *St. Francis Xavierius* ending his days there, when

he hop'd to enter *China*; the grott where the faint liv'd and dy'd, being to be seen at a dista ce. It is sixty miles from *Macao*, about ten miles in length, and proportionably broad, is fruitful, and has plenty of good water.

**Wednesday** the 3d, tho' the wind was not very fair, yet it carry'd us on into a labyrinth of islands, some call'd *dos Veados*, *Meru Montagna*, *dos Ladroas*, *Lantau*, *Lemi*, *Campacaw*, *Atravafeia*, and others. This is most remarkable, that they are all water'd by excellent rivers, and springs, which keep them always green; and abound in deer, *Baccharias*, and other wild beasts, which the citizens of *Macao* often go over to kill.

We could make no way because of the wind, and therefore lay tacking all the night. Those islands afforded a curious prospect, being lighted by so many fisher-boats plying about them. These people always live in their floating-houses, with their wives and children; feeding on the fish they take, and selling them both fresh and dry'd to those that will carry them to *Canton*; they themselves never going from the water, but only removing from one island to another, according to the seasons, which make fish more plentiful in one place than another. Constant practice has made them very expert at their trade; having, besides their nets, invented several particular instruments, perhaps altogether unknown to *Europeans*. By the warmth or coolness of the water, and other signs and tokens, they foresee the *Tifones*, or hurricanes, a day or more before they happen; and retiring with their boats into very close creeks, and drawing them ashore, expect the end of the storm with all their Family.

**Thursday** the 4th, the feast of *St. Dominick*, being near *Macao*, before noon, several people came from the city in boats,

Hurricane.

Sanchan  
island.

GEMELLI 1695. boats, every one to see his friend, and among the rest father *Philip Fiesia*, procurator of *Japan*, who came in a *Lorja*, or large bark to bring refreshments to father *Ferreira*, and the other nine fathers. I had my share, and eat excellent figs, like ours in *Europe*, and good *Ananai*, my stomach not failing me. Going into the bark with those fathers, I got to the city *Macao*, on the so long wish'd for land of *China*. I left my money in some vessels full of salt flesh, and fish, to save paying the duty of four in the hundred to the ship, and two to the city, since for the vice-roy's sake, I had not paid for my own, nor my servant's

passage. The ship *Bumburpa* arriv'd three days before us, and set ashore ten *Jesuits* it had aboard. I was courteously entertain'd in the monastery of *St. Augustin*, by father *Joseph* of the *Conception*, born at *Madrid*, and prior of that place. He gave me a plentiful supper at night, with variety of sweetmeats. Here it will be convenient, that whilst I rest me after my voyage, which was no less than 3000 miles; the reader, who has hitherto born with my unpolish'd discourse, take some little respite, that he may in the next volume be the more attentive to the wonders of the renowned empire of *China*.

*The End of the Third BOOK.*

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Vol. I



*A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part IV.*

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in  
CHINA.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

*Of the first Foundation of the City of Macao, and its Forts.*

**I** Am now at length come to enter upon the vast empire of *China*, and could wish my stile and language were suitable to the greatness of the subject, that I might give the curious reader such a draught and description as it deserves; but that being above my capacity, he must be forced to take up, and be satisfy'd with my unpolish'd way of delivery. Therefore to begin at one of the ports of this empire, that is, *Macao*, which was the first place I came to, it is to be observ'd, That *Macao* in the *Chinese* language signifies a port, and is otherwise call'd *Amagao*, a name given it from an idol so call'd, which was ador'd in that place. It is seated in 141 degrees of longitude, and 22 of latitude, on the point of an island call'd *Haiheu*, in the province of *Canton*. The shape of it is like an arm, encompass'd on all sides by the sea, except where it joins to the shoulder. The ground it stands on is uneven, being hill, vale, and plain; the houses are well built, after the manner of *Europe*; the churches very fine for that country, especially that of the *Jesuits* college, which has a noble front adorn'd with beautiful pillars. In this church is preserv'd that most precious relick of *St. Francis Xavierius*, being the bone of the arm from the shoulder to the elbow. Next the churches of the *Augustins*, of *St. Francis*, *St. Lawrence*, the *Misericordia*, and the nuns are decently built, and adorn'd. The streets of the city are all pav'd, because there is no want of stone. There are in it 5000 souls of *Portuguese*, or better, and above 15000 *Chinese*.

It is above 110 years since this place was founded by the *Portuguese*, for they

coming from *Malaca* and *India*, to trade with the *Chinese*, and being overtaken by the bad weather, some ships miserably perish'd, for want of a secure harbour in the islands about *Macao*, which made them ask some place of safety to winter in, till the season would allow them to return home, and the *Chinese*, for their own advantage, gave them this spot of rocky land, then inhabited by robbers, that they might expel them, as they did. At first they were permitted to build thatch'd houses, but afterwards having brib'd the *Mandarines*, they not only erected substantial structures, but made forts. One of these is at the mouth of the harbour, call'd the fort of the bar, whose wall upwards terminates at the rock, call'd, *A Penha*, which is an hermitage of the fathers, of the order of *St. Augustin* on the hill. The other being the biggest, is call'd the fort of the mountain, because seated on the very top of a hill. There is also another high fort, call'd *Nossa Senhora da Guia*, or, *Our Lady of Guidance*.

*Philip Ferrarius* was much mistaken, when in his geographical dictionary he said, That this city had belong'd to the king of *Portugal*, and that in the year 1668 it was taken by the emperor of *China*, and made subject to his dominion; for from its first foundation it never suffer'd any revolution, being a colony of *Portuguese*, by antient grant of the emperor, to whom they pay not only a yearly tribute, but custom for goods, and a duty upon every vessel proportionable to its bulk, tho' it be not loaded after the same manner as those of the *Moors*, and *English* do; nor can any boat go in or out, without leave

Aaaa from

GEMELLI  
1695.

Its forts.

Subject to  
*China*.

GEMELLI  
1695. from the *Chinese*, who guard the mouth  
of the harbour.

This little rocky enclosure of three miles has not provisions to subsist a day, but all is brought to it from the towns of the *Chinese*, who have shut up the *Portuguese*, as it were in a prison, having secur'd that narrow neck of land which lies between the main sea, and the little arm of it next the continent with a wall and gate, which they lock up when they please, and starve the inhabitants as often as they will; tho' the country of *China* is so plentiful, that the value of a piece of eight in bread (which is the best in the world) will keep a man half a year.

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ens.

The *Chinese* allow the *Portuguese* the government of the city of *Macao*, as far as relates to the administration of justice; and for this privilege they pay a yearly imposition of 600 *Tayes*, each of which is worth fifteen *Carlines* of *Naples*, which is about a noble, sterling: Besides the customs receiv'd by a *Mandarine*, whom they call *Upu*, and the duty, as was said before, upon every vessel proportionable to its bulk, the least of which pays no less than 1000 *Tayes*, that is, so many nobles. The city chooses a judge, or supreme magistrate, who has the management of civil and criminal affairs, in all cases where no *Chinese* is concern'd. The political government is in a captain-general, appointed by the king of *Portugal*, and the spiritual in a bishop. All these officers and commanders are maintain'd by the city, which allows the captain-general a piece of eight a day, and 3000 every three years; 500 to the bishop, 150 to the captains, and proportionably to the soldiers; which charge is defray'd by a duty of ten *per Cent.* upon *Portuguese* goods, and two in the hundred upon money. Tho' the king of *Portugal* has the naming of the captain-general for this small place, yet he does not allow him a farthing pay.

Besides these burdens this poor city lies under, all the *Mandarines* that come from *Canton*, are to be lodg'd and entertain'd, and this is no small expence. The *Upu*, as soon as he came, order'd a cow to be slaughter'd immediately, for him to eat a little, and ease his indisposition, forasmuch as the *Chinese* look upon it as dainty and savoury meat.

All the income and revenue of the city and inhabitants of *Macao*, depends upon the uncertainty of the tea, for all persons whatsoever there, apply themselves to trade; and the gentry deal in their money, putting it out to use, or

sending merchandize, or gold ingots to be chang'd into pieces of eight at *Goa*. Tho' at *Macao* they have not ground to sow a handful of pease, yet God provides for them, in such manner that they live in plenty enough, all necessities being brought them from the adjacent parts, and they make so much of themselves, that their tables are never without sweet-meats, excellently made by the women; and I may truly say, I never fed so well any where as at *Macao*, the women there knowing how to cover a table for a king, and to please any nice appetite.

When the trade of *Japan* flourish'd, this city was so rich, that it could have pay'd the streets with silver; but after the slaughter of so many christians, the trade of *Nagasaki* was quite lost to the *Portuguese*, it being death for any of them to be seen in that port. Thus for want of that trade, the inhabitants of *Macao* are fallen into that poverty they now labour under, having but five ships left of their own to maintain all the city, and these do not bring home returns of 300 *per Cent.* as *Japan* afforded, but a very inconsiderable profit, and this will still be lessen'd by the setting up of the *New East-India Company*, which prohibits its resort to several ports, and some of its commodities.

On *Tuesday* the 6th of *September* 1695, there began to fall a violent rain, without a boisterous wind blowing at the same time. On *Sunday* the 7th, the wind threaten'd a hurricane, being very violent at night, but God be prais'd went no further. In the months of *June*, *July*, *August*, and *September*, they are much afraid of whirl-winds, and one happened three years before I was there, which rolling in the region of the air, carry'd the tiles off the houses, and lifted up stones that four men could not remove, overturning many houses, and ruining the dormitory of the monastery of *St. Augustin*. But they are now liable to this scourge every year. The Rain continu'd after the same manner all *Monday* the 8th, the stormy wind never abating. On *Tuesday* the 9th, I went to see a play acted after the *Chinese* manner, it was represented at the cost of some of the neighbours for their diversion in the middle of a small square. There was a large stage to contain thirty persons, men and women actors, and tho' I understood it not, because they spoke the *Mandarine*, or court-language, yet I perceiv'd by the manner of it, that they acted with life and skill. It was partly recited, and partly sung, the musick

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musick of several instruments of wood and brass harmoniously answering the voice of him that sung. They were all well enough clad, their garments adorn'd with gold, which they chang'd often. This play lasted ten hours, ending by

candle-light. When an act is done, <sup>GEMELLI 1695.</sup> the players sit down to eat, and very often the audience does the same. On *Wednesday* the 10th, the same company acted another play in the house of the *Uru*, or customer.

## CHAP. II.

*A fruitless Voyage made by the Portuguese, and Natives of Macao to Japan, to Re settle themselves in the trade lost in the last Persecution of the Christians.*

Christians  
excluded  
Japan.

THE inhabitants of *Macao* have endeavour'd several times to recover their trade with the *Japoneſe*; but always ineffectually, the latter obdutely persisting rather to lose several thousand crowns due to them from the others, than to receive them again into their friendship, having sworn by their Gods never to admit more christians into their country, and if any come, to butcher them without mercy. That the christians might have no opportunity of getting in under the name of other nations, they were advis'd by the *Dutch*, who will have all the profit to themselves, to lay a crucifix on the ground at the landing-place, to discover whether any christian comes under a disguise, because any such will refuse, or at least make a difficulty to trample on the crucifix to enter *Nangasacke*, the port of *Japan*. Thus the *Dutch* settled themselves in the trade, excluding all other periwading the *Japoneſe* that they were no christians, making no scruple for their interest to trample the Holy Image of Christ, which the *English* refus'd to do. This is so certainly true, that I my self in *China* saw and spoke with a *Chinese*, who told me he had trampled on it, and becoming a christian at *Nanking*, confess'd this impious action.

Attempt  
to be re-  
solv'd.

The city of *Macao* made its last effort a few years since, some of its inhabitants undauntedly exposing themselves to die, or by dint of benefits to gain the hardened hearts of the *Japoneſe*, being periwaded, that God by an accident had again given an opportunity of erecting the standard of the cross in that mighty empire, which was thus. In *February* 1685, the weather being very stormy, a *Japoneſe* bark that was trading among the islands loaded with tobacco, was wreck'd in the neighbourhood of *Macao*, none of twelve *Japoneſe* that were in her, being drown'd. The city caus'd them to be reliev'd, and the bark and goods that were sav'd

to be sold for their benefit; then having consulted together, they thought this an excellent opportunity to attempt the recovery of their trade in that island, of which same opinion the fathers of the society were.

To this intent the city and *Jesuits* hir'd a ship, and putting the *Japoneſe* aboard, set sail on the 13th of *June* of the aforesaid year for *Nangasacke*, and got into that port on the 2d of *July* at night. Immediately a *Mandarine* came aboard the vessel, which was call'd *St. Paul*, with an interpreter, and four scribes, or notaries, one of whom was sent by the general, the second by the chief civil magistrate, the third by the city, and the fourth by the prime man in religious matters, every one to write a-part what questions the interpreter put in *Portuguese*, and what they answer'd, that there might be no mistake. The interpreter knelt down before the *Mandarine*. I believe the most severe and crafty judge, could never put more ensnaring questions to draw the criminal to confess a crime, than this *Mandarine* did to the *Portuguese*, to make them own the knowledge of the antient prohibition to christians, upon pain of death not to come into the empire of *Japan*, and in case they did, to be indispensably subject to suffer the penalty. But they knowing the *Mandarine's* design could not be entrapp'd by him, but answer'd discreetly to all his interrogatories, still denying any knowledge of such prohibition. In short, the *Portuguese* were examin'd about the time the bark was cast away; in what quarter of *Macao* the twelve *Japoneſe* liv'd; whether they there, or aboard, convers'd with the christians; what it was the city of *Macao* desir'd of them; whether there were any antient men aboard the vessel, who could remember what had happen'd between the christians and *Japoneſe*; and much more too long to insert, several hours being taken up in these questions by the *Mandarine*, and notaries,

GENELEE 1695  
 notaries, who all writ severally to report it to their superiors. At length, having taken the number of men, and dimensions of the vessel, the *Mandarine* went off with all those he brought with him.

*Japoneſe*, their ſub-  
 miſſion.  
 The vulgar ſort of *Japoneſe* are worſe than ſlaves to the nobility, and *Mandarines*, for they dare not ſpeak to them, but on their knees, hanging down their heads, lifting up their hands together to their forehead, and ſtretching them out towards the *Mandarine*, by way of reſpect, which the interpreter did every time the captain of the veſſel answer'd. And if a *Mandarine* goes aboard a veſſel, in which there are a thouſand people, there will not one word be heard, all things being done by ſigns, and the pilot commands by a fan he holds in his hand, waving it to the right or left to direct the ſteerman.

The next day the *Mandarine* ſet out in a *Palanquine*, carry'd on men's ſhoulders, for *Amiaco*, to acquaint the emperor with the arrival of the *Portugueſe* veſſel, and in the mean while reſreſhments were ſent aboard from the city with much civility, bidding them aſk for all they had occaſion for, and they ſhould be ſupply'd; and tho' the *Portugueſe* did not declare their wants, yet the *Japoneſe* ſent them all that was neceſſary.

The veſſel was beſet, and guarded day and night by ten *Funes*, which are barks of the country mann'd with ſoldiers, who watch'd that none of the *Portugueſe* might ſet foot aſhore, as alſo that nothing might be thrown into the ſea, inſomuch that one day a duck flying away, ſeveral *Funes* purſu'd it for ſome hours, and having taken, carry'd it to the governour, who ſent it back, charging them to take care that no creature eſcap'd, requiring that the filth of the veſſel ſhould be thrown over-board in the preſence of the ſoldiers.

The day after the arrival of the *Portugueſe*, the *Dutch* came aboard in a ſmall boat, thinking it had been a ſhip of theirs, and perceiving they were *Portugueſe*, and underſtanding the cauſe of their coming, they return'd, ſaying, in that country it was neceſſary to ſpeak the truth.

*Dutch* factory.  
 The factory at *Nangafacke* enjoys not that liberty the *Dutch* have in their trade in other parts, nor has it that authority in this port as elſewhere; for as ſoon as the ſhips come to an anchor, a *Mandarine* comes aboard to tell the men, and carry the ſails and rudder aſhore. When a man dies, a *Mandarine* muſt view the body before it is bury'd. It happened ſix years before this time, that two ſailors were once miſſing, who had gone aſhore, and it was judg'd they

were two fathers of the ſociety, who took this courſe to make their way into that kingdom; but it coſt much money to conceal their eſcape, the *Mandarine* being brib'd, and two hillocks ſhow'd him as if they had been graves; ſo that at preſent the *Dutch* admit no ſtrangers aboard the ſhips bound for *Japan*, but only natives of *Holland*, who can prove they are of that country, and give an account of their father and mother. Nor have the *Dutch* any communication with the city, but live in their factory, which is ſeated on a rock, enclos'd with a wall, to which there are two Gates; one towards the port to ſhip their goods, and this, when the ſhips are gone, has five ſeals put upon it, not to be open'd upon pain of death. The other answers to the city, and is continually guarded, no trade being allow'd with the *Japoneſe*, but only once a year, when they give a paſs to the perſon appointed to go to *Amiaco*, to viſit the emperor from the company.

The *Mandarine* return'd from court thirty five days after his departure thither, having ſtay'd ſo long by reaſon of its diſtance of one hundred and twenty miles from *Nangafacke*. He, and the notaries with the interpreters, went aboard the *Portugueſe* veſſel, and concealing his journey to *Amiaco*, told the captain, that the emperor and his council were not inform'd of their coming, but that having acquainted the ſecretary of ſtate with it, he had taken that affair upon him, becauſe the king could not be ſpoken to; and therefore they might go their way, enjoining them never more to return to thoſe iſlands upon any account whatſoever, ſo far as at preſent, they pardon'd and gave them their lives in return for the kindneſs they had ſhewn their country-men, whom they carry'd to *Nangafacke*; but it was never known, whether they put them to death or not. Then the *Portugueſe* captain aſk'd, in caſe any other *Japoneſe* bark were caſt away upon their land, what they were to do, to which queſtion no answer was given.

Afterwards they read the emperor's order, which they had receiv'd by letter from the ſecretary, and every time the emperor was nam'd, the *Mandarines* kneel'd down. At laſt, having assign'd the time when they were to be gone, they bid them give an account what provisions they wanted, further adviſing them in caſe they ſhould be forced back by ſtreſs of weather, to come to *Nangafacke*, and bidding them have a care of going to any other port, becauſe they would be in much danger. When

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 Vol. IV.

the *Mandarines* were gone, the vessel was tow'd by several *Funes*, or barks, about a cannon shot out of the harbour of the city, where it stay'd six weeks for a wind, and when the weather was fit, on the day prefix'd, the *Japoneſe* brought them the provisions and water they had ask'd for, taſting it before them to take away any ſuſpicion. Then they reſtor'd them the pictures, beads and croſſes, taken from them when firſt they came to *Nangajacbe*, which they kept lock'd up in a box, becauſe of the great averſion thoſe people have for the croſs, and other chriſtian devotions. They had ask'd them at their firſt coming, why they bore the croſs in their colours? to which the *Portugueſe* answer'd, It was the enſign of their kings. Thus the veſſel return'd to *Macao*, without any return, after all their expence.

Befides this account of the matter of fact already given, the maſter, mate, and ſeveral ſeamen, who went that voyage, and whom I diſcours'd aboard the veſſel call'd the *Reſary*, told me it was very difficult getting into the channel of *Nangajacbe*, by reaſon of the flats, rocks, and iſlands that lie in it; beſides, it is neceſſary to come to an anchor four times, by reaſon of the tide, which ſometimes is for, and ſometimes

againſt them. It is ſcur'd by five GENELEE 1695 guards in as many ſeveral poſts upon the channel, and two garrisons at the mouth of the bay, who, as ſoon as they diſcover any ſhip, preſently ſend notice of it to the city, which preſerves it ſelf without walls or cannon, only by its vigilance. The houſes of the city are of timber, the ſtreets are barricado'd at night, and watch'd by captains, who are to give an account of all that happens. *Nangajacbe* looks towards the weſt, and is above a mile in compaſs. Theſe men alſo told me, that the *Japoneſe* ſhave from the forehead to the crown of the head, leaving the reſt of the hair ſhort, and that when they go aboard they are bare-headed, only the *Mandarines* wearing a very fine ſtraw-hood. They ſhave the upper and under lip; their garment is ſhort, at leaſt that I have ſeen ſome *Japoneſe* wear, bound cloſe about them with a girdle, in which they ſtick their two ſcimiters, one long, and the other ſhort. The women are clad after the ſame manner, and wear their hair looſe; they have no handkerchiefs to bi w their noſes, but uſe paper, which ſerves but once. The country about *Nangajacbe* is mountainous, but fruitful to ſuch a degree, that it bears moſt *European* fruits.

## CHAP. III.

*The Author's Journey to Canton, with a Deſcription of that City, and others in the Way to it.*

**B**Eing reſolv'd to go over to *Canton*, I went on *Thursday* the 11th, to ſpeak to the *Portugueſe* general, to get me a paſs from the *Upu*, that I might not be troubled on the road, which he promiſ'd to do. *Friday* the 12th, I laid out for a *Chineſe*, to be my interpreter on the road, and ſoon found one for a ſmall conſideration. On *Saturday* the 13th, I went with the city ſolicitor to take my leave of the *Upu*, but we came at a time when he was diſpatching the letters for the emperor, which were writ by the city and *Mandarines*, upon account of ſending him a lion. The ſolemnity was perform'd after this manner. The *Upu* coming out in publick, ſate down in a chair, with a deſk before him, cover'd with ſilk, clad in a long garment, to which was faſtned a great collar, or rather hood that hung down, and cover'd his back, and made two wings. Abundance of inſtruments and conſu'd voices reſounded for the

more grandeur, beſides the firing of three chambers, thirty foot-foldiers ſtanding in a rank, with ſeveral enſigns in their hands, and very long umbrelloes. The *Upu* kneel'd facing a table, on which was a bag with the emperor's letters, bowing down his forehead to the ground three times, which he repeated as often, riſing up every time upon his feet. The ceremony ended, thoſe that held the inſtruments and umbrelloes running out of the way, that the letters might be deliver'd in due form upon the firing of three other chambers. The expreſs having receiv'd them, immediately mounted a horſeback, and began to gallop, all *Mandarines* being oblig'd, within their juſtification, to furniſh him with good horſes, without detaining, or ſtaying him. After this, the *Mandarine* ſate down, and cauſ'd the gates to be open'd, which were ſhut before, and ſoon after withdrew, for which reaſon I could not then take leave of him.



GEMELLI  
1698.  
Way from  
Macao to  
Oanfon.

On Sunday the 14th, I went again clad after the *Chinese* fashion, and took leave of him, after he had given me a pass to all the custom-houses on the road, because I carry'd goods of bulk, and a slave. Monday the 15th, having taken a boat that had a good cabin in the stern, I caus'd my bed to be made in it, and went aboard in the evening. All the night they row'd with the *Eylan*, or *Lie*, which is a particular sort of oar us'd by the *Chinese*, longer than the others, and placed at the stern, or at the side, supported by a pin, or bound with a rope. Several persons row with it dexterously, without taking it out of the water, as other nations do, but moving it from side to side, which puts the vessel forwards, and one such oar does more work than four others. Where there are shoals, they shove the boats forward with poles. At mid-night we came to an anchor. Tuesday the 16th, early we sail'd, holding on our way through a channel left by the adjacent islands. It is true, there is another wider channel more to sea, us'd by great ships, for by land there is no going beyond *Oanfon*. Having pass'd by so many islands that they seem'd quite to block up the way, we enter'd a river of fresh water, which stagnated in several places among the islands, and was at least half a mile over. We arriv'd at *Oanfon*, or *Anfon*, as the *Portuguese* pronounce it, before night. The islands, and country about them are pleasant enough, by reason of the greenness of the fields and meadows, which might feed mighty flocks, not unlike *Apulia*, in *Italy*, but we saw none there. Along the canal we met several custom-house officers in boats, who put me to no trouble about my equipage, or my slave, nor did they search our vessel, and I gave them in all a piece of eight.

Oanfon  
city.

*Oanfon* is more like a great village than a city, having no wall, and its low houses are for the most part of timber, and thatch'd. The city is seated in the plain along the river, because the *Chinese* do not build on the high grounds, for fear of hurricanes. It reaches above two miles in length. The market-places, or squares in it are large, with rich shops, where are sold cloths, silks, calicoes, drugs, or spices, garments, provisions, and other things. It is defended by a vast structure, along the side, and on the top of the hill, being two miles and a half in compass, which they call the fort, tho' there were in it but five small guns to

be fir'd upon publick rejoycings, and but a small garrison. And indeed, all the use of it is for the natives to retire thither upon any invasion, there being centinels continually on high towers, to give notice who approaches. The city is govern'd by a *Quansa*, or *Mandarine*, as the *Portuguese* call him, who guards the channel with nine vessels well mann'd. There are often barks ready here to go over to *Canton*, because those who come by sea and land from *Macao*, want shipping; but it was my misfortune then to find none, and I afterwards went all alone in a great vessel bound for *Seloam*, which was half-way. Going aboard it about sun-setting, the wind was so favourable, that at mid-night we came to an anchor near that place. All the way was along a still channel amidst green fields of rice, but it is small: than ours, red, and courle.

Wednesday the 17th, I walk'd about to see *Seloam*, and found it a greater wood inhabited, there being such a multitude of trees. The houses of stone, or brick, but low, after their manner. The compass of the town was above three miles; besides, there are such numbers of boats, that they almost made another town. A *Mandarine* governs here. On the opposite side of the channel was another city call'd *Santa*, much greater, and better built, under another *Mandarine*. This second boat cost but six *Carlines* of *Naples*, that is, 21. 8d, which I mention to shew how cheap travelling is in *China*.

Thursday the 18th, I hir'd another vessel, better than the former two, for it had cabbins and galleries on the sides, cover'd with all conveniences. We set out at noon for *Canton*. Several *Chinese* went along with me, whom I found very observant and courtous to me; and there was a cook aboard to serve the passengers, who dress'd meat after the *Chinese* fashion. Tho' the current of the water was against us, yet the wind being fair we made way, always amidst pleasant fields and towns, beautiful towers every where appearing upon high mountains. In these rivers and channels there is taken abundance of fish, prawns, and the like, but particularly a vast quantity of oysters, of whose shells they make gla'ss for the windows. The river we sail'd upon parted into several branches on the right and left, its waters affording those people an easy communication with one another, sometimes spreading abroad, and sometimes contracting it self to make the way the more difficult. At sun-

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setting we left *Lauzan* on the right, and on the left *Ciaum*, *Potatum*, and other stately places to be seen every two miles, in each of which we saw eight, twelve, or fifteen high towers, according to the bigness of the town, but all of them large, strong, and with loop-holes, providently built by the *Chinese*, in case of any attack from an enemy, that the townsmen retiring with their goods, may defend themselves, upon notice given them by those that are there upon guard, which is only in those places where there is no sort to retire to.

Friday the 10th, we put into the port of *Canton*, just at sun-rising, having lain all night at anchor near that city. Here the fresh channel and the salt, on which we sail'd, meet, and form that peninsula on the point of which *Macao* stands, being about 150 miles distant from *Canton*, for the way is not strait, we having made a semicircle because of the winding of the river. I went in a small boat to the custom-house, which was kept in a very great bark, with many cabbins in it for the conveniency of the officers, who seeing the *Upu's* pass, discharge'd me, paying only five small pieces duty, without opening my goods. For the boat I paid about six *royals Spanish*, [if he means *royals plate* it is three shillings, if *royals brass*, but two.] I went to the monastery of the *Spanish* fathers, of the order of St. Francis, residing upon the mission in *Canton*, and in the suburb, where they have two churches well adorn'd, maintain'd by the charitable allowance of the king of *Spain*. They receiv'd me very courteously, not without some jealousy, because my coming was an unusual thing. For the better understanding hereof, it is to be observ'd, That the city of *Macao*, by reason of its poverty, having been long without a bishop, the see apostolick has thought proper to appoint vicars apostolick in *China*, *Tuncbin*, and *Cochinchina*, to whom all the missionaries and catholics are subject. Some priests of the college of St. Germain, in *Paris*, being pitch'd upon to this purpose, the *Spanish Franciscans*, *Augustinians* and *Dominicans* maintain'd in *China*, by the charity of the king of *Spain*, took the oath of obedience to the aforesaid priests. Now about four years since, the presence of a bishop being thought absolutely necessary, the city of *Macao* writ to the king of *Portugal*, intreating him to intercede with the pope, that the city might have a bishop again, offering to allow him a suitable maintenance. The

bishop accordingly came to *Macao*, and pretending that *Canton*, and other places in *China* were within his diocese, would have the aforesaid fathers to be subject to him, and not to the vicars apostolick, whom he suppos'd to be recall'd by his coming. But these fathers having taken an oath to obey the vicars, they say they cannot be subject to the bishop, without he shews the others are recall'd. Upon this account there are every day summons and monitories sent them, which do not only distract those good religious men in the service of God, and the duty of their mission, but lessen the brotherly affection they ought to have for one another, for they are all divided into factions, those already mention'd for the vicars, and the *Jesuits* on the other side for the bishop; variances well known at the court of *Rome*, where the remedy is to be apply'd to prevent the scandal that may be given to the christian *Chinese*. I coming thither during those troubles, they all positively concluded, I was sent by his holiness to enquire privately into those affairs, some making me a barefoot *Carmelite* friar, and some a secular priest; and tho' I did all I could to undeceive the *Franciscan* fathers, telling them the truth, viz. That I was a *Neapolitan*, and travell'd only for my own private curiosity; that his holiness had not allow'd me a farthing for my voyage, and that the least I desir'd to enquire into, was the business of their missions; yet this could not remove the strong imagination settled in them, and they answer'd, That since there was first a passage open'd into *China*, no *Italian* lay-man, much less a *Neapolitan* had ever set his foot there. At length, I bid them search my goods, for I would freely give them the keys to satisfy them I had no such instructions: but all was in vain. At the same time the *Jesuits*, as well as the *Franciscans* consulted about my coming.

*Canton*, or *Kanceou*, as the *Chinese* Government call it, is the metropolis of the province of *Kuantun*, seated in the latitude of 23 degrees and 5 minutes. Being too big to be govern'd by one governor, it was divided into two by a wall from east to west, the old call'd *Kreuchin*, and the new *Sinbin*, dividing also the suburbs belonging to it. Two governors, as has been said, administer justice in this place, and are call'd *Chike-nes*, having under them lesser *Mandarines*, captains, officers, notaries, and other ministers. One *Cifu*, or regent over the political government is superior to

GENELLI to these governours, and has two assistants in the execution of his office, call'd

1695.

*Uful* and *Sanfu*, one of the right, the other of the left hand. The vice-roy call'd *Fuyuen*, who governs the province, is above them all. Formerly a certain family had this employment, with the title of petty kings, or royetelets, but it is ten years since the present emperor suppress'd that dignity, upon suspicion of treason, causing the last of them to have his head cut off. Over this vice-roy is a *Tjuntio*, or vicar-general of two provinces, who resides in one of the two principal cities, or where he pleases; at present in *Cbia-ozunfu*. This man in the political government is superior to the vice-roy, and absolute in military affairs, for he alone gives orders to the soldiery, which the vice-roys have no authority to do. There is a *Ganchiafu* in the province for criminal matters, who punishes all crimes; and for the receiving the emperor's taxes, there is a treasurer call'd *Pujsinfu*. For military affairs, there are two generals subordinate to the *Tjuntio*, one of them commands the *Tartar* troops, and is call'd *Cbiancium*, whose authority is equal to the vice-roys, for within the city the *Chinese* kettle-drum, which is a brass drum, is beaten before him, and has thirteen strokes given following, as is practis'd with the vice-roy; the authority and dignity of ministers being known in *China* by the number of strokes. The other general commands the forces of the country for the guard of the city, but is subordinate to the vice-roy, and call'd *Titu*. The generals have colonels or *Zumpins*, majors or *Futians*, captains or *Secupes*, and ensigns or *Pazuns* under their command. There are in the city other courts, and in each of them six clerks of the six great councils of the imperial court, every one to dispatch the affairs belonging to that council he is of; of them we shall speak in its place.

Description  
of  
Canton.

These cities and their suburbs are so populous that there is some trouble in going along in a chair. The fathers missionaries say this city and its suburbs, contain four millions of souls, and the province as many more; which to Europeans will sound like a fable, because they are not us'd to hear of such numbers. They may believe what they please but I write what I heard from fathers, who deserve credit, and had no interest in this matter. The houses are low, either of stone, or brick, without any windows to the street, and almost all alike, for the *Chinese* build all after the

same model, and so the cities resemble one another. There are four principal gates to the cities, facing east, west, north, and south, the suburbs taking their names from them. If the city be large, there are more gates, but these four must not be omitted. The streets are very long and strait, the shops rich in silks, drugs, and other commodities of the country, especially in the new city, for in the old, where the vice-roy resides with the soldiery, and courts afore said, there is not much; in other points, the city and suburbs are one continu'd Bazar or fair, there is such a multitude of shops.

The vice-roys and other ministers palaces are big enough, and all upon a floor, with their tribunals, and therefore are nothing beautiful, because they are courts within courts, with the apartments and rooms about them, and receiving all their light from them. In the old city is one noble street, having many stone-arches curiously wrought. They have no cannon regularly dispos'd on the walls of the town, but only a few small pieces to fire upon festivals.

Sunday the 21st, all the *Chinese* christians came to our church, and I was much edify'd to see their extraordinary modesty. Tuesday the 23d, I went to the old city to pay the visit to the father commissary of St. Francis. There I found a good church and monastery, built twenty years before by the little king (we said before the emperor caus'd to be put to death) who having a great esteem for the fathers, did not only build their church and monastery, but facilitated the buying of a house which was fallen to the emperor, and which the fathers got in the suburb, at an easy rate, to found another church and monastery, where I then liv'd. Wednesday the 24th, I went to pay the visit to father *Turcotti*, superior of the *Jesuits*, who being a *Milanese*, went over at the expence of the crown of Spain, by the way of Mexico to Manila, and sent thence to the mission of Ternate. There he was made prisoner with the garrison by the Dutch, who carry'd him to Batavia, where having recover'd his liberty, he went over to Macao under the protection of the crown of Portugal. There he was employ'd in the mission of Canton. Both his church and monastery were poor, and in a mean condition. The Spanish fathers of the order of St. Augustin, two years before this, bought houses to build their church, which they had not yet begun, no more than the French fathers of the society, residing

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siding in *Peking*, whose house is near to the others.

Near *Canton* appears another floating city in boats upon the canal, for in every one of them whole families live with their beasts, and birds, each of them being as long as a galley, cover'd with boards or canes, or else with fig-leaves, with eleven or twelve several rooms in length, to which there is a communication through a boarded gallery, which runs along both sides of them.

In *China* a gentleman cannot go a step a-foot, but must be carry'd in a chair, to avoid falling into the contempt of the *Chinese*; but the chair is to be had at a reasonable rate, and better than those in *Naples*. They use no straps to carry them, but have a piece of wood nail'd across the two poles, which they lay on their shoulders bare, so that it can do no hurt by cutting the flesh. The *Chinese* will carry a chair six miles for a carline of *Naples* money, which is not full six pence.

Being resolv'd to go on to *Peking*, I spoke to the superior of the monastery where I lay, to provide me a faithful servant. He being subordinate to the fathers of the society, privately acquainted father *Turcotti* with it, to know his will, and he being an honest *Lombard* bid him let me go; whereas had he been a *Portuguese*, he had certainly obstructed my journey. Yet this my resolution did not a little increase the jea-

lousy of the missionaries, and confirm <sup>GENELLI 1695.</sup> them in the opinion that I was sent by the pope to enquire privately into the divisions in *China*, seeing I was going on to the court. I am of opinion this jealousy facilitated my journey, which otherwise is full of difficulties, because the *Portuguese* fathers will have no *European* go to the court without their consent. After the aforesaid precaution, the father-superior procur'd me a christian *Chinese* guide, or conductor, who was ripe in years, and hir'd himself for a *Tayes* per month (which is fifteen carlines of *Naples* coin, or a noble sterling) giving him four pieces of eight earnest to provide for his family. Three days after he came to acquaint me, that he was known and had relations at the court, and therefore could not cook for me, and perform other mean services, and therefore it would be requisite I should take another, and he would be steward, and provide conveniences for travelling. I submitted to this imposition, because of his trustiness, the fathers being sureties for him, and took a christian servant eighteen years of age, to dress meat, and do other mean offices, after the rate of a piece of eight a month, and made him buy all necessaries for my journey, even to lamps. I deliver'd my baggage to the father-superior, leaving my slave in the monastery.

CHAP. IV.

*The Author's Voyage to Nanyanfu.*

HAVING made provision of victual, I went aboard with my two *Chinese* servants on *Friday* the 26th, late, in the post-bark, or packet-boat, sent out every three days by the vice-roy, to give the emperor an account of all that happens in the province, which only he and the two prime ministers can do. For three pieces of eight, I had a good convenient cabin in that bark. It set not out that night, waiting to be dispatch'd, which being done, we presently set sail on *Saturday*, about nine in the morning. We went out of the great canal of *Canion*, into another less, full of boats, always in sight of villages and country-houses, amidst green fields. Three hours before sun-setting, we came to the city of *Fusian*, where the custom-house officer, who was in a boat, only look'd upon the master of our vessel's pass. The city is two miles in

length on both sides the banks, well built, but low. The other city (I give it this name because of its greatness, whereas in reality it is a village) is on the water, made of boats, the multitude whereof is so great, that it almost shuts up the passage of the canal. Every town on the land has another to answer it on the water, the poor people liking to live in floating-houses on the canals, which cross all the country. *Fusian* is a great trading city, full of rich shops, and the best webs the *Spaniards* carry over into *New Spain*, are made here. It has above a thousand looms for silks, in each of which four pieces are made at once. There is no court of justice in this place but it is subject in all things to *Canton*, for which subordination, it may be call'd a village, but such a one as contains a million of souls, as all the fathers mis-

C c c c ners

VOL. IV.

GEMELLI 1695. *ners* unanimously inform'd me. Here night coming on, the watermen put an end to their labour, taking their rest on the guard of *Xuantin*.

*Sunday* the 28th, we set out again three hours before day, always in sight of good villages and till'd grounds, for the *Chinese* are so industrious, that they do not only till the plain, but the mountains, cutting them out in ascents to sow them. Before noon we pass'd by the town of *Suetan*, seated in a wood of fruit-trees; after which we pass'd by another call'd *Sinan*, above a mile in length, both sides of the shore being inhabited, and no fewer living in boats upon the water. We stopp'd at the guard of *Su-rytan*. Five men row'd all this way. It is very pleasant travelling, both the green banks appearing as a man lies in his bed.

Sale tra-  
veling

*Monday* the 29th, before day, we held on our voyage, meeting at every four miles the guards of the canal, who have a great boat mann'd with fire-locks, and a small gun at the head to pursue robbers; the emperor maintaining an infinite number of soldiers to secure all the roads in the empire, keeping guards at competent distances. Besides, it is very hard for a robber to escape; for if he goes into his own country, he will be apprehended, and if he would abscond elsewhere it is not practicable, because the inhabitants of that quarter where he would settle, would not admit him, without ten families to be bound for him, and they will not do it, unless a man be well known. At night we lay in the town of *Zin-juenxyen*, the walls whereof are a mile in compass. It is populous, has good streets, and shops, and a suburb on the right-hand shore of a considerable length abounding in all things.

*Tuesday* the 30th, the boat was tow'd along with a rope, as is usual, because the wind and stream were contrary. Afternoon we entred between vast high mountains, which open'd to give way to the canal. They were very pleasant, green and full of rivulets, but the water is not good. On the left hand we left a great *Pagod* with many houses about it, among the green trees, and serv'd by *Bowzes*. Having a mind to eat some fish (which is not sold here, but exchange'd by weight for rice) my *Chinese* servants set it on to boil with a hen, thinking to dress me a dainty dish, but I threw it into the canal. Having pass'd the narrow of the mountains, we lay at night upon the guard of *Xaycheu*. Here the *Chinese* drum was beaten all night, which the centinel did, to show his watchfulness.

*Wednesday* the 13th, we went on thorough places little inhabited, and spent the night in the middle of the river.

*Thursday* the first of *September*, the canal making its way thorough the midst of mountains we were shaded by them, and came at noon to *Intexyen*, a small wall'd town with a great suburb. I Accom-  
went into a *Pagod*, where there were of a Pag-  
great idols sitting with whiskers, and long beards, in royal robes, and with *Chinese* caps on their heads, which are high, the one half standing up above the head. At the feet of them was a statue somewhat less, sitting after the same manner, but with another sort of cap, and on the sides of this stood two, as if they had been pages. Without the *Pagod* was a statue standing, which had a devil's face, holding a lance, and in its left hand another with a casket in its hand resembling an offering. Further out were two horses saddled, each of them with a groom holding him by the cheek. There was also a great drum hung, and a brass bell like ours, which is rung at mid-night, and usual times of prayer. We stay'd that night at the guard and town of *Vanfucan*.

*Friday* the 2d, as we pass'd by a *Pagod* cut out of the middle of a high rock, the blind watermen burnt some papers, and set up lights. The river was winding, and the boat drawn with a rope made of small canes, so that we advanced but little. Besides, the men spent their time in cooking their meat, taking it by turns; for they are such gluttons, that they devour their meat twice, first raw, and then half dress'd; for one turns and winds it in his hands, another cuts it; one washes, and another looks as if he would swallow it. Their first meal is at break of day, and so they continue every hour, nor have they any other God but their belly. *Saturday* the 3d, we lay at night near the guard *Pattu*. The heat was troublesome, which the watermen increas'd, setting up lights every night before a little idol, which was within my cabin, for which reason I soon put them out. *Sunday* the 4th, before night-fall, we came to *Sciau-cheufu*, a city encompass'd by a weak wall, four miles in compass, and enclos'd three parts of it by the river. It has good houses, and shops after the *Chinese* fashion. *Monday* the 5th, after firing some chambers, the *Mandarine* of the city came along the shore to take the air. Before him went two men with brass drums, who gave nine strokes following, two blue colours, two white,

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white, two maces with dragons heads at the ends of them, being the imperial arms, two executioners with staves in their hands, four mace-bearers, four other officers with red and black hats without brims, and with two plumes hanging, who made a noise to give notice to the people. Then came the *Mandarine* in a chair carry'd by four men, with three umbrells on his sides. Ten servants with scimitars follow'd him, with the points forwards instead of the hilts. That night we lay near the houses of *Tanfu*, or guard of *Uyan-tan*. Tuesday the 6th, we continu'd in the midst of the river, having made but little way, because the current was rapid and against us.

Wednesday the 7th, after night-fall, we came to *Cbianken*, a small village, which was as far as the first boat went. Here we took another less, because of the current, and for want of water; tho' here two rivers meet. This boat had seven hundred *Siens*, or *Cbiappas*, which make a piece of eight. We set out immediately, striking into the river on the right, and lay at night among a great number of boats. Thursday the 8th, we continu'd our voyage with more expedition, coming at sun-set to *Tancoyen*; where, because the river cannot water the fields, the industrious *Cbinese* drew it up by force in a bucket, two men working at the rope; or else turning a wheel with their feet, about which,

and another, is one end of a chain of <sup>GENELEE</sup> squar'd boards, which passing through a long wooden trough, one end of which is in the river, raises the water through it, and is convey'd in a channel along the field. A curious invention, which none but the wonderful wit of the *Cbinese*, could have found out. That night we lay near the small place call'd *Tauriyen*.

Friday the 9th, I came after noon to *Nanyanfu*, the last city of the province of *Canton*, on that side. I went to the church of the *Spanish* fathers missionaries, where though I found not the father, who was gone to the villages of his mission, I was courteously receiv'd by the servants, who treated me in the best manner they could. *Nanyanfu* is <sup>1695.</sup> *Nanyanfu* on the right side of the river, in 25 degrees of latitude, and 142 of longitude. It stretches a mile and a half in length, and is but a quarter of a mile in breadth. Having taken a chair for coolness, I was carry'd about it, and found nothing to please the eyes, because, besides that their houses are low, there are many decay'd and gone to ruin, there being large gardens within the city. There are abundance of shops of goods and provisions, this place being an unavoidable thorough-fare for all commodities carry'd out of the south to the north, or from the north to the south.

## CHAP. V.

*The Way that must of necessity be gone by Land, to take boat again, and the Description of the great Canal of China.*

MY servants caus'd three chairs to be brought betimes on Saturday the 10th to the convent, one for me, and two for themselves. They are very light, being made of cane, even to the poles, because they are to be carry'd over a craggy mountain. It is incredible how nimbly those chair-men travel'd, without resting any more than three times all the journey of thirty miles, trotting five miles an hour, without the ease of straps, instead of which they have a hard piece of wood across, lying on their necks, which cuts their flesh, but some of them use a leather collar to save themselves. The way was like a continual fair, there was such abundance of goods carry'd along it, by an infinite number of porters, and so many chairs. For in *Cbina*, all merchandise being carry'd upon rivers, and there

being no communication between those on *Nanyanfu* and *Nanganfu*, of which is the greatest trade of the empire, it is carry'd thirty miles by land, the men serving instead of beasts, carrying good burdens; and I may truly affirm in this journey I met above thirty thousand. To feed such a number of people, the road is a continual row of villages and inns, where those porters dine, for the value of a grain of *Naples* money, which is the smallest coin. The country where tillable is a perfect field of rice, which ripens at all times, the land never lying fallow. I din'd at noon in one of those inns, and afterwards rested in another, because of the heat. Tho' the mountain for two miles ascending, and as far descending, was very steep, yet I went it in a chair, because the men that carry'd me were strong, and I somewhat in.

Travelling  
in a chair.

Scien-  
city.



GENELLI 1695. indispos'd. One *Vicen*, whilst he was Mandarin of *Nanganfu*, made the way through this mountain, but with the assistance of him of *Nanyanfu*, who in like manner cut the unpassable mountain on his side. In return for which good act the *Chinese* erected a *Pagod* in honour of these two *Mandarines* in the mid-way, with their statues, adoring them as idols. Being come off the mountain and having travel'd two miles from it, I came to *Nanganfu* three hours before night, and lodg'd in the house of the *Spanish Franciscans*, and tho' the father was not there, being gone abroad into the liberties of his mission, yet the servants complimented me with great respect and submission. No mission in *China* is better than this, maintain'd here by the charity of our *Spanish* monarch, who after being at the expence of one thousand pieces of eight for sending a missionary into *China*, punctually supplies him with one hundred and forty more *per annum*, allowing the reform'd *Franciscans* for twenty fathers, tho' they have but twelve there. The same he does with the *Spanish Dominicans* and *Augustinians*, who also go thither by the way of *Manila*. The money they save at the years end, they employ in building new churches, and adorning old; for the finest in *Canton*, *Nanyanfu*, and *Nanganfu* are those of the *Spanish* fathers, who keep them very decently. Tho' the *Jesuits* in *Peking*, *Cancbeus*, and other cities, have revenues of houses and lands, yet they live very sparingly, when they are not punctually reliev'd from *Portugal*, they themselves having told me, that the year before this we speak of, there were only twenty five *Tayes* a missionary distributed, which is thirty one pieces of eight, which cannot suffice to maintain four or five servants, for those that have no revenues. Yet those of *Peking* fare well.

*Nanganfu*  
city.

The great  
canal.

Having taken a chair, I went about the city, which is the first in the province of *Kiamfy*, the mountain dividing the two provinces. It is seated on the right hand of the river, being a mile in length, besides the suburbs; there are many villages on the other side. The houses are of stone, brick, and timber, low, and ill built, streets narrow, and the shops not very rich, tho' here is a great trade by land and water, for it were necessary the river should flow with gold, to make that infinite number of inhabitants easy.

The great canal of *China*, which makes that vast empire navigable from one end to the other, for the vast length of about one thousand eight hundred miles, always along rivers and canals

(tho' I travel'd one days journey from *Nanyanfu* to *Nanganfu*) was made by the command of the *Tartar* prince *Xicu*, or *Cublay*. For the western *Tartars* having about four hundred years since conquer'd *China*, they fix'd the seat of their empire at *Peking*, that they might be more at hand to govern their dominions of the western *Tartary*, which begins at the province of *Peking*, and stretches out as far as the *Mogul's* country, and to *Persia* on the *Caspian* sea; and because the northern provinces could not furnish the necessary provisions for the support of that mighty court, it being at the same time very uncertain to bring them by the sea, out of the south, by reason of calms and storms, he employ'd an infinite number of people, who with an immense charge, and wonderful industry, cut a canal across several provinces three thousand five hundred *Chinese* furlongs in length, which make three hundred and thirty *Italian* miles. This canal, as well to break the current of the water, as to make it the deeper, has in several places seventy two sluices. They have strong wooden gates which are shut at night, and open'd in the day, for boats to pass. The passage through them is generally easy, but there are some few difficult and dangerous, especially that they call *Tien-Ficha*, that is, *The Queen or Lady of Heaven*, to express its extraordinary height. When the boats go against the stream, and are come to the foot of this sluice, they are tow'd with several ropes by four, or five hundred men, fastening strong cables to stone pillars, in case the ropes should not answer. Being thus secur'd they all begin gently to draw the boat by beat of drum, and then make all the haste they can, whilst she is in the violent part of the current, to bring her at one pull out of danger, and into the standing water. They go down with much precaution, but more danger; fastening cords to the stern of the boat, which they let run gently, whilst others with long poles, shod with iron, keep them from dashing against the banks. This canal begins at the city *Tan-cheu*, eight miles from *Peking*, where there is a river whose stream is follow'd till it falls into another river near the sea, which they run up for some days. Next they come into a canal made by art, and after sailing seventy miles, there is a *Pagod*, call'd *Fuen-xieu-miao*, that is, *the temple of the Spirit*, which divides the waters; because here the waters make no opposition, but they run along it only with the help of oars. This water comes from a lake eastwards through a canal,

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cut by the *Chinese*, through a mountain, stopping the natural course of the river, and conveying it to artificially to this *Pagoda*, that when it comes over against it, one half runs north, and the other half south. The canal in some places runs within the city, and in others along the walls. It crosses part of the province of *Peking*, all that of *Xantung*, and after entering that of *Nanking* falls into this rapid river, which the *Chinese* call, *the yellow River*; on which there is not two days fail, and then they enter into an-

other river, up which they run a mile, at the end whereof is a canal, made by the *Chinese*, on the south side of this last river, which runs towards the city *Hoain-gan*. From hence it runs through several cities, till coming to the town of *Tamcheu*, not far from thence, it falls into the great river *Kian*, half a days journey from the city *Nanking*. This was certainly a greater and more wonderful work, than all those antient ones we are told of the *Romans*, *Persians*, *Assyrians*, or other former monarchies.

## CHAP. VI.

*The Voyage to Nanchianfu, the Metropolis of the Province of Kianfi.*

*Sunday* the 11th, I found my self so weak, by reason of a loolness, that I could not fet out, tho' the boat was ready. *Monday* the 12th, I went aboard, and the boat immediately let out with the stream, amidst vast high mountains, the city of *Nanganfu* being at the foot of, and all round beset by them. At sun set we rested at the village of *Sz-main*. *Tuesday* the 13th, getting out of the confinement of the mountains, we met many boats, which were some hindrance to us, because of the narrowness of the channel, so that we could make but little way. Yet we came at night to lie at the town of *Sinbin*, whose wall is above half a mile in compass, with a little suburb on one side. *Wednesday* the 14th, three hours before night, we pass'd by *Nan-can-xien*, seated on the left hand of the river. It is a mile long, with suburbs on the opposite bank; in *Europe* it would be accounted a city, but the *Chinese* call'd it a borough, tho' encompass'd with a wall. There are good shops, and it is populous. As we were passing, a *Mandarine* went in to a fine boat, cover'd, and painted, with the musick of pipes and drums, and firing of some small guns. At night we lay by at *Tanfu*, or guard of *Sintan*. *Thursday* the 15th, we pass'd the night at *Xuancheu*, where fell the first rain, since I came into *China*. *Friday* the 16th, we came in early to the city *Canchenfu*, where, as in all other cities of this empire, there are very antient towers, on the hills and mountains, which the *Chinese* call *Pauta*. They are about one hundred and fifty spans, or about one hundred and twelve foot high; some more. They end at top in a long stone cut in knots, and are hexagons, or octogons. That of this city had nine stories, or cornishes, and six windows to

every one to look out on all sides. The *Chinese* vary in opinion as to the intent of building them; some saying they were for watch towers, placing centinels in them, in time of need, to give notice to the citizens of the approach of an enemy. Others affirm, every city built them to make their observations in sooth-saying; but I am of opinion the main design of the builders, was to beautify the cities, they being for the most part about the gates, and in sight of those that go in. I thought to have fet out soon, but the ill custom of *China*, made me stay a day, for the custom-house officer to search the boat, who uses to search but once a day, two hours after sun-rising, so that the boats which come in later, must stay till the next day. I went to see the church of the *French Jesuits*, which is small but well adorn'd, and the house convenient for one religious man attended by eight servants. I found not the superior at home, he being gone to some sick christians. The city is seated on the plain of the great hill, is beautiful, and has good rich shops. About it is a wall, and opposite to it suburbs on the further bank. The houses are very good after the country fashion, the streets well pav'd and strait. I plainly perceiv'd what a folly I was guilty of in wandering through strange countries, with two *Chinese* servants, whom I neither knew nor understood; yet having resolv'd to go round the world, I was oblig'd to go on without apprehending any danger or misfortune that might happen, there being no other way of travelling, if a man has the curiosity to see and observe things himself. I would have chang'd my principal servant in this place, because he was somewhat bold; but was told I must bear with him, by reason I might

GEMELLI light of another; that might prove a  
1695. thief and worse.

*~ Saturday* the 17th, after the discharge of three chambers, the two *Mandarines* of the custom-house came to clear the boats. They sat as it were in judgment under a barach, or shed on the river, where there were three boats well cover'd, with two great, and ten small colours, at each of which hung horse-tails, and mains dy'd red. Having done their duty, they gave us leave to depart. We set out two hours before noon. Our way was along a rocky river, where the boat was in danger, but the banks were well inhabited. At night we came to the guard, or village of *Jeuchin*. *~ Sunday* the 18th, continuing our voyage along the same river still rocky, three hours before night we left on the right shore *Guangankien*, a city encompass'd with a wall near a mile about, and almost square. It was late when we came to *Pecianzun*, a town on the right hand shore; another call'd *Sciaucben*, being on the opposite bank. It was hard to reckon the miles we went, because the boat went slow, and there was but one or two oars us'd, one at the stern, and another on the side, which play'd in the water without ever being taken out of it. This the *Portuguese* call *Lio Lio*, and the *Chinese* in that province *Jauuu*. Besides, the river had many windings, so that we had double the way to go. The *Chinese* measure it by *Lij*, each of which is two hundred and sixty paces, thirteen of them making a *Spanish* league.

*Monday* the 19th, about noon I saw on the left hand shore the town of *Tayxoxien*, enclos'd by a good wall a mile in length, with two towers on the sides, and another two miles off. We lay at the guard of the village of *Tunchinpa*. *Tuesday* the 20th, early we pass'd by a great village call'd *Cbianciatu*, on the right hand side of the river, opposite to which was another call'd *Pesbiata*. After which I saw many more, particularly *Junfu*. After noon we came to *Kignanfu*, where father *Gregory Ibanez* of *Valencia*, and missionary of the *Franciscans* sending his chair for me, I went to his house, where I rested that day and night, all the *Chinese* christians coming to see me. This house had been bought four years before, nor was there any church built as yet, but mats was laid in a little chappel. This city is on the left of the river, and large, being a league long, including the fourth suburb. About it is a good wall, and the streets and shops are good. Father *Ibanez* told me, that the *Cbixen*, or *Mandarine* of

justice had put out an order, forbidding the worship of idols, and had but a few days before bastinado'd five *Bonzes*, and made another kneel a whole day in the sun, for not having obtain'd rain of their idols, as they had boasted they could.

Setting out late on *Wednesday* the 21st, *Kichien*, we left a good wall'd town on the right hand side of the river, it is call'd *Kjicbiuxien*, because another river falls into that we were upon. That night we lay at the guard of *Zunbianian*. *Thursday* the 22d, we left the town of *Sbiakianxien* on the left, where a long wall begins in the south, and rising up a high mountain, runs along several mountains bare of trees, and winding on the other side, goes down against the north, being above four miles in length, and all to no purpose, there being no habitation on those mountains. Yet I judg'd that great structure might be made to shut up the cattle on the mountain in time of war. Upon the river is an infinite number of boats, which serve for all sorts of carriage, the building and hire of them being both cheap; for they are made of planks, rudely put together, being wide below, and cover'd with canes carefully split, of which they also make sails, cordage, and mats, *Cbina* abounding in them, and there being abundance of timber fastned together, drawn along this river. Every man here is employ'd to get his living either on the land or water, and they apply themselves to it so industriously, that the very *Europeans* admire the variety of their workmanship, and their inventions for fishing, for besides all ours, which they use, they have others peculiar to themselves; as for instance, the making small woods of little trees in the middle of the river, thus drawing the fish to the shade, to enclose them in walls of canes, and so catch them. They also catch abundance of birds, which they call *Lugzu*, and are sea-crows; these diving under water take small, and great fish, putting out their eyes with their beaks; but they can only swallow the smallest, because the ingenious *Chinese*, tie a string about their necks, which will not allow them to open to swallow the larger, and so they take them. This is a very pleasant way of fishing, and much us'd in *Cbina*; every fisher-man keeping several birds for this purpose without any charge. Others employ themselves in the same river near the city, in sifting the sand to take up silver brads, or iron, for it is not above ten years since the coin call'd *Zien*, or *Cola*, *Cbiappe*, was brought up, it being the custom

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custom before to cut bits of silver, so that it was often lost about the house in the dust, and thrown into the river. In *Canton* they gave one thousand one hundred and forty *Chiapp*, for a piece of eight, but in the province of *Kiangsi*, it is not chang'd for above seven hundred and fifty, the brass money of one province not being current in another. That day we ran between shores well inhabited. Three hours before sun set, the wind blew so hard at north, that it oblig'd us to take up on the opposite shore to the town of *Sincanben* on the right side of the river, which happens very often, because that wind which is contrary to those that are bound northward, blows half the year. At night a great rain fell.

*Friday* the 23<sup>d</sup>, being able to go no further for the rain, we lay at the guard of *Kinbioetan*. In such weather the country people here use half cloaks, or mantles, and garments made of the inward rind of trees with hoods, which keep off the rain and cold pretty well. During this troublesome voyage my servants attended me very affectionately, especially the young man, who, tho' he did not understand me, yet being willing, endeavour'd to apprehend things by signs; and in truth he did all things to my mind, for the *Chinese* are curious servants, and have particular ingenious way. They can do that with few tools or utensils, for which other nations require many. Had he been willing to come into *Europe*, I would have brought him with all my heart to serve me, for I was never so well waited on by any *European*. All meat in *China* is dress'd with hogs-lard, for they use no butter, nor oil, tho' it be on *Friday* or *Saturday*; because there is no oil of olives, but of rape, or other seeds to burn in lamps, or in cookery by some very poor body. The wind abating, we

continu'd our voyage on *Saturday* the 24<sup>th</sup>, through a country well peopled, and having pass'd by the towns of *Xo-pu*, *Juntay*, and *Chianshiny*, lay in that of *Janxu-ben*. *Sunday* the 25<sup>th</sup>, early we pass'd by the town of *Funchien*, and stay'd at night in that of *Senni*.

*Monday* 26<sup>th</sup>, before sun-rising we came to *Nanchianfu*, the metropolis of

the province of *Kiangsi*. Having taken a chair, I went to the *Jesuits* church, where I found not the superior, he being gone some days before to *Canton*. Yet I lay in the house till all things were provided to go on. The church is small, and the house convenient. This city and province is govern'd by a viceroy, and several courts. It is very large, but in the upper part there are fields and gardens, for want of inhabitants; and yet it is troublesome going along the streets because of the throng. The shops are rich, after the *Chinese* fashion, the streets strait, and pav'd, but it is in vain to look for stately structures here, or in other parts of *China*; for as the cities here are all built by one model, so all the houses are flat, low, and made of brick, and mud, there being very few of stone. They have no windows to the street, but receive light from the court, about which all the rooms are built. On the river there is another city in the boats of watermen to travel about, and of other men that live by that calling. The *Mandarines* have stately boats, with the stern as high as a ship, and with several rooms in them, curiously painted and gilt, as wide below as above, to take their pleasure upon the river. In those boats there are many poles with red horse-tails hanging at them, and drums and pipes; by the number of which things is known the quality of him that is within.

## CHAP. VI.

*A continuation of the Voyage to Nanking.*

BEING weary of going by water, I resolv'd to hire mules to *Peking*, as the fathers of the society use to do, when they come to this place, for there is no coming hither any other way but by water; but I could not find convenience further than to *Nanking*, so that I was forced to take another boat, which cost me dear, because of the extravagant duty the water-men pay at *Fuchien*, which is not according to the goods, but the bigness of the boat, tho' it be empty;

so that the passengers pay for all, the water-men making their account before they bargain, to make sure of a good voyage. They would not take under seven *Leans* and a half, which makes ten peices of eight and an half for six days journey; tho' I had not paid so much for above a months travel from *Canton* to *Nanchianfu*, where I had three several boats, and the chairs. *Tuesday* the 27<sup>th</sup>, I went to lie aboard for coolness, and set out *Wednesday* the 28<sup>th</sup> before day, lying

at

GEMELLI at night at a country-house call'd *Cheutu*.

1695. *Thursday* the 29th, we advanced scarce a mile, by reason of the north wind. *Friday* the last day of the month, the same wind continuing, we made four miles, with much difficulty, and lay at the guard of *Sanchou*.

*Vien town* The wind ceasing, we set out betimes on *Saturday* the first of *October*, and came to the town of *Vien*, which is on the left of the river, and most of the houses are built of timber and canes. Here all the porcellane is shipp'd off for the kingdom, and for exportation, the finest of all *China*, being that of the city of *Joachou*, in the province of *Kiangsi*, which is brought to be shipp'd here. But it must be observ'd, That the clay is brought from another place to *Joachou*, after it has been there bury'd almost an age in subterraneous wells, because of the air and water of that place; for where the clay is dug, the work proves not so fine. The colouring we see in the said porcellane is not superficial, but after being laid on, is cover'd with the same transparent matter. The wind rising again before noon, we went away to *Kinki*, a small village on the left of the river, where it spreads a great breadth, leaving many pools about it. *Sunday* the 2d, setting out betimes, we went upon a spacious lake made by the river, where after some hours, we left the city *Nan-*

*Nantangfu* *tanfu* on the left hand. It is seated at the foot of the mountains, and tho' not very large is enclos'd with a wall. The north wind blowing again at noon, we went ashore at the guard and village of *Sichan*. The voyage to *Nanking* is troublesome in this season, for the boats do not make above eight miles a day. *Monday* the 3d, having oblig'd the watermen to set out by force, the contrary wind oblig'd me to turn back with twenty other boats. In the mean while the *Chinese* went about gathering round pebbles in the sand, to make use of in shooting, instead of shot.

*Fuchou, or Xuchou.* *Tuesday* the 4th, we set out betimes, and pass'd by the village of *Tacutan*; a little beyond which place on a rock, in the middle of the river is a high pyramid, with a pagod by it. After noon we came to *Fuchou*, or *Xuchou*, as others call it, where we were forced to stay, to have the boat search'd by the *Mandarine*, or customer. This town is on the right of the river, in shape like an arm, shut up by the river and mountains for two miles. It abounds in all things, has good shops, and streets well pav'd, and is enclos'd by a wall, not only towards the river and mountains;

but on the outside a wall runs encompassing the top of the mountain, and taking in some miles of craggy ground between the two ends of the town. This is the first place in the province of *Nanking*. *Wednesday* the 5th, after a flourish of musick, and firing three guns, appear'd the attendance of the customers, *Mandarines*, with several tablets, on which were *Chinese* characters, carry'd by their officers and servants, with flags, maces, and chains dragging along the ground, and with umbrells, and other ensigns of the country. Above sixty men carry'd them by two and two, the *Chinese* drum beating now and then. In the midst of this company came the first *Mandarine*, carry'd in an open chair by eight men, and at the end of the procession came another of greater account in a cover'd chair, carry'd by other eight men. As they pass'd, the country people held in their hands flaming sticks of sweet compositions, such as they burn in the pagods of the idols call'd *Xian*, and kneeling, bow'd with their foreheads down to the ground, in token of respect. To say the truth, the *Chinese* in grandeur, and civility, exceed all other nations, every one maintaining his dignity with much expence. Most of these men here mention'd are fix'd in those employments, continuing in the custom-house, tho' the *Mandarines* be chang'd, because they are paid by the king. These two *Mandarines* sat them down in a high gallery on the brink of the river. The first was at the end of the table, and the other at the side. There were about forty boats to be visit'd, which passing, one by one under the gallery, were there view'd by the custom-house boat, and the officers in it gave the master's name to those above, and the *Mandarine* tax'd it by eye according to its bulk, without any further inquiry. Those inferior officers of the custom-house had a little cloth before their stomach, hanging about the neck, and ty'd to the side, on which were four *Chinese* characters. The master of my boat, to the end he might be tax'd low, took down all the coverings, leaving only the bare body of the boat, and covering the boards that made the cabin with canes. The customer here pays 100000 *Leans*, that is 125000 pieces of eight for only a ten-months farm. The river being very deep before this town, there is a great fishery manag'd by several cunning contrivances. There are nets stretch'd out upon four crooked staves, which they sink, and draw up by a post fastned in the ground.

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In the midst of it is a well, that the fish once in may not get out, and being large, takes a great deal, for the fisherman sleeps in a cottage close by, to lose no time. With another sort of nets they take a kind of fish that weighs above 200 pounds; the *Chinese* call it *Xuanyu*; it is much fatter than our tunny-fish, but hard: the market is always well stor'd with this and other forts.

Having got our dispatch from the customer, my boat alone, because it was empty, set out a little before noon. We turn'd it up with the same north wind, because it was not there so full against us, and the river was wide enough, because at *Xubeu*, the great river *Kian* meets it, after having water'd the province of *Szechuen*, and running near *Nanking*, loses itself in the sea. We were benighted at *Xuanmatan*, a small place seated in a bending of the river, where there is a number of fishermen, who sit turning a wheel, with which they lower, and hoist a net, which they call *Panyu*; from which they afterwards draw the fish with great ease with a cord, making it fall into the well, where they find it alive at night. This is a troublesome journey to an *European*, who is not us'd to eat the *Chinese* rice half boil'd, which among those people serves both for bread and meat; for they do not make bread of corn, but only sugar-cakes and *Vermicelli*, which is the reason corn is so cheap, that you may buy as much for three *Carlines* of the money of *Naples*, which is less than eighteen pence, as will serve a man a month. I caus'd biscuits to be made to serve upon my voyage, but sometimes I wanted, and was forced to get my servants to make me cakes, because the rice stew'd dry, as is us'd there, without any seasoning, did not agree with my stomach.

*Thursday* the 6th, we pass'd by the town of *Xien*, seated at the foot of high mountains, on the right of the river. The wall of this place also runs along the tops of the mountains, as has been said of the others; which wall having enclos'd it for a vast distance, ends near the river. A mile further, in the midst of the river is a high and craggy rock, on which stands a *Pagod* call'd *Seucushien*; to which all the boats that pass by burn perfumes, and frankincense, and some colour'd papers. At night we took up our quarters in the town of *Tun-lyu*.

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*xien*, on the right of the river, which, *Genelli* tho' open, has a wall hard by it two miles in compass, and is a place to retire to, there being loop-holes about it to make a defence. *Friday* the 7th, continuing our way by reason of the width of the river, we came soon after noon to *Xan-kinfu*, a city on the left of the river, a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth. Its suburb is two miles in length, and has good houses, and not far from it is another little suburb after the manner of a village. Whatsoever is sold about the streets, is known by the noise or sound made, without the seller's troubling himself to cry it: the same other handicrafts do, every one of them founding a several instrument. For instance, the barbers carry about a whole shop on a pole, hanging the pan with the fire, and the basin at one end, and at the other a stool to sit down, and the other necessities, and are known by playing on a pair of tongs. So other trades in their several ways. All the rest of the day we stay'd at *Nankinsu*, because of the lake of *Kiangsi*, which the boats must go over in good weather. *Saturday* the 8th, we came to the village of *Seucbiakem*. *Sunday* the 9th, proceeding along between banks well peopled, we left the town of *Tukien* on the right, which is large enough, and has a good harbour made by a bay in the river. We came late to *Usushien*, a great city, on the right of the river, with a good harbour, where the custom-house officers search'd our boat narrowly; after which we went a few miles, and lay at night under one of the banks of the river. *Monday* the 10th, the same wind continuing boisterous, we were oblig'd to stay at the town of *Zaijibi*. Setting out early on *Tuesday* the 11th, we arriv'd four hours before night in the great suburb of *Nanking*. Here the custom-house officers search'd our boat, but not over strictly. Having taken a chair, I went in it some miles to the house of *Monsieur d'Argoli*, a *Venetian*, bishop of *Nanking*, by whom I was courteously receiv'd. This prelate is appointed by the congregation de *Propaganda Fide*, with two other reform'd *Franiscans*, which were father *Francis* of *Lionessa*, a province of *Abruzzo*, and father *Basil*, a *Venetian*, who very charitably serv'd the christians.



## CHAP. VIII.

## The Description of the Imperial City of Nanking.

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1695.  
NANKING.

**K**iamin, or Nanking, which in the Chinese language signifies the southern court, lies in 32 degrees and 53 minutes of north latitude, seated for the most part in a plain. In the time of *Min-kion* it was the imperial court, as *Peking* is at present under the *Zinbiau Tartar*. *Min* and *Cbin* is much the same as *Valois* and *Bourbon* in France, and *Cbiau* signifies empire, or the time of such a reigning family, the Chinese placing the genitive case first; contrary to our way of speaking in Europe, for the Chinese use to distinguish their reigns by several royal families by the names of *Hia-que*, *Xam-que*, *Ken-que*, &c. Father *Luis Lécomje* makes *Nanking* to be forty eight miles in compass, the walls of it in his opinion looking more like the borders of a province than the boundaries of a city; yet, by what I could conceive upon observation, it cannot be above thirty six Italian miles about, tho' *Monsignor d'Argols* made it forty. The walls that encompass it have but a few bastions, and not above eight spans or two yards thick. Within this circumference there are fields and gardens. The suburbs about the city are not much less than it, including under the name of *Nanking*, besides the aforesaid suburbs, another floating city upon boats in the canals. Having ask'd the aforesaid prelate concerning the number of inhabitants of that vast city, he answer'd, That several *Manderines* had told him there had been eight millions of doors or houses counted, in order to pay the taxes, and allowing but four souls to every house, they would as that prelate said, make thirty two millions of souls; which I thought incredible, and therefore believing it false, tho' it came from the mouth of an apostolick missionary of the reform'd order of St. Francis, and bishop of that same city, when I came afterwards to *Peking*, I had a mind to hear the opinions of the fathers of that court, and telling them the vast number of people that prelate had spoke of, Father *Ossono* a Portuguese answer'd, I ought not to look upon it as a fable, because a French father of the society passing through *Nanking* some few years before, and being astonish'd at that infinite multitude of people, said, That the city and suburbs contain'd more inhabitants than all the kingdom of France. I deliver what was told me by

Vast number of inhabitants.

persons of good credit, but will not oblige my self to answer for so many millions: Let the reader believe what he pleases, for I did not count them, but I have the books concerning the empire of *Cbina*, wherein every city of it is counted, so that he who understands the language may easily find out the truth; for if father *Bartoli* will have that empire to contain three hundred millions of people, those must be upon the Chinese ground, and not in the air; and in short the villages cannot make up this number; nor is there any city in *Cbina* like *Nanking*, for *Peking* is much less. It is here to be observ'd, in order to the empire being so populous, that the maxims of the Chinese differ from those of the Europeans; for there, he that does not marry is look'd upon as an inconsiderable base man, because he does not raise his father's seed and family, but suffers it to be lost; so that if a man has ten sons, they all marry, and take as many wives as they can keep, some having no less than an hundred, including concubines. In *Cbina* there are scarce any whores tolerated, lest they corrupt youth, but any they find is severely punish'd, which makes all men marry. The Chinese go not out of their own country, to people others; so vagabonds are counted infamous, who omit to propagate their families, and pay a duty to their deceas'd progenitors, to whom they owe their being. The air and climate of *Cbina* is excellent for generation, and the women very fruitful, for I never saw any of a convenient age but had a couple of children by her, one in her belly, and another in her arms; all the Chinese women using their endeavours to be fruitful, to be as much in the esteem of the mother-in-law and husband as the rest, for the barren are not admitted to table, but wait on them like servants.

All the inhabitants of *Nanking* are not Chinese, for there are many *Moors* come out of *Great Tartary* (father *Philip Grimaldi* assuring me there are two millions of them throughout all *Cbina*) who observe it as a maxim, not to marry their daughters out of their own race, so that they multiply in all parts of the empire like locusts. The royal palace is within the citadel, which is on the east side of the city, kept by a *Tartar* garrison, which suffers none to go into it; besides there

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is nothing worth seeing left in the palace. The streets of this imperial city are wide enough and well pav'd; the canals many and deep, the houses low and neat, the shops rich and well furnish'd with all sorts of silks, and other things of value. In short, this is as it were the center of the empire, where are to be found all rarities and curiosities of the other provinces. There the most famous doctors and *Mandarines* when out of employment, come to settle. Here are the best book-seller's shops and choicest books in them, the finest press, the most curious workmen, the politest languages; in short, no city is so convenient and worthy to be the seat of empire, were not the presence of the emperors necessary on the frontiers to oppose their enemies. This is the city for silks, the best being made here that are sent throughout the empire and abroad, and the emperor himself is furnish'd with all he wants for his numerous court from *Nanking*. In the country there are vast fields of white mulberry trees; and tho' they be small, their leaves are large, on which the worms feed, which come to life in the spring, and in forty days finish their silk, all which is carry'd to be wrought at *Nanking*, by an infinite number of curious workmen, who live upon this trade. There is also a great deal wrought in the province of *Cheking*, but not so good as that of *Nanking*. Besides the artificial silk, the natural and wild is gather'd in those two provinces of *Nanking* and *Cheking*, which is made on the trees by some worms, and there the balls found, tho' no body has look'd after them; but this wild silk is not so valuable or fine as that which is improv'd by art. I brought over silks of both sorts to shew to curious persons. This vast quantity of silk draws a mighty trade, and a vast number of merchants from very remote countries, who carry it away in stuffs, not only to sell, but to exchange for musk and gold, particularly in the kingdom of *Lamoa*, where this metal is most plentiful; for tho' the *Chinese* have gold mines, they dare not dig under ground for it, and only gather some few grains in the rivers, making trenches on the banks, where sometimes they find a little brought down by the floods from the mountains.

Great  
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The city by reason of its greatness is under two governors, to whom are subordinate hundreds of *Mandarines*, for the administration of justice, besides others who have no dependence on them, but only on the emperor. At *Nanking* resides a *Suntu*, who is in the nature of

a vicar-general over two vice-roys, and as many provinces; but these have not the power and prerogative of our vice-roys; for they cannot put any body to death without the sentence be confirm'd from court, tho' they do it indirectly, by ballinadoin till criminals die of it. Nor is it in them to send a governor or *Mandarine* to any little city in their province, which belongs only to the emperor and his courts; and they can only send a deputy, till such time as the proprietor comes from court. To prevent as much as possible all extortion, corruption, and favour, the near relations of great ministers are not allow'd to converse with those under their charge; and therefore the *Suntu* at this time kept a nephew lock'd up in a room like an anchorer, without being suffer'd to go abroad, and giving him his meat in at a wheel; it being forbid by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, for any man to have a command in his own country, or to have any holom friends in the province where he is in power.

I lay at home all *Wednesday* the 12th, *from 11 am* being much tir'd after my journey. As far as their religious poverty will allow, the house and church of those fathers missionaries are decently adorn'd. They pass to their apartments through five little galleries or courts adorn'd in the middle with pleasant rows of flowers, for the ingenious *Chinese* plant several flowers along the crannies between the bricks that make the flooring, which grow up as high as a man, making fine flowery hedges on both sides. They grow up in forty days, and last four months. The flowers are peculiar to that country, and found no where else. One sort of them is call'd *Kiquon*, which has several shapes, colours, and strange forms, but very beautiful, some being of a cane colour, some like a dry rose, others yellow, but soft as any finest silk. Among those crannies there grows an herb, which tho' it produce no flower, is very pleasant to behold, the leaves of it being in streaks, and painted by nature with a lively yellow, red and green. The tulips growing about those courts are bigger than ours in *Europe*. Tuberoses are plentiful enough and very sweet, being mix'd with the other flowers in all the allies; so that the eyes and smell are sufficiently entertain'd all the way to the apartment of the bishop and religious men. The church is small, but beautiful. They have servants for conveniency, but not for extravagancy. The garden is pleasant enough and well stor'd with plants, herbs, and

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and trees, for it has vines, peach, apple, pomegranate, chestnut, and abundance of black and white fig-trees very well tasted, of which I eat a great quantity, having been depriv'd of them two years; for in *China* there are neither grapes nor figs, except only in the houses of the fathers missionaries, the *Chinese* making little account of them, because their other fruits are more delicious to them. In the same garden is an excellent fish-pond, where the fish live upon herba thrown in to them. The *Jesuits* have a good church at *Nanking*, where at that time was a *Sichian* father, and a *Chinese*.

A vast bell.

*Thursday* the 13th, taking a chair in the morning, I went to see two wonderful bells. One was in the *Chien-leu* fallen to the ground by its vast weight, its height eleven foot, its diameter seven including the thickness, the outward circumference twenty two foot, which contracted gradually to half the height, where it again extended. The thickness of the metal was six inches and a half. The weight including that of the clapper, as I was told, and believe to be true, fifty thousand pounds, which is double that of the famous bell of *Erfurt*, which father *Kircher* calls the biggest bell in the world. They told me it was very antient, and accounted such three hundred years before, and that falling down, there was never care taken to replace it.

A structure on arches.

Near to the aforesaid *Chien-leu* is a square structure upon three great arches, on which stands a hall with six doors to it. Within it is a black stone with an inscription (they call it *Culeu* and it was supported by a large beast) in honour of the emperor then reigning, erected by the city in an acknowledgment for the favours of him receiv'd at two times he pass'd through it, eight hundred thousand men going out to meet him.

Place of mathematicians, where observations.

Next I went to see the place of the mathematicians, where they made their observations, when the emperor's residence was at *Nanking*, before *Yonlo* remov'd it to *Peking*. This stands on a high hill in the nature of a gallery, or terrace upon pillars. It is open on all sides, and there are about it banisters and seats of marble to discover all the city from that height; the *Chinese* call it *Quansimay*. There I saw another Inscription in honour of the emperor, erected the second time he went thither, which was within a great hall newly built after the fashion of that country. It was carv'd on a black stone, with hieroglyphicks, not cut into the stone, as is usual among us, but rais'd above

the superficies of it, which among them is common in all their stones. They told me the emperor had given them those characters with his own hand to be carv'd there.

On this hill stood a *Pagod* call'd *Cuni*. A *Pagodian*, with two other little *Pagods* on the side of the court, and several very deform'd idols. I went into the great one, where I saw one with a face of several colours like a merry-andrew, which they call'd *Checcoali*. At his back, behind the altar, was another idol, call'd *Tauzu*, all gilt, setting with a club in his hand, a crown on his head, and with a beard and whiskers. There were two other idols very ugly and hideous to behold.

Upon another hill adjoining is a temple of religious men; by them call'd *Xoschian*, by us *Bonzes*. They have a good garden and grove. Going into a small chappel here, I saw an idol call'd *Quan-lau-ge* sitting, and with long whiskers. The *Chinese* recount fabulous stories of this and the rest. There are besides, two *Coleffus*'s standing, one with a sword in his hand, the other with an axe, their bodies stain'd all over of several colours. These they call *Kin-kan*, and most of the *Pagods* have such monsters in them. Having gone a great way up the mountain by stone steps, the *Bonzes* came to meet and offer me *Clia*, or the herb *Tea*, which I refus'd. Then they led me to the *Pagod*, at the entrance whereof was a statue in the habit of a *Mandarine*, whom I judg'd to be some remarkable man worship'd there by those blind people for his rare qualities. Then going to another *Pagod* I saw a naked idol of a gold colour, who they said was *Quoija*, behind whom was another sitting of the same colour, cover'd with a garment of white silk, it had long whiskers, and was call'd *Queinjen*. In the same *Pagod* there is a pyramid, with several lanterns to be lighted upon festivals. They show'd me a very large brass bell hanging, which was rung by hand with a wooden hammer cover'd with a cloth. Returning the same way I came, I went to see another bell which lay down in a garden upon its side half bury'd. Measuring the height I found it sixteen spans or twelve foot, without including the ring, and a span thick. They say it weighs eighty thousand *Chinese Catis* (a *Cati* is twenty ounces of *Europe*) and that when these bells were rung, they could be heard many miles off.

*Friday* the 14th, I was carry'd in a chair some miles about within the city, and then went out at the gate of *Nanking*.

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*men*, the *Chinese*, as has been said, make four principal gates to all their cities, calling that which looks towards the east *Tun*, that on the west *Si*, that on the south *Nan*, and that on the north *Pe*; the gates are of iron, and strong, and there are four at every entrance, one within another, the structures about them being a mulket-shot in breadth. Next, I went over the canal and arm of the river on a good bridge, to go into the suburb to the tower and temple of *Paungben-su. Pau*, in the *Chinese* language signifies gratitude, or reward, *Ngben* a benefit, and *Su* a temple; because a great *Chinese* lord having assisted the *Tartar* emperor to enter, and possess himself of the kingdom, and afterwards quitting the world, and turning *Bonze*, the emperor *Yunlo*, above three hundred years since, built that tower and temple to him as an acknowledgment. Here are two gates to go in at, to a great court, opposite to which is the first *Pagod*, with as many doors to it, ascending some steps. Within it is the statue of a woman standing, and on her sides four *Colossus's* call'd *Kinkan*, with arms in their hands, painted of several colours hideous to behold. On the upper part, or high altar, was an idol sitting with his foot on his knee, and all his body of a gold colour; behind whom was another idol of the same colour sitting too. Going on to the second court, and to the third, I saw about them the apartments of the *Bonzes*, that serve the *Pagod*, who are about a thousand, and live on their revenues. On the left side of the second court, or cloister, is another *Pagod*, to which there is an ascent of a few steps. In it I saw the statues of two wounded women, back to back, the innermost standing somewhat higher, of a gold colour, with several little idols at their feet, and about the *Pagod*. On the right hand, fifteen steps led up to three *Pagods*, in which were many idols and monsters, with silk curtains before them. Going on further, at the end of the court is the greater *Pagod*, all cover'd with purcellane of several colours. They go up to it through a large and spacious hall, above which is a porch, which has five gates into the temple. Here are niches twelve spans, or three yards above the pavement; on the front of the high altar at a distance from the wall, are the idols of three women of gold colour sitting, with several inscriptions before them, and vessels of brass of a great value. About the wall is a great number of idols a-foot and a-horseback. Behind which front is another female

idol standing, and on one side of her a drum, which three men could not sound, and on the other side a great brass bell, which is struck with a wooden hammer. In the first court a play was acted by good comedians, several thousands of people resorting to see it, who all stood. There I staid a little, and then went on to see the tower, after obtaining leave of the *Bonze*, by paying a few *Chiappas*, a very inconsiderable value. It was all of purcellane both within and without, yellow, green, blue, and of other colours, with the figures of many several idols. It is an octagon, and about forty foot about, has nine stories, or apartments, divided on the outside by as many cornishes curiously wrought, and the top was cover'd with brass, and a gilt globe on it. Every story has four large windows answering the four quarters of the world. I went up two pair of winding stairs to the first story, and proceeding from thence to the uppermost, counted one hundred and eighty three steps of a considerable height, besides five steps more, that are without the gate, and there was above the height of those steps to the top of the tower from the place where I was, so that I guess'd it to be at least two hundred foot high. There were nine stories, as has been said; and in the midst of each of them was a work like a pilaster to set several idols about it. At the foot of the tower the wall of it was twelve foot thick, and eight and a half above. The structure is certainly artificial and strong, and the most stately in all the east; all the carv'd work being gilt, so that it looks like marble, or any other carv'd stone, the *Chinese* being wonderful ingenious at shaping their bricks in all sorts of figures, by reason of the fineness of the well-temper'd clay. From the top of this tower (which the *Chinese* call of purcellane) is a prospect of all the city, and the famous structure for mathematical observations, tho' it is a league distant. As I was going out of the tower, I saw the *Bonzes* going in procession on their devotion. One went before with a sort of cope on his shoulders, next came another with a black cap on his head flat on the sides, and a *Chinese* crown in his hand. The *Bonzes* follow'd by two and two, ringing a little bell with a hammer, or a wooden instrument, and singing in a low tone. They went into the lower part of the tower, and fetching two rounds about it, ador'd the idols that were in it. Next, they went into the third court, and into the *Pagod*, which is in the midst of their

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GENELLI 1695. furthest apartments, where the chief idol is like a *Bacchus*, who sits, as if he laugh'd. There are other *Pagods* and idols in that place, which are not here set down for fear of cloying the reader.

Emperor's tomb. After dinner, I went to see the tomb of the first emperor of the family of *Mincian*. It is without the city on a mountain, guarded by eunuchs, who there lead a religious life. It consists of a great hall handsomely cover'd, with a place like a tribune or gallery in it, where that emperor's picture is kept lock'd up. The tomb is in a grott dug in the mountain, and the entrance kept shut. *Monsieur d'Argoli*, the bishop told me, that if I stay'd in *Nanking* till a burying-day, which the astrologers pitch upon as fortunate for that function, I should see several thousand tombs carry'd; for the *Chinese* do not only make them in their life-time of strong wood, and half a span thick, measuring themselves in them to see whether they can lie at ease, but after they are dead, the bodies are kept some time in the house shut up in those tombs, till the astrologers appoint the day for burying them. Some delaying this mournful office, for want of means, it being perform'd with great pomp and cost.

Human Jung told. He that goes along the streets in *Nanking*, ought to keep his nose well stopp'd, for he'll often meet with porters carrying tubs full of ordure to manure their orchards; for being in want of the dung of beasts, they are fain to make use of man's, which the gardeners pay for either in greens, vinegar, or money; giving a better price for that which is come of flesh, than that of fish, which they know by tasting it with their tongue. Nothing is more frequent on the river than boats loaded with that filth, and if a man has the misfortune to be catch'd Among those boats, he's almost stilt'd. Along the roads there are convenient places whitened, with seats, and cover'd, to invite passengers to alight and ease

themselves, there being a great earthen vessel under it, that nothing may be lost. Tho' the *Chinese* use this method to manure their land, which is offensive to the nose, yet their streets are not so dirty as ours in *Europe*, by the continual passing of so many beasts; for there are no swine to be seen about the streets of the city, or in the fields, tho' the *Chinese* devour a vast number, five or six thousand being slaughter'd every day in *Nanking*, besides the cows the *Moors* eat, and the goats the soldiers eat. Private persons furnish this mighty shambles, for there is no poor body but what breeds swine in his house, or boat, which he sells when the time comes to pay the *Tsien-lean*, or tribute to the emperor, or upon any other exigency; the flesh of them being so good, that it is given to the sick. During all this time, *Monsieur d'Argoli*, and the two fathers his companions, endeavour'd to persuade me not to go to *Peking*, because the *Portuguese Jesuits* would have no *European* look into the state of that court, and if I went thither, they would certainly do me some ill office. I answer'd, I went not to pry into the affairs of their missions, but only out of curiosity to see that great court, and therefore I fear'd nothing, for I would go take up my abode in the convent of those fathers. At length, perceiving they could not alter my resolution, they took care to provide what was necessary for my voyage. I might have gone on by water within half a days journey of *Peking*, but it is a great way about, wherefore all people travelling from *Nanking* by land, I resolv'd to do the same. I sent my servant to the other side of the river *Kian*, to hire the horses we had need of for our journey to the court; who, with the assistance of a christian *Chinese* that went with him, agreed for five *Leans*, and two *Ziens*, which is seven pieces of eight and a half, each, and having given earnest, return'd.

## C H A P. IX.

## The Journey by Land, to the Imperial City of Peking.

HAVING return'd the bishop, and the fathers his companions, thanks for their kind entertainment, I set out on *Saturday* the 15th, after dinner. It was my good fortune to have the company of a christian *Chinese* doctor, who had taken his degree to be a *Mandarine*, who wanted nothing but money, without which no employments are given in *Chi-*

na. His father was a priest. We went together out at the gate I came in at, call'd *Simuen*, or west gate, which is not inferior to that we have describ'd, having three iron gates, and a structure of sixty paces to them. Without it we took boat, and passing under the bridge, which consists of many arches, went on along the channel about the walls of the

the city. a scurvy had like which w told of with skin shutting *Fujebew*, dred pie those thi sleep, an thought i we were second be first were after us, over the ver in *Chi-* miles bro

*Peking* came to the left o night, h The wall compass, plains, no but few h to live in long. W the bank the night the night, drin so hot th the custom and drink over-civil if the two eat, a gr first perfo or receiv'd in drinking never so nial must *Zin*, whic stone of a neglects m rude and night did make my that I conc oblige him of my erro with me c shall be to

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the city. Then we chang'd boat, where a scurvy accident happened to me, which had like to have stopp'd my journey; which was my servant's forgetting, tho' told of it, a boulder of boards cover'd with skins after the *Chinese* manner, and shutting like a trunk-portmanteau, call'd *Fufibeu*, in which I had laid up an hundred pieces of eight; the *Chinese* using those things to lay their heads on to sleep, and keep their writings. I be-thought my self of the misf of it, when we were gone an hundred paces in the second boat; but the watermen of the first were so honest, that they row'd after us, calling us to take it. Being over the *Kian*, which is the greatest river in *China*, and is in that place two miles broad, and considerably deep, we came to the city of *Pukeu*, seated on the left of the river, two hours before night, having travell'd twelve miles. The wall of this place is ten miles in compass, enclosing hills, mountains, and plains, not inhabited, for the city has but few houses, the people liking better to live in the suburbs which are very long. We lay in that of *Tien-chya*, on the bank of the river, where I spent the night merrily with the *Chinese* doctor, drinking wine made of rice, but so hot that it scalded my lips; it being the custom of *China* to eat meat cold, and drink liquor hot. The doctor's over-civility was very troublesome; for if the two ivory sticks were taken up to eat, a great many ceremonies must be first perform'd. If we met, if we gave, or receiv'd any thing, in going in or out, in drinking, and all other actions, tho' never so natural, still the *Chinese* ceremonial must be observ'd; using the word *Zin*, which among them is the touchstone of all civility; for if any person neglects making use of it, he is counted rude and unmannerly. The doctor at night did so much importune me, to make my two servants sit down at table, that I condescended to it, rather than disoblige him; but I was afterwards sensible of my error, for they growing bolder with me on the road, serv'd me ill, as shall be told in its place.

*Sunday* the 16th, before mounting on horseback we eat something, and then going out of the suburbs, expected there the company; and because the mule-tiers, or fellows that let the mules and horses stay'd a-while, a *Tartar* soldier struck one of them over the face with his whip, so that he made the blood gush out. We travell'd all day without drawing bit, over hills, mountains, and plains well inhabited, but the houses

were all small but one. At night we lay in the town of *Tanficau*. By the way we met a crowd of passengers, and caravans of mules and asses, going to, and coming from the court, and little carts with one wheel drawn by two men, upon each of which they lay three or four bales, which two mules could not carry so long a journey. *Monday* the 17th, setting forwards again with the aforesaid *Tartar* soldiers, we pass'd thorough the town of *Suij-ken* betimes. This place is enclos'd by a wall of several miles, and a moat. Then going up a mountain, we found on it a *Pagoda* of *Bonzes*. Thence going down a long descent, we came to dine at the town of *Tachiautou*, and having travell'd fifteen miles further, lay at night in the town of *Taa-shianpu*.

*Tuesday* the 18th, we travel'd thirty miles over the plains, din'd at *Qula-lempu*, and lay at *Xuannipou*. The hire of the mules is cheap, and the expence at inns is very small, for eight *Fuen*, which make thirteen grains and a half of *Naples*-money will serve any man night and morning. They that will have rice-wine, pay for it a-part, and it is drank in the morning hot boil'd with rice, so eating and drinking altogether. It is troublesome at first to an *European* to use himself to such diet, and *Chinese* fare, which has no substance in it, but consists altogether in porrage and herbs. For they eat the very malworts which we use in medicines, and the worst of it is, they will have them half raw and cold, the cook knowing when they are ready by the smell. Yet they think all well dress'd, for they leave fowls for herbs, as my two servants would do, when we could buy a good fowl upon the road, for three grains of *Naples*-money. But to me, that *Chinese* food was not at all grateful, and I paid my host for it, tho' I eat none, laying in my provision of gammons of bacon, fowls, ducks, and the like, upon flesh-days. *Wednesday* the 19th, we continu'd our journey over the plains, where one of the *Tartars* left us about half way, the other staying with me and the *Chinese* doctor, who both were very courteous to me. We din'd at *Linxy-xien*, a large town, enclos'd with a wall, and water'd by a navigable river, which makes many pools about it, for the *Chinese*, like ducks, love to live in water, or near it. There is a bridge of boats over the river, and a good suburb on the other side. That day we met a *Mandarine* in a chair with thirteen litters, in which were his women. The *Chinese* litters are more convenient than those of *Europe*, each carry'd

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GENELLI carry'd three women at their ease. They are carry'd by mules, and asses. Having travell'd thirty two miles, we lay at the little town of *Yuan-gian*.

*Thursday* the 20th, having pass'd the river over a stone-bridge, and travell'd a few miles in a plain country, we din'd in the town of *Cucben*, which is well peopled by reason of a river that runs by and maintains its trade. Here there is always a great number of hawks, carrying backwards and forwards, for the *Chinese* are as great sportsmen, as the *Persians*. Having travel'd thirty five miles, we lay at *Xuan-chian*, where our beds were of cane, as they were all the road, every man carrying his own quilt with him. *Friday* the 21st, travelling the same sort of plain and cultivated land, we came to dinner to the town of *Nanfu-chau*; where the *Tartar*, who was continually beating the muletiers, struck one of them over the face so unmercifully, that the other, for fear, fled to my apartment, covering himself with straw under the bed. I offer'd him fowl to eat, but he would not have it, being of a sect that eats no flesh. Thus the *Tartar* stopp'd our going any further, staying there the rest of the day, after travelling only twenty miles. About this town is a wall three miles in compass, water'd all round by the river, yet the place is but ill peopl'd, except the suburb, which is well inhabited. *Saturday* the 22d, setting out late, we rested not at noon, but having travel'd twenty five miles, lay at the little town of *Senfun*. *Sunday* the 27th, mounting before day, after fifteen miles travel we din'd at *Taufkian*, a small town, and having travell'd the same number of miles, came to *Sucben*, the boundary of the province of *Nanking*, on that side. The town is large, having a great and rapid river that runs close by it, called *Xuanxo*, or the yellow River, because it always runs troubled and muddy. The suburbs which are along the banks, are much bigger and more populous than the town. The river is to be pass'd in a boat, but by reason of its being so rapid, they are forced to run up a great way, the stream driving the boat, two mulet-riots down, before it can come to the other side. As I was coming out of the boat I met father *Sifaro*, a *Milanese*, elect bishop of *Nanking*, who was going from *Nanchuanfu* to *Macao* in a litter, with only four of his servants, to be consecrated by that bishop. For want of barley, the *Chinese* feed their beasts with black kidney-beans boil'd, the country abounding in them, and white ones, and those creatures live on them, as well as any other provender.

*Monday* the 24th, we set out four hours before day, passing early over a large river on a stone-bridge, and having travell'd twenty miles, din'd at *Nuzan*; going out from which place, I saw many country-men, who carrying a net like a pavillion, fastned to four crooked staves upon their backs, went about the fields catching of quails, which as they fly about are catch'd, the net being carry'd low. Then we pass'd the river in a boat at *Uncbiankyai*, where the other *Tartar* left us to get before us to *Peking*. The *Chinese* here are hardly to endure cold, and tho' it be very sharp in the morning, they set out early to get into their inn three hours before night; so that mounting on *Tuesday* the 25th, two hours before day, we din'd at *Linbien*, and having travell'd thirty five miles, lay at *Sci-axotien*. By way of refreshment, the host here usually has a pan of hot water ready, in which sometimes he has boil'd kidney-beans, and other pulse, for passengers to wash them and drink of, when they have no *Tea*, or are not able to buy it, whereas in the hottest weather, and dog-days, they never drink, or wash in cold water, admiring at the *Europeans* who use it. No rice grows in these parts, because of the coldness of the climate, (which I had felt for some time, tho' I wore a furr garment, breeches quilted with cotton, and furr hole with the hair inwards) which defect they supply with wheat, making bread mix'd with onions chop'd very small, which they bake in the steam, placing sticks across a kettle that is boiling, to lay the loaf on, which remains as meer dough as it was at first, and lies as hard as a stone on the stomach. Other hosts give their guests thin cakes of dough boil'd, to eat. To make some amends for the want of rice, they use their *Taufu*, which is boil'd, a mess of kidney-beans, which with him is a dainty, for this wretched sauce they use to dip their meat in. They make it of white kidney-beans pounded, and made into a paste, the north abounding in them; they also make it of wheat, and other ingredients.

*Wednesday* the 26th, we eat a bit sometimes at *Kiay-xoy*, and about evening went out through the small town of *Zu-sien*, which has a wall about it. In the suburb is a large square structure, and within it several *Pagods* with *Bouzes*. The idols are of so many monstrous shapes, that it would be tedious to relate the fables they tell of them. There is a good garden with tall trees. At night we came to the town of *Tuntan-tien*, having travell'd thirty days. I count by

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Vol. I



*Tsching  
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by miles, and not by *Li*s, as the *Chinese* do, to observe the better method; for in some provinces those are of two hundred and sixty paces, and in others more, or less. *Thursday* the 27th, early, we pass'd thorough the city *Tschingfu*, of the province of *Xantung*. It is seated in a plain like all the rest, for the *Chinese* do not build on hills. The walls extend four miles square, and there is a noble stone-bridge. We din'd in the small town of *Cauxio*, and lay, after thirty miles travel, in the suburb of the town of *Uen-shian-shien*. The town is not well peopled within the walls which are three miles about, there being gardens and fields within them. *Friday* the 28th, we rested in the suburb of the town of *Tun-pin-kieu*, and passing through, found it a mile and a half in length, and a mile in breadth, but there are many fields and ruin'd houses in it; the rest are of brick, and thatch'd. The walls are of earth. Having rode thirty miles, we lay that night at *Kicuxien*, a small town. *Saturday* the 29th, about break of day, we went thorough the town of *Tungosbia*, encompass'd with a long mud wall, but ill peopled. Then we cross'd the river *Tungo* in a boat, the bridge being broke, and din'd at *Tun-chien*. That night we took up at *Sbinxien*, having rode thirty four miles. There being no mountains all this way, to bury the dead on, the *Chinese* plant square spots of *Cyprus* or other trees in the plain, and place the tomb in the midst, covering them with heaps of earth. At night there is a centinel in the inn, continually striking two pieces of wood one against another for a sign, which makes travellers not sleep very sound. *Sunday* the 30th, we din'd in the town of *Sintien*; and then passing thorough that of *Cautanceu*, which has a mud wall, and is thinly inhabited, we came at night to *Tau-chiaen*, after a journey of thirty miles. *Monday* the 31st, betimes, we pass'd thorough the town of *Gbinxiana*, enclosed with a large wall, and ill inhabited. Before noon we din'd in the town of *Cushipo*. Next we came to that call'd *Fatbio*, which by reason of the convenience of the river, is well peopled within a wall three miles in compass, and better in its suburbs, where there are good handsome open places, and shops stor'd with all sorts of commodities of the country, and provisions. We there cross'd the river in a boat, which is seldom paid for, the watermen being kept by the city. At this river begins the province of *Peking*. After a journey of thirty four miles, we lodg'd at night in the town of *Lianbi-mian*. In this journey I found asses, who when they

VOL. IV.

have gone their stage, will not stir a step further, tho' you beat them to death; just as those of *Salerno* in *Naples*.

*Tuesday* the 1st of *November*, an hour after sun-rising, we pass'd thorough the town of *Kincbeu*, encompass'd with a mud wall, in which there is nothing handsome but a tower, there being besides only a few cottages, and as few inhabitants. We din'd at *Leocbimian*; then we saw the town of *Fuchenkie*, which like the last, has mud walls and houses, and is worse than *Kincbieu*. Having travel'd thirty three miles, we lay at night in *Fuchbian*, where over the gate was a little chapple dedicated to the idol, that is protector of the city, which the *Chinese* use in all their other towns. *Wednesday* the 2d, early in the morning, we pass'd a stone-bridge laid over the river of the town of *Sbiale-cheva*. Next we saw the town of *Sbiengbena*, with a mud wall, badly inhabited. After that, the bridge being down, we pass'd over the rapid river of *Tangaxia* in a boat, and din'd in that of *Sbiankelin*. Then we set forwards for the city of *Xekienfu*, which has but a few houses in two streets; all the rest being fields and ruins. It makes a square of four miles about; but only the north side is brick, the rest being earth thrown up. Going out of that city, I met a procession of idolaters. First went several flags, carry'd by men and women, on which there were painted dragons, panthers, and basilisks. Two kettle-drums were beaten by two boys, and then a trumpet was sounded in a doleful tone, by a man. Two other men carry'd a monitor sitting in a chair, and then came a great bier, carry'd by several people, within and about which there were abundance of little idols of chalk, some sitting, some standing, in frightful figures. But in the middle sat two, which seem'd to be the prime idols. A master of music went before, with a paper in his hand, as it were to set the tune, or keep time to the multitude that follow'd the bier. All the country-men that it knelt to, paid it respect, but the nobility and better sort, make no account of those things, and enter the *Pagods*, as they would a stable, having little faith in a future state. The Inns here ought to be the best, as being near the court, and yet they are the worst, for eight days journey round about it, because the *Chinese* refusing to increase the allowance for a nights entertainment, supper and altogether, being forty *Zieus*, that is, thirteen grains of *Naples*-money, bating one third, the hosts give them herbs, and porrage, because

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GEMELLI here provisions are dear; and tho' a man  
1695. would pay more for better chear, it is  
not to be had, for the reason aforesaid, but he must provide abroad. After travelling thirty two miles, we came at night to *Reshilipu*.

Thursday the 3d, we din'd in the town of *Gyncheyuxien*, and then pass'd through that of *Maubin*, enclos'd in part with a mud wall, and ill inhabited. About it are lakes and morasses. Having travell'd above eight miles among them to lodge at night in the suburb of the town of *Xiunxien*, before I got in, I met with a funeral, the body carry'd in a coffin on a bier by several bearers, with several banners, or flags of painted paper, and sounding instruments before it. The town is two miles in compass, but is thin of inhabitants. The suburb is good, and a river runs thorough it. The country-women of the province of *Peking*, have a singular sort of head-dress different from all others; for they wind their hair twisted together, or made into wreaths about the pole of their heads, which they cover with a cap made of black silk, or of cotton, running a bodkin through to hold it fast. Others make a great knot of it on the top of their heads, and cover it with a thing made like a dish, of silk and gold; to which some add, a binding or fillet three fingers broad of silk and gold about the head, like a forehead-cloth. The sharp *Chinese* suffer nothing to be lost, for the countrymen, before day, walk up and down the road with two baskets on a staff, one before, and the other behind them, gathering the dung of beasts to manure their ground. Others with rakes made of crooked sticks, gather the straws and leaves for the fire, because wood is there

very dear. Our days journey was thirty two miles. Friday the 4th, we went along the river of *Xiunxien*, to dine at the town of *Pecuxo*, which is well inhabited, because of the conveniency of the said river. At night we came to the suburb of the town of *Sankinxien*. The walls of it, which are of brick, are two miles in compass, the place well inhabited, as are the suburbs, which are provided with all necessaries. Our whole days journey was thirty miles. Saturday the 5th, we saw the town of *Chiocben*, which, tho' encompass'd by a mud wall, is populous, as are the suburbs. After passing over a long wooden bridge, and two others of stone, we came to dine at the town of *Liolihoa*. Afterwards we set out for the town of *Lean-xien-xie*, which has good brick walls, a mile in length, and went thence to that of *Cbian-sin-gbien*, after travelling thirty two miles. This last days journey but one, was troublesome, by reason of the multitude of carts, camels, and asses going to, and coming from *Peking*, insomuch that it was hard to get by them. Here there are guards upon the road at every mile or two, who throw up a little heap of earth in the road, and upon it a cottage of mud, where they watch at night for the security of travellers. Sunday the 6th, after coasting along under most uncouth mountains for twenty miles together, I arriv'd at *Peking*, having spent two months and eleven days in the journey from the day I set out of *Canton*, and having travell'd 2150 *Lijs* by land from *Nanking* to *Peking*, and 3250 by water from *Canton* to *Nanking*, the *Chinese* counting from *Canton* to *Peking* 5400 of those *Lijs*, each of which is 260 paces.

## CHAP. X.

## The Description of the City of Peking, and of the Imperial Palace.

Arrival at Peking. I Went to alight at the house of the *Jesuits*, which is in the *Tartar* city, to make my self known to father *Philip Grimaldi*, provincial, and the emperor's president for the mathematicks, that by his means I might see what was most remarkable at court. He receiv'd me very courteously, expressing a concern that he could not entertain me in the monastery till he had acquainted the emperor, who would be inform'd of all *Europeans* that came into *Peking*, saying, That if any were conceal'd, and the emperor should after come to know of it,

he would be highly displeas'd, because he imagin'd that all *Europeans* were persons capable of doing him great service. Besides, that there being at that time, two of his pages in the house, who learn'd musick of father *Pereira*, after the *European* manner, it would be hard to conceal my coming from him, because those pages were spies, who told the emperor all they saw, and therefore they had liv'd under much restraint for two years those lads had been in the house. Father *Grimaldi*, and all the *Portuguese* fathers could not but admire at my coming

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ing to court, saying, they admir'd who had advis'd me to come to *Peking*, whether no *European* may come without being sent for by the emperor. I answer'd, That the same liberty I took to go to the courts of the *Grand Signior*, the king of *Perfia*, and the *Mogul*, brought me to that of *Peking*, those monarchs being no less powerful or jealous than the emperor of *China*. Father *Grimaldi* answer'd, the politicks of that kingdom differ'd from those of others, and after a long debate, not only with father *Grimaldi*, but with the fathers *Peireira*, *Ossorio*, and *Antony Thomas*, I took my leave, telling them I did not desire to see forts, or any thing else that might raise a jealousy in the *Chinese*; they waited upon me out of doors, causing their servants to wait upon me to my lodging, which was taken for me in the *Chinese* city.

*Xuntien*, or *Peking* is in the latitude of 40 degrees, and 144 of longitude, seated in a spacious plain, and divided into two cities, the one call'd the *Tartar*, the other the *Chinese*. The first is square, every side being three *Italian* miles in length, with nine gates. This city is inhabited by *Tartars*, and their forces divided into eight brigades; and by the emperor's servants and attendants about his person, or belonging to his courts and councils, all officers civil and military being there. The *Chinese* city (built since the other, to contain the multitude of inhabitants,) is of the same bigness, as the *Tartar* city, being four leagues in compass, but its form is not like the other, because the north and south sides are shorter than the east and west, so that it is narrowest from south to north, which side joyns to the *Tartar* city, from which it is divided only by a wall. It has seven gates, which together with the nine of the old city, make in all sixteen gates *Peking* has, each of which has its suburb running out in length, and it is seven *Spanish* leagues, or twenty one miles in compass. The suburbs are well inhabited, especially that which runs towards the west, through which all that comes by land passes.

The great streets run from north to south, and the rest from east to west; they are all strait, long, wide, and well-proportion'd. The little streets lie east and west, and divide all the great streets into equal portions, or quarters. All of them have their particular names, as *The King's Kindred Street*, *The White Tower-Street*, *The Lions*, *The Dry-Fish*, *The Aquatic-Street*, and so the rest. There is

a book sold there containing the names and situation of all the streets, which is bought by all servants who attend *Mandarines* to their visits, and the courts, and who carry presents, letters, messages, or orders to several parts of the city, and empire, and they are very numerous in all parts; whence came the proverb so much in use among the *Chinese*, that the provinces furnish *Peking* with *Mandarines*, and *Peking* in exchange supplies them with lackeys and courriers, or letter-carriers; and indeed it is rare to see a *Mandarine* that is a native of *Peking*. The finet of all the streets is that they call *Skian-gan-kiai*, that is, the street of perpetual rest; it lies east and west, the north side of it being the palace wall, and the south several palaces of great men and courts. It is above one hundred and thirty foot wide, and so famous, that the learned Men in their writings make use of its name to signify the city, taking a part for the whole, and it is the same thing to say a man is in the street of eternal rest, or to say he is in *Peking*. The houses are low, and tho' the great men have large and stately palaces, they are shut up backwards, and nothing appears outwards, but a great gate, with houses on both sides inhabited by the servants, tradesmen, or mechanicks. Yet this *Chinese* way of building is beneficial to the publick, because every thing is sold at the door, whether to eat, for conveniency, or pleasure; whereas in *Europe* a great part of the city is taken up with noblemens houses, which obliges those that are to buy any thing to go a great way for it. Besides, in *China* all things to eat are carry'd about the streets to sell.

The multitude of people here is so great, that I dare not name it, nor can I tell how to make the reader conceive it (I use the very words of father *Gabriel Magalbaens*) for all the streets both of the old and new city, are full of people, as well the little ones as the great, as well those at the ends of the town as those in the middle, and there is so great a throng in all parts, as cannot be parallel'd but by the fairs and processions in *Europe*. If we will give credit to father *Grimaldi*, a religious man adorn'd with all manner of goodness and virtue, who, for his great merit, holds the first place in the emperor's esteem, I will then declare, that asking him concerning the number of the inhabitants of *Peking*, to satisfy my curiosity, he answer'd me, that both the cities, with the sixteen suburbs, and dwellings in boats, made the number of sixteen millions. Let the reader

GEMELLI  
1695.

Houses.

Multitude  
of people.

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Streets.

GENELLI der believe what he pleases, for I do not  
 1695: design to make this good; but I can safely  
 affirm, this worthy father is not a man  
 that would lie, and that he knows this  
 matter better than any other, because he  
 has liv'd thirty years at that court, and  
 knows both the *Tartar* and *Chinese* lan-  
 guages, and their customs to perfection,  
 as much as the natives, and discourses  
 every day familiarly with the emperor.  
 Besides, if we will believe father *Bartoli*,  
 who will have it that there are three hun-  
 dred millions of souls in that kingdom  
 (adding an hundred millions to the com-  
 putation of the other fathers of his socie-  
 ty) it must follow of necessity, that the  
 great cities must make up that incredible  
 number, because the small places, tho'  
 never so many, cannot possibly contain a  
 considerable part of that multitude, there  
 being several cities thin enough of peo-  
 ple, and many places uninhabited, as we  
 see in *Europe*.

The emperor's palace is seated in the  
 midst of that great city fronting the  
 south, as is the custom of that coun-  
 try, where it is rare to see any city,  
 palace, or house of a considerable per-  
 son but what faces the south. It is en-  
 clos'd by a double wall, one within an-  
 other, and square. That without is  
 sixteen spans, or twelve foot high, and  
 is of brick; its length from the north  
 to the south gate, is two *Italian* miles,  
 its breadth, a mile, and its circumfe-  
 rence six. This wall has four gates,  
 one in the middle of every wall, and  
 each of these is compos'd of three seve-  
 ral gates, whereof the middlemost is  
 always shut, and never open'd but for  
 the emperor, the others are for all peo-  
 ple that go in and out of the palace,  
 and stand open from morning till night,  
 except those on the south side, which  
 stand half shut. These are guarded by  
 twenty *Tartars* each, with a comman-  
 der, and twelve eunuchs; there being  
 three thousand soldiers appointed to  
 guard the gates of the palace and city,  
 who keep guard in their turns, and keep  
 out *Bonzes*, blind, lame, and maim'd  
 people, and all that have any singular  
 deformity in their bodies. This first en-  
 closure is call'd *Xuan-chin*, that is, *The*  
*Imperial Wall*. The inner wall, which  
 immediately encloses the palace, is much  
 higher and thicker, made of large bricks  
 all equal, and adorn'd with handsome  
 battlements. It is an *Italian* mile and a  
 half in length from north to south, and  
 a quarter and a half in breadth, that is,  
 four miles and a half about. It has four  
 great arch'd gates. Those on the north  
 and south sides are treble, as are all those

of the first wall, but those on the other  
 two sides are single. Over these gates,  
 and the four angles of the wall, are  
 eight towers, or rather eight halls of  
 an extraordinary bigness, and a beautiful  
 structure, set off with a red varnish strew'd  
 with flowers of gold, and they are co-  
 ver'd with yellow tiles. Forty *Tartars*  
 with two officers guard the entrance of  
 each of these gates, suffering none to go  
 in, but the *Mandarines* of the courts,  
 who live within the palace, and the offi-  
 cers of the king's house-hold; stopping  
 all others, who cannot shew them a little  
 table of wood, or ivory, on which his  
 name, and the place he is to serve are  
 set down, with the *Mandarine's* seal, to  
 whom he belongs.

This second way is encompass'd by a  
 deep and broad ditch, all lin'd with  
 freestone, full of good large fish. To  
 every gate there is a draw-bridge over  
 the ditch, except that on the south.  
 Within the great square between the  
 two walls, there are distinct palaces,  
 round and square, built for several uses,  
 and purposes, being large and con-  
 venient. Within the same space on the  
 east side, at the foot of the first wall,  
 runs a river, with several strong bridges  
 over it, all of marble, except the mid-  
 dle arch, where is a wooden draw-bridge,  
 all the other bridges in the palace be-  
 ing built after the same manner. On  
 the west side, where there is a larger  
 space, is a pond well stor'd with fish,  
 above an *Italian* mile in length, over  
 the narrowest part whereof is a fair  
 bridge, at each end whereof is a trium-  
 phal arch of a beautiful and excellent  
 structure. The remaining space on the  
 east and west, which is not taken up with  
 those several palaces, nor the pond, is  
 divided into wide streets, inhabited by  
 servants, officers, and work-men belong-  
 ing to the imperial palace.

In the time of the *Chinese* kings there  
 were ten thousand eunuchs, but he that  
 now reigns has supply'd their place with  
*Tartars* and *Chinese* of the province of  
*Leaotung*, who out of a particular favour  
 are look'd upon as *Tartars*. Thus much  
 for what concerns the outward part of  
 the palace, we must now speak of what  
 is within.

In the first place it is to be observ'd, <sup>Manner of the Chinese houses.</sup>  
 that the houses in *Peking* are not like  
 ours, high, and with several stories; but  
 the several apartments of a palace are  
 one within another, with several courts,  
 all upon a floor, and to all of them there  
 is but one door from the street, so that  
 as we for our dwelling take up much of  
 the air, so do they more of the earth.

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For instance, the first gate of a palace to the street, and facing the fourth, has within the court, several little avenues on both sides, which lead into another court, through another gate, opposite to that which is to the street, where is the second apartment, which runs on to the third, and that is larger, ending in a large hall to entertain strangers. Next is the fourth apartment where the master of the house resides, and behind that another court, and fifth apartment, where the jewels and best moveables are kept. Further on still is a garden, and at the end of it the sixth and last apartment, with a small door in the middle of it. On the east and west sides of these courts are the inferior lodgings. The servants with their women and children live in that which is next to the first gate; the other courts are for the better sort of officers, and offices. This is the manner of the houses of the *Mandarines*, and other wealthy people; but those of great lords of the first rank, take up more ground, and have larger apartments, and loftier, answerable to their dignity; all these things being regulated by the laws of the kingdom, which it is a crime to infringe.

Imperial  
apartment.

The imperial apartments within this inner enclosure, call'd *Chiau*, some will have it to be twenty, assigning them their particular names, and situation; others say they are twelve, answerable to the signs of the *Zodiac*; and there are those that believe them to be nine, with as many courts; every one writing by hear-say, and not by what he has seen; for it is impossible for any *European* to see them all, especially that of the women; those only being allow'd to be seen, which the jealousy of the eastern nations has made free for such as receive audience. I could describe them by what another hath deliver'd, but I reter the curious reader to him, not to tire him with transcribing the same relation. I shall only say, that all these courts and apartments are upon a line, with great halls of a gothic structure, wherein the timber-work is beautiful enough to behold, a great number of pieces of wrought-work advancing one above another in the nature of cornices, which looks very handsome above the rim of the roof. The sides of the courts are clos'd either by small lodgings, or galleries. But when a man

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comes to the emperor's apartments, the arches sustain'd on massy pillars, the steps of white marble to go up to the high rooms; the roofs shining with gilt tiles; the ornaments of carving, varnishing, gilding, and painting; the pavements, which are almost all of marble, or porcellane; and above all, the great number of various and stately lodgings, which compose the structure, are altogether certainly beautiful, and admirable, and look like the palace of a great prince. The *French* fathers told me, that no less than two millions of pieces of eight would re-build a hall that had been burn'd. 'Tis true, the architecture and ornaments are not very regular, and here is not the symmetry and beauty of the *European* palaces.

It is hard to know the number of concubines there are in this palace for the emperor's pleasure, because it is very great, and not fix'd; besides that they are never seen. They are chosen maids of good birth by the *Mandarines* of the provinces; and being once in the palace have no more communication with their parents. Their necessary and continual solitude (for most of them are not known by the prince) the pains they take to make themselves known, and the jealousy reigning among them, make them very miserable. Three of those that have the good luck to please the prince, are chosen to bear the title of queens, and live after a different manner from the rest, each of them having a several apartment, and a numerous court. They want for nothing that may please them. Their equipage, cloaths, and attendance are very magnificent.

Yet they have no share in the government, the *Chinese* laughing when they hear that princesses among us inherit crowns, and saying *Europe* is the kingdom of the women. These are accounted wives, so that all their sons are legitimate, only with this difference, that those of the first are preferable to the others, as to the succession to the empire.

Within the inner palace there is a park enclos'd with a wall, where wild beasts are kept for the emperor's diversion. In it there are five little hills, indifferent high, made of the earth taken out to make the ditch and pond. That in the middle is highest, and these are the only hills in the city of *Peking*.

GEMELLI

1695.

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A Voy-

A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part IV.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
CHINA.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Presenting of the new Kalendar; the Audience given the Author by the Emperor of China; and Ceremonies us'd by the Mandarin's upon publick Occasions.

GEMELLI
1695.

A Servant of father Grimaldi (whom the Chinese call *Mil-lavije*) came to acquaint me that his master expected me, and going immediately, I found him clad in a rich garment lin'd with fables, given him by the emperor. He told me that morning was a proper time to go with him into the palace, because he was to present the emperor the new kalendar for the year 1696, which he had compos'd in the Chinese, the Tartar, the eastern, and western language. Having thank'd him for remembering me, and for the present he made me of an almanack, I mounted a horseback, and follow'd him. Having pass'd the first enclosure, in which is the house of the French Jesuits, we entered the inner palace through a great gate guarded by soldiers, and crossing a great court, on the sides whereof were lanes of soldiers well clad in good order, we went up to the first hall, on one of the sides, upon twenty steps of white marble, and into it through the side-door, because only the emperor goes up the steps, and in at the middle-door, which are larger and more stately.

Apartment of
the palace.

This room was very large, so that besides the walls, it was supported within by some wooden pillars, well painted and gilt, as was the ceiling. The walls were of brick and white plaister, the outward roof was of porcellane of several colours. This led to the second court through three other front-gates, and two on the sides, where on both hands there were houses, very beautiful to behold. Then was there an ascent to another hall like the first, and from that through other courts to the third and

fourth, this last exceeding the others in structure and cost. Before we came into the court of this fourth hall, father Grimaldi carrying the almanack handsomely put up in a casket cover'd with silk, attended by several Mandarin's, and persons of quality, a person sent by the emperor to receive it, came to meet him, and having taken it with great respect and civility, carry'd it in to his master.

Father Grimaldi taking leave of the Mandarin's that had bore him company, told me, that to the end the fathers might not suffer by my coming, it was convenient the emperor should see me, that so when he came afterwards to know it by means of the two pages, he might not be displeas'd; as had happen'd before, on account that he was not told of a father of the society, who came sick to Peking to be cur'd. Therefore he bid me wait, and he would introduce me to his majesty, teaching me in the mean while the ceremonies I was to perform. In fine, after an hours stay, a servant came to bid us advance; so we pass'd through four long courts, hemm'd in with apartments, and lodgings of several structures, surpassing the last square hall, built upon the gates of communication. The gates through which we pass'd, out of one court into another, were of a wonderful bigness, wide, high, and well proportion'd, made of white marble, whereof time had worn away the smoothness and beauty. One of these courts was divided by a small stream of water, over which are little bridges of white marble. In short the beauty of this palace consists in a multitude of buildings, courts, and gardens, orderly placed, where,

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where, to say the truth, every thing is worth observing and wonderful. The emperor's throne was in the midst of a great court. It ascended square, the first basis being of an extraordinary bigness, and all hemm'd in with bannisters of white and very fine marble. Above the first landing-place or plain, which had such another row of bannisters about it, was a second in the same manner, but somewhat less in compass, and so it grew less to the fifth ascent or plain, where was an admirable open room or gallery cover'd with gilt tiles, and supported by strong wooden pillars varnish'd. In this place was the emperor's throne. Those five orders of bannisters look'd mighty beautiful to my eye, especially at that time when the sun shining on them, they reflected its rays all about.

The emperor was within that beautiful chamber or gallery, sitting after the Tartar manner, on a *Soffa*, or floor rais'd above the rest of the room three foot, and cover'd with a large carpet, which reach'd over all the pavement. He had by him books, ink, and pencils after the Chinese manner, to write. His garment was of gold colour silk, embroider'd with dragons, two whereof very large were on his breast richly wrought. On his right and left, were ranks of eunuchs well clad, and without any weapons, their feet close together, and their arms hanging. When we came to the door, we ran hastily to the end of the room that was opposite to the emperor, and standing both together, continu'd on our feet a moment, holding our arms right down by our sides. At last kneeling, and lifting up our hands, join'd to our heads, so that our arms and elbows were of an equal height, we bow'd three times down to the ground, then rising, we set our selves in the same posture, as at first, and perform'd the same ceremony, a second, and a third time, till we were order'd to advance, and kneel down before the emperor: By means of father Grimaldi, he ask'd me concerning the wars then carry'd on in Europe, and I answer'd to the best of my knowledge. Then he ask'd me whether I was a physician, or understood surgery; and understanding that was not my profession, ask'd a third time, whether I had studied mathematics, or understood them. To which I answer'd in the negative, tho' in my younger years I had got some little smattering in them. For I had been forewarn'd by the fathers, that if I own'd I understood any of those arts, or sciences, he would keep me in his service, and I had no mind to stay there. At

length he gave us our conge, and we retir'd without any ceremony.

He was in the 43d year of his age, and the 35th of his reign; he is call'd *Cam-Hi*, that is, *The Peaceable*. His stature is proportionable, his countenance comely, his eyes sparkling, and somewhat larger than generally his countrymen have them; somewhat hawk-nos'd, and a little round at the point; he has some marks of the small pox, yet they do not at all lessen the beauty of his countenance.

Tuesday the 8th, I went in a chair, which is dear in Peking, to see the city towards the east quarter, and found every where very beautiful publick places, and rich shops. I went into the *Tartar* city, through the gate call'd *Zien Muen*, which is in the midst of the wall that parts the two cities; the same *Marcus Polus* speaks of, and which looks towards the king's apartments, and the great gate leading to them. And as the great gate of the imperial apartments is never open'd, but when the emperor goes out, so neither is this which answers to it in the city wall open'd, but only the other three are for the service of the publick. There is a most beautiful row of bannisters before the gate of the imperial palace, which encloses a spacious porch.

The cold is very sharp in Peking, and tho' I be not very tender, yet I could not go out till it was late, when the sun had gather'd strength; for tho' it be in 40 degrees wanting five minutes of latitude, it is excessive cold; father Grimaldi assuring me that it is not colder in Poland, in the latitude of 50 degrees, he having had experience of both places. This sharpness in Peking proceeds from the nearness of the high mountains, which divide the great Tartary, from China; yet the hardest weather is not at the time when I was there, but in January, the winter beginning in November, and continuing till the middle of March without any rain at all. During which time, by means of the great frost, there are brought out of the eastern Tartary, infinite number of pheasants, partridges, deer, wild boars, and other beasts, with abundance of sturgeon, all so frozen, that the beasts will keep two or three months, and the pheasants thirty days, and they are so plentiful at that time, a buck, or a boar may be bought for a piece of eight, and a pheasant for a half-royal, and a partridge for two grains of Naples-money. From March till the beginning of June is a perfect spring at Peking with little rain, but in June and July, till the 10th of August, the rains are plentiful.

The emperor's throne.

How he sits.

Grimaldi's description of the emperor.

GEMELLI 1695 Description of the emperor.

GEMELLI
1695.

plentiful. This rain is necessary to wash the streets of all the mighty filth that gathers in them, for grave perions are not allow'd to ease themselves in publick places. By reason of this great cold, all the women wear coits and caps on their heads, whether they go in chairs or on horseback; and they have reason to do so, for I could scarce endure the weather, tho' I wore several furs. The worst thing here is the want of wood; and therefore they burn a sort of mineral, dug out of the neighbouring mountains, like the *Englifs* sea-coal, which are noisome to warm ones self by, and therefore they only use them in the kitchen to dress victuals, choosing rather to be without fire in their chambers, and num'd with cold.

My arrival at *Peking*, gave the *Jesuits* the same jealousy, persuading themselves like those of *Canton*, that I was sent by the pope, to enquire underhand into all that had happened in *China*, on account of the contest between them and the vicars-apostolick; and this the more, because I was come to court without the emperor's leave, and without their knowledge.

Wednesday the 9th, I went in a chair to the *French Jesuits*, who live within the 1st enclosure of the imperial palace. As I came in at the great gate, I saw a multitude of porters, hanging blew cloth to close in the little allies opposite to the long court, and broad way that leads to the inner-wall, causing it to be well swept and clear'd. Asking why they did so, I was told, that it being the birth-day of the empress, dowager to the father of him now reigning, all the ladies of the city came to compliment her, and therefore all the paths that led to the court were enclos'd, that they might not be seen, and the way was adorn'd as is usual when the emperor goes abroad. In short, having been merry with the *French* fathers, as I return'd, I saw a number of fine calashes, cover'd with damask, and other stuffs of silk and gold, in which the ladies came. The fathers told me the ceremony was perform'd after this manner. The empress aforesaid, sat on a high throne, and the emperor went first with all her sons to begin the ceremony, bowing down his head, as he knelt nine times to the ground. Next came his wives, and concubines to do the same; next the princes, and princesses of the blood, and the great ladies, and *Mandarines* of the court. This day the empress invites the emperor to dinner, and all that are there; the emperor eating on a table by himself on his throne. This I deli-

ver upon hearsay, because it is not to be seen.

All the princes and *Mandarines*, who are at court, are oblig'd to perform the same ceremony on the 1st, 15th, and 25th day of every moon; about five thousand of them meeting in the lodgings, chambers, and halls, which are on the sides of the court, before the fourth gate. They are all richly clad, but after several manners according to their quality, known by the several beasts and birds embroder'd on their garments. About break of day, the emperor sets out from the eleventh apartment, where he usually resides, and is brought in a chair by twelve eunuchs into the hall, where he seats himself on a rich throne rais'd in the middle of it. Then an eunuch kneels before the door, and says *Falui*; that is, let the heaven discharge its thunder; and presently the bell rings, and the kettledrums, and great drum of the palace are beaten, and trumpets and other instruments sounded, all the gates being open'd at the same time, except those in the middle. Whilst the noise continues, they all range themselves on both sides; that is, those of the blood-royal, and the learned *Mandarines* on the east side; and the lords who are not of the blood-royal, and *Mandarines* of the army, on the west side. Then going on in this order, two and two, they pass through the lesser gates, which are on the sides of the greater; then going up the steps, every one takes his post according to his quality, before the great hall in places assign'd to every one of the nine orders of *Mandarines*, which are writ upon small pillars. Being thus orderly rang'd on the two sides of the court, facing one another, the noise of the instruments ceases, and all is very hush; the *Cotais* or censors carefully attending, that the function may be duly perform'd and every man do his duty. Then the master of the ceremonies, who kneels in the middle of the stairs of the great hall, speaks to the emperor to this effect. Most high and powerful prince, our sovereign lord, all the princes of the blood, and great lords, all the learned and military *Mandarines* are here now ready to pay the duty they owe you. Then, standing up, he goes to the east side, and lifting up his voice again, says to them, *Pai-pai*, that is, order your selves; and immediately every one settles his garment, and composes his person. Then he again says, *Shew-xin*, that is, turn your selves, and they turn towards the imperial hall. Then he bids them kneel down, and says *Ken-*

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ten, that is, touch the ground with your heads; and so they continue, till he says, *Kilai*, that is rise. Next he says, *Ye*, that is, bow your arms, joining the hands, and lifting them above the head, then lower them to the knee. Which done, he says, as you were at first, for the monosyllable *Ye* alone, signifies this sort of obeisance. Having perform'd this ceremony three times, they all kneel, and then he cries *Keu-teu*, touch the ground with your heads. *Tjai-keu-teu*, touch it a second time; *Yeu-keu-teu*, touch the third time. They, the two first times they do it, say in a low voice *Van-fui*, that is, ten thousand years; but the third time they say *Van-fui, Van-fui*, ten thousand years, ten thousand thousands of years; for ten thousand years is the emperor's name.

This ceremony being perform'd, the master of the ceremonies says again, *Kilai*, rise; *Sbievexsin*, turn your selves, and they turn to one another. At last he says to them, *Quiepan*, place your selves in order, and they return to their places in rank and file. Then he kneels again, and with the same respect says, *Sbiaospi*, that is, most powerful lord, the ceremonies of this submission due to you are perform'd. Then all the instruments found again, and the king comes down from his throne, and returns to his apartment. The great men and *Mandarines* withdraw; and at the middle-gate, take off the garments of ceremony they had put on when they came to the palace, which differ from their ordinary apparel, and are much richer; but must not be yellow, which by the *Cbinese* is counted the king of colours, because like the colour of gold, which is the king of metals; and therefore they say that only belongs to the emperor, who appears in that habit in publick, with abundance of dragons embroider'd on it. Sometimes the emperor excuses the *Mandarines* who are busy about the important affairs of the kingdom from this troublesome ceremony.

Thursday the 10th, I went in a chair

to view another part of the city, where I saw something curious, for there was publick mourning and rejoycing along one and the same street; a wedding, and a funeral happening to pass by at the same time. The funeral was thus. First went the colours and banners of silk, and colour'd-paper, the statues of the dead, horses, and monsters carry'd by several people in good order. Others beat a brass drum, and the *Bonzes* brass plates, bells, and other instruments, after whom was carry'd the corps in a coffin on a bier cover'd with white cloth. The male kindred went before the corps weeping, the women follow'd in very small calashes, all clad in white, that being the colour for mourning in *China*, and the neighbouring kingdoms of *Cochinchina* and *Tunkin*. But this is when any one dies in the city, that the obsequies being perform'd there, he is carry'd to be bury'd; but if he dies out of it, of whatever degree or quality he be, it is not allow'd to bring him into the city, they looking upon it as a very bad omen.

The manner of the wedding is almost like that of the funeral, as to the instruments that sound. Several persons go before on foot and on horseback with colours, and banners, according to the bridegroom's quality. Then comes the bride in a close chair or calash adorn'd with fringes, or laces and silk embroidery in great state, but she cannot be seen.

I went out at the gate of the *Cbinese* city, and went a league about the wall, to see whether it differ'd from the walls of the other cities of *China*, and found it to be of the same sort, being in a great measure made of brick, with a wet ditch about it forty foot wide, the wall it self twenty foot thick, and rampard after the manner of our strong places in *Europe*. The curtains are defended by large square towers about a bow-shot distant from one another; but the towers of the new city are set thinner, and the walls are weaker, and not so high.

CHAP. II.

A short Journey to see the great Wall of China, and a Description of it.

Being so near to that so famous wall, I had the curiosity to see it, and therefore went upon Friday 11th, to the *French* fathers to provide for my journey. They told me it would be dangerous to go where the passage was guarded, because the guards would be jealous

of a foreigner; but that I might go to that part next the mountains where there were no soldiers. They were so kind as to find one to bear me company the next day, and so I return'd home. On Saturday 12th, I set out on horseback betimes, and travell'd that day 35 miles,

GEMELLI lying at night in a country-house. *Sunday* the 13th, having travell'd twenty miles of mountain-way, we came to the foot of the mountain, along which the wall runs, and there being no going to it on horse-back, I was forced to alight, and go four miles on foot with much trouble, being guided by the fellow that hir'd the horses, my servant staying with them.

Chinese wall.

The wall in some places is fifteen foot high, in others twenty; but in the vallies it is much higher and thicker, for six horses may easily go a-breast on it. The structure is all of large burnt bricks, and few stones, and at certain distances there are strong square towers, about two bow-shot from one another, which continue all the length of the wall to the sea. Where the passes of the country are easiest, and most expos'd, there are several works standing thick together, as ravelins, and bastions, to secure them. This wonderful wall begins in the province of *Kiamfi*, and runs to the east sea, and above half a league into it, because of its shallowness; so that it is judg'd to be four hundred and five *Spanish* leagues in length, taken in a straight line, and five hundred as the building winds along valleys and mountains. There are abundance of little doors and stairs for the multitude of soldiers that guard the towers, for the safety of the kingdom, to go up to them.

Almost all *China* being parted from *Tartary* by the mountains, which run between them, the great wall is rais'd less on the mountains, and more in the valleys, as need requires; yet not so as to be every where upon a level, as some would make us believe; it being impossible to raise it to that height in the deep valleys, as to equal the highest

mountains. So that when that wall is said to be prodigiously high, the meaning is no other, but that it is built upon very high places; for of it self it is not so high as the walls of their cities, nor is it of an equal breadth in all parts. Almost all the structure, as has been said, is of brick, so well built, that it does not only last, but looks new, after several ages, as if it were new, except only some few ruins, which the *Tartars* do not mind to repair. It is above eighteen hundred years since the emperor *Xiboam-ti* caus'd it to be built against the incursions of the *Tartars*. This was one of the greatest, and most extravagant works that ever was undertaken. In prudence the *Chinese* should have secur'd the most dangerous passes: But what I thought most ridiculous, was to see the wall run up to the top of a vast high and steep mountain, where the birds would hardly build, much less the *Tartar* horse climb, to break into the country. And if they conceited those people could make their way climbing the cliffs and rocks, it was certainly a great folly to believe their fury could be stop'd by so low a wall. I was astonish'd to consider they should have such excellent workmen, to draw up so many materials for building, and make use of them; which could not be done without a vast charge and labour, and in a considerable space of time. It is reported, That under the *Chinese* emperors, this wall was guarded by a million of soldiers; at present the emperor being sovereign of a great part of *Tartary*, he only keeps good garrisons on the weakest passes. *Monday* the 14th, I return'd the same way I came, and was at *Peking* on *Tuesday* the 15th, before night.

CHAP. III.

How the Emperor of China appears in Publick.

The emperor's country house.

ON *Wednesday* the 16th, I was in father *Pereira's* apartment, when order was brought him from the palace, to go fix the clock of the country-house, because the emperor was to go thither very soon, where he diverts himself half the year. It is call'd, *Sbian-Sciun-Yuen*; *Yuen*, signifying a garden; *Sciun*, always; and *Sbian*, spring; that is, The garden where there is continual spring. It consists of fine little houses, separated from one another, like those of our *Carthusians*, with gardens and fountains after the *Chinese* manner. *Thursday* the 17th, the *French* fathers told me the emperor

would go the next day to his country-house, and I might see the manner of it from their house, or any place near it, and accordingly on *Friday* the 18th, I was conducted by a servant of theirs to see that majestic procession, which began an hour after sun-rising.

First march'd about 2000 soldiers and the servants, after whom follow'd about twenty women in close calashes. Next came the king attended by the princes of the blood, and *Mandarines*. He was on horseback, plainly clad in a garment of gold colour, embroider'd with dragons all over, but more particularly on the

Book II.

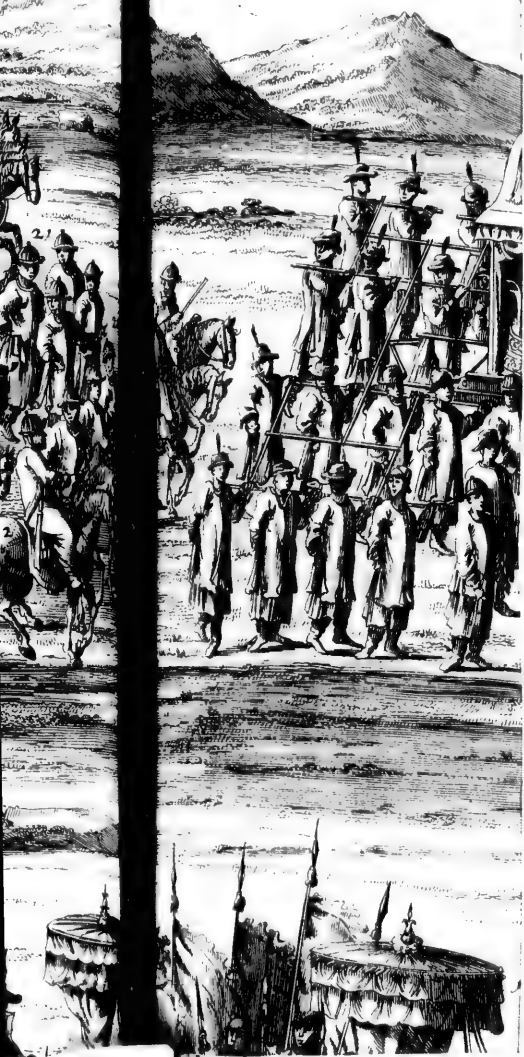
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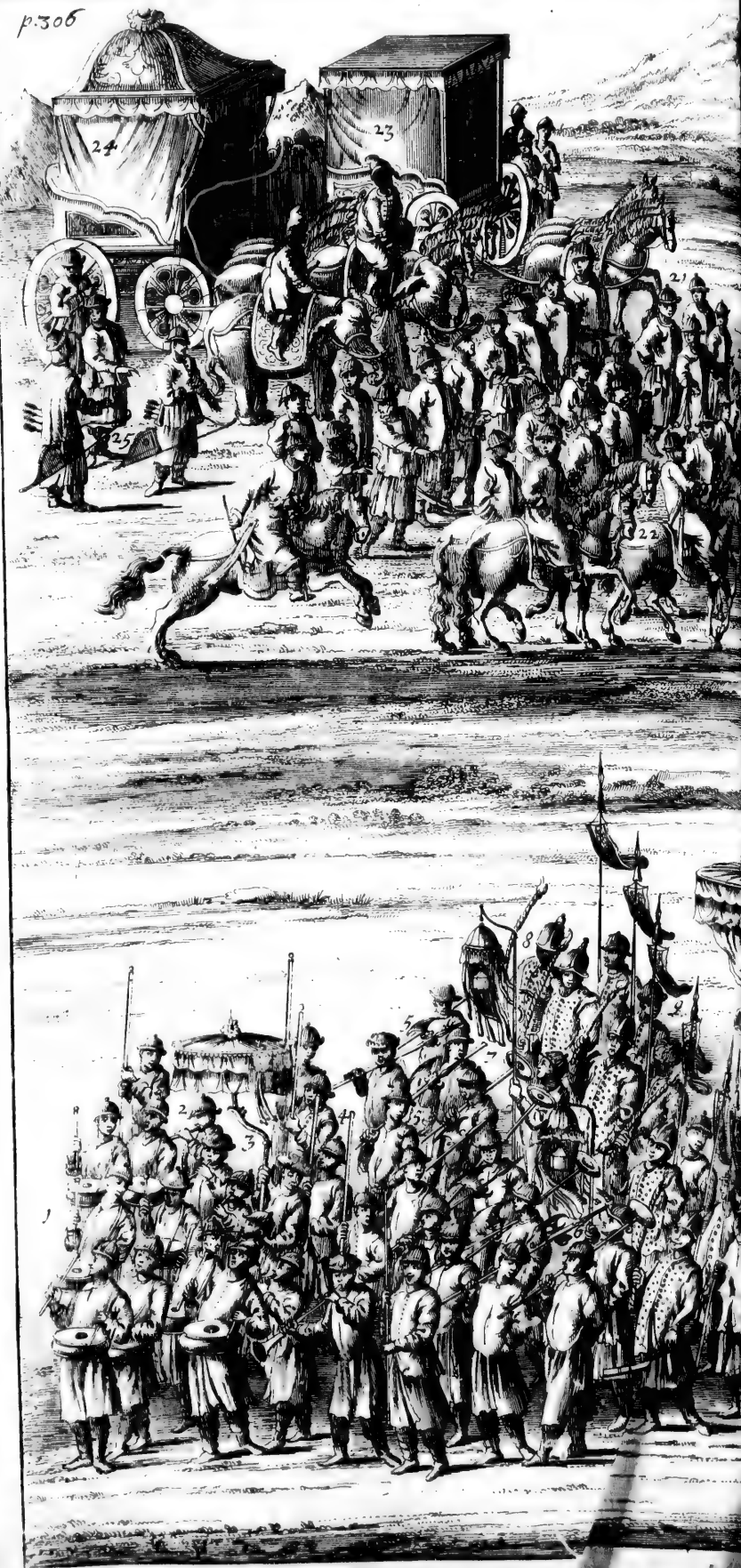
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The Emperor of China





The Emperor of China's retinue or train when he appears in Publick



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the breast, where were two very large ones. On his *Mau*, or *Tartar*-cap was a rich jewel.

Sometimes the emperor goes abroad in a chair carry'd by thirty two men, who contrive it so ingeniously, that all equally bear a part of the burden: Besides four others, who support the chair on every side. I thought this publick appearance very stately; and believe it will be acceptable to the reader, to describe in this place, a more solemn manner of going abroad of the emperor of *China*, when he goes to sacrifice, or perform some other publick function, attended by several thousands, and therefore the draught of it is here inserted.

1. First go 24 men with great drums in two files, twelve and twelve.
2. 24 Trumpets, twelve on a side. These are made of a wood they call *Utum-xu*, which is of great value in *China*. They are above three foot long, and almost a span diameter, at the mouth shap'd like a bell. They are adorn'd with rims of gold, and suit with the noise of the drums.
3. 24 Staves, twelve on each side, about eight spans, or two yards long, curiously wrought with red varnish, and adorn'd with leaves of gold.
4. 100 Halberds, fifty on a side, the iron of them like a crescent.
5. 100 Maces of gilt wood, fifty on each side, as long as a spear.
6. Two royal lances, call'd *Cassi*, cover'd with red varnish, and gilt at the ends.
7. 400 Great lanthorns curiously wrought, and richly adorn'd.
8. 400 Torches well wrought, and made of a sort of wood, which keeps long lighted, and shines bright.
9. Twenty lances adorn'd below the spear, some with silk fringes of several colours, and others with the tails of panthers, and other beasts.
10. 24 Colours, on which the signs of the zodiack are painted, which the *Chi-*

nese divide into twenty four parts, as *GEMELLI* we do into twelve. 1095.

11. 56 Colours, on which are the fifty six constellations, to which the *Chinese* reduce all the stars.
12. 200 Great fans upon long staves, gilt and painted with several figures, as dragons, birds, the sun, &c.
13. 24 Umbrells richly adorn'd, twelve on each side.
14. Eight sorts of utensils the emperor commonly makes use of, as the towel, gold basin and ewer, and others.
15. 500 Gentlemen belonging to the emperor, richly clad.
16. Ten horses as white as snow, with the bridles and saddles adorn'd with gold, pearls and precious stones.
17. 1000 Men, 500 on each side, call'd *Hao-gue*, that is, foot soldiers, clad in red, embroider'd with flowers, and stars of gold and silver, and caps adorn'd with long feathers.
18. Eight standards of eight several colours, as yellow, blue, white, &c. denoting the eight generals of the empire, one being call'd general of the yellow standard, another of the blue, &c. and every one of them commands 100000 men.
19. The emperor carry'd in an open chair, as was said before, by thirty two men, and supported by four others on the sides.
20. The princes of the blood, petty kings, and a great number of lords, richly clad, in file according their quality.
21. Servants to the aforesaid petty kings and princes of the blood.
22. The 2000 learned and military *Mandarines* richly clad.
23. A great coach drawn by 8 horses.
24. Two stately chariots, each drawn by two great elephants.
25. *Tartar* soldiers.

See Cut Number I. Page 307.

CHAP. IV.

The Religions in the Empire of China.

Religion
of the *Tar-*
tars.

There are several religions profess'd in the empire of *China*, according to the variety of people in it. To begin with the emperor, he being a *Tartar*, follows the idolatry of his nation, which as in the main it agrees with the religion of the *Chinese* and *Japanese*, yet they all differ in sects, wherein the *Tartars* do not agree among themselves,

much less with the *Chinese* and *Cochinese*, as neither they do among themselves. This difference arises from the several idols, which every one takes for his tutelar god. The *Tartars* of great *Tartary* adore a deity, they call *Natagai*, whom they esteem the god of the earth, and they have so great a veneration for him, that no man is without his image

GENELLI in his house; and being persuaded that
1695. *Natagai* had a wife, they place her on
his left, with little idols before them,
as if they were their children. They
pay adoration, and make obeisance to
them, especially when they are going to
dinner or supper, anointing the mouths
of the images with the fat of the meat
that is dress'd, and lay some of their
dinner or supper at the door, believing
they feed on it.

The great
priest or
Lama.

There is a much more impious, and
ridiculous adoration paid by the *Tartars*
to a living man, whom they call *Lama*,
that is, great-priest, or priest of priests;
because from him, as the source, they re-
ceive all the grounds of their religion,
or idolatry, and therefore they give him
the name of eternal father. This man
is ador'd as a deity, not only by the
inhabitants of the place, but by all the
kings of *Tartary*, who own a subjection
to him in matters of religion, and there-
fore not only they, but their people go
in pilgrimage with considerable gifts to
adore him, as a true and living god.
He, as a great favour, shews himself in
a dark place of his palace, adorn'd with
gold and silver, and lighted by several
hanging lamps; sitting upon a cushion
of cloth of gold, on a place rais'd from
the ground, and cover'd with fine car-
pets. Then they all prostrate themselves
flat on the ground, and humbly kiss his
foot. Hence he is call'd father of fa-
thers, high priest, priest of priests, and
eternal father; for the priests who are
the only persons that attend and wait
upon him on all occasions, make the
simple strangers believe wonders of his
sanctity. And that he may be thought
immortal when he dies, they seek out
throughout all the kingdom for one ve-
ry like him, and having found one, place
him on the throne, and by that means
make all the kingdom hold it as an ar-
ticle of faith (they being all ignorant of
the imposture,) that the eternal father rose
again out of hell after seven hundred
years, and has liv'd ever since, and will
live to eternity; which is so deeply im-
printed in the minds of those barbarous
people, that no man among them makes
the least doubt of it, and they adore him
so blindly, that he thinks himself com-
pletely happy, who has the fortune to
get the least bit of his excrement, which
is bought at a great rate; believing, that
wearing it about their necks in a gold
box, as the great lords use to do, it is
a sure defence against all evils, and an
antidote against all diseases; and there
are those who out of devotion put some
of it into their meat. This living deity

is of such great authority throughout all
Tartary, that no king is crown'd till he
has sent ambassadors, with rich presents,
to obtain the great *Lama's* blessing, for
a happy and prosperous government.
His residence is in the kingdom of *Barantola*,
or *Lassa*, where he assumes the
regal dignity, tho' he takes nothing upon
him of the government, contenting him-
self with the honour, living quietly and
peaceably, and leaving the care of the
kingdom to another, whom they call *De-
wa*, or *Dena*; which is the reason they
say there are two kings in *Barantola*.

In *Peking* there is a great temple with
in the palace of these religious *Lama's*.
It is call'd *Lamatiem*, that is, the tem-
ple of *Lama*; and was built by the fa-
ther of the emperor now reigning, out
of policy, and to please his mother,
the daughter of a petty king of the
western *Tartars*, who was much affect-
ed to the *Lama's*. On a hill like a fu-
gar-loaf made by hand, of great stones
carry'd from the sea, is a round tower
of twelve stories handsomely built, and
of a wonderful height; about which,
on the top, are many small bells, which
being shaken by the wind, ring night and
day. The temple is large, built in the
middle of the hill on the south side. The
dwellings and cells of the *Lama's* are on
the east and west. The idol on the altar
is like a naked rustick man, like the
god *Priapus* of the antients, nor is it
ador'd by any but the *Lama's* and
western *Tartars*; the eastern *Tartars* and
Chinese abhorring it. I saw several *La-
ma's* in *Peking*, and their habit is singu-
lar, for they wear a yellow miter, a white
gown tuck'd up backwards, a red girdle,
and a tunick of a gold colour, and a
purse hanging from their waste; so that
their garment is much like that the apo-
stles are painted in.

The principal idol they adore in that
kingdom of *Lassa*, or *Barantola*, is *Me-
nipe* made of nine human heads in the
form of a cone; before which they of-
fer sacrifice, and place meat to gain the
favour of the idol. They use beads,
letting one drop every time they say,
Menipe, save us. The malice and deceit
of the devil has caus'd a horrid and ex-
ecrable custom to be us'd in that king-
dom of *Barantola*, and that of *Ti ngui*.
They chuse a lusty lad, or boy, whom
they empower at certain times of the
year to kill, with weapons he has given
him to that purpose, whomsoever he
meets, of any sect, or condition what-
soever. To those that are so slain they
afterwards pay eternal honours, esteem-
ing them most happy, as being sacri-
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field to their goddess *Menipe*; The boy arm'd with a bow and arrows, and scimitar, and stuck round with banners, at a certain time appointed by the devil, to whom he is devoted, goes out of doors, like one distracted, and running about the streets and publick places, kills whom he meets, and no opposition must be made against him. In the language of the country they call him *Buib*, that is, killer.

The *Mabometan* religion has also made so great a progress in *China*, being brought in by the *Tartars* of the greater *Tartary*, who come to settle there, that father *Grimaldi* told me there were two millions of people that profess'd it. These came in through the eastern *Tartary*, being call'd in by the *Chinese*, to expel the western *Tartars* call'd *Elu-b*, who in former ages reign'd in *China*.

The religion of the *Chinese* may be reduced to three principal sects. One of the *Literati*, or learned; the second of *Lanzu*, and the third that of the commonalty. That of the learned is ordain'd, and directed to two principal ends, the one the publick good of the kingdom, the advancement whereof is its whole aim. The other the particular prosperity of every man of them, to be procur'd or purchas'd by the merit of virtuous actions according to the dictates of reason, improv'd and made perfect by moral philosophy, wherein they take so much pains to advance themselves. And because to honour those that deserve well (whether it be a depth of nature, as to fathers, or other superiors, or to those who merit it by virtue) is very beneficial to the publick; the hopes of reward being a great encouragement to take pains; and for as much as this is very beneficial to private persons, children being taught the love and respect they owe to their parents, whom they so often see offer up at the tombs of their predecessors, tears, presents, the prayers of *Bonzes*, and whatever else is proper to honour the dust, and comfort the spirit: Therefore all these ceremonies of theirs are political actions for the good of the living, to give them good instructions, and not regarding the dead, as if they could be beneficial to them. So that these ceremonies are not neglected by them, tho' they do not believe the immortality of the soul; because, besides the publick damage that would ensue, if people were us'd to live at all their liberty, without the check or fear of another life, they would in a great measure hurt themselves, teaching their own

children not to use those expressions of *GENELLI* respect and love to them, which they should see them deny their parents. 1695.

Yet it is true, that the wiser sort thinking it intolerable on the one hand, to believe that men and beasts are equal as to length of life, say that there should be brutes that live longer, some an age, and perhaps some more; and on the other side not thinking that immortality is the natural property of the soul, but a reward of merit; they have hereupon found out a new sort of philosophy, very like that of the ancient *Stoicks*, which is, that virtue is a quality that partakes somewhat of the divine being, able to remove all that is corruptible out of the soul where it resides, and consequently the mortal part, and to subtilize it to such a degree, that it may no longer be in a condition to suffer from that water to which it is united, but not incorporated; and that thus when parted from the body, it is united to God, and like a graft set upon a tree, has the same immortal life with him. On the contrary, say they, vice, by its natural malignity and infection, so corrupts and loads the soul, intangling it with the flesh, that it lives by the flesh, and with the flesh, dies and corrupts. In short, these *Literati* or learned *Chinese* are mere atheists, and believe there is neither reward, nor punishment in the other world; and that the soul freed from the prison of the body, returns to nothing, from which it came, after the same manner as the wind. And therefore they make it their business to have the enjoyment of this world, with so many wives (which they approve of as necessary for peopling the kingdom) with having the management of the government, and with riches, which they endeavour to gather by unlawful means: To speak the truth, it is rather an university of *Literati*, or learned men, call'd *Tuckiao*, than a pagan religion; for as much as they have no temples, nor priests, nor idols, nor sacrifices, nor sacred rites.

The proper temple of the learned is that of *Confucius*, prince of the *Chinese* philosophers, which temple, by a publick ordinance of the kingdom, is built in every city, in some place above that where the schools are, with extraordinary charge. There his dictates are written, or else his name on a great board in golden letters, with several statues of his disciples by him, whom the *Chinese* worship as inferior deities. Here all the *Mandarines*, doctors, and batchelors, meet every new and full moon to worship, and do homage to their master

GEMELLI
1695:
The second sect.

Confucius with humble genuflexions; after the same manner as the *Agyptians* on the first day of the month *Tsobt* celebrated the solemnity of their god, *Mercury*.

The second sect is call'd *Lawzu*, or of *Li-lao-kun*, introduced by a philosopher of that name, who liv'd in the time of *Confucius*. They feign he was in his mothers womb eighty years, before he was born; for which reason he is call'd *Lawzu*, that is, *Old Philosopher*. He teaches, that the sovereign God is corporeal, and governs the other deities, as a king does his subjects, wherein these seem to agree with the *Stoicks*. He promises mighty effects of chymistry (whence some judge him to have been the inventor of it) persuading his followers, that by means of a certain drink, men may become immortal. His disciples also attribute to him art-magick, and this hellish art in a short time became the only science of persons of quality, every one applying himself to it, in hopes to avoid death; and the women either out of curiosity, or in hopes to prolong their lives, gave themselves up to all manner of extravagancies and impieties. Those who made this pernicious doctrine their peculiar profession were call'd *Tien-se*, that is, heavenly doctors; to whom the emperors gave houses to live in community, and built temples in several places, in honour of their master. The priests of this sect, particularly employ themselves in expelling the devils out of houses, by means of exorcisms, or fasting horrid monsters to the walls, drawn with ink, and this with such a hideous noise, that it makes the very devils remove. These naked fellows do also pretend to the power of procuring rain, or fair weather at pleasure, and of diverting private and publick calamities. This sect at present has but few followers, the other two being most universal.

The third sect, is that of the common sort, or of the *Bonzes*, who have idols, and deities represented in strange and monstrous figures; and among the rest those two so famous throughout all the east, viz. *Amida*, and *Sbiaca*. It is the principle of these, quite contrary to that of the learned, to take no care of the publick, and only mind themselves. They allow the soul's immortality after the death of the body, and that it is a reward or punishment according as every one has deserv'd. They commend a single life, and virginity, so far as to condemn matrimony at least by inference: And therefore, as there are no

people of a meaner condition than they, so there are none more beastly and abominable for all brutal filth; and so they mix with one another, worse than the most filthy animals.

They tell us this pernicious sect came out of *Indostan* after this manner, as is found in the histories of the learned *Chinese*. In the year sixty five, after the birth of *Christ*, the emperor *Mun-Ti*, the seventeenth of the fifth family call'd *Han*, reign'd in *China*. The shape of a holy hero appear'd to him in a dream, and being further persuaded by the words of *Confucius* that in the west there was a just man, not being able to go himself, he sent *Caicim*, and *Cukim* his ambassadors, to find the holy man, and the holy-law. These coming to an island, not far from the red-sea, and not having the courage to go any further, return'd with an idol and statue of a man call'd *Fee*, who had liv'd in *India* five hundred years before *Confucius*, and brought his accursed religion into *China*. They had been happy and deserv'd well of their country, if instead of that plague, they had brought the saving doctrine of *Christ*, which at that time was preach'd by *St. Thomas* the apostle in *India*.

The *Chinese* embracing this cursed doctrine, by degrees fell off from that of their ancestors, which was not altogether so impious, and at length in contemning all religion, are fallen into downright atheism. This master of idolatry left two sorts of doctrine, the one, That all things come from and return to nothing, which they call the interior doctrine, and its followers are atheists; the other exterior, adapted to deceive the ignorant multitude. The learned, as has been said, follow the first of these, placing all their happiness in this life, in the enjoyment of wealth, and many women, and ruling over the people; for they allow the soul to be mortal. And they are so fix'd in their way, that some *Spanish* missionaries of the order of *St. Francis* told me, that in a dispute, certain *Mandarines* were not ashamed to own, that they neither believ'd in God, nor the idols, but only in *Confucius*; but they believe, if they act justly, God will reward them in this world, and punish them if they do ill. If they ever build *Pagods*, or sacrifice to their idols, it is only out of self-interest to obtain their own ends; which if they fail of, they soon forsake the *Pagods*, and cast down the idols, punishing them as ungrateful, in not returning the favours bestow'd on them. They will have it, that this master of the two aforesaid

sects

sects was a petty king, whose name was *San-Kuang*, and his mothers *Mo-ge-su-gin*; who by the means of abundance of seeming miracles, drew the admiration of the people, and endeavour'd to be own'd as a God. He dy'd at twenty nine years of age; and having settled idolatry in his life-time, endeavour'd to promote atheism at his death, declaring that in all his discourses, he spoke enigmatically; that all things came out of nothing, and would return to nothing; and that there was the end of all our hopes.

In this sect of the *Bonzes* there seem to have been some mysteries and ceremonies of our holy faith intermix'd, which perhaps might be learnt from the preaching of the apostles *St. Thomas*, and *St. Bartholomew*, who spread it towards those parts. For they have one God in three persons, represented by an idol with three heads; a virgin, mother of a God, having her statue with a child in her arms; they allow of heaven and hell, and the enjoyment or pain suitable to the desert; they commend virginity, and profess it; they use fasting and penance; they observe voluntary poverty; they speak in praise of forsaking the world, and flying to deserts to live in contemplation; or living in community in monasteries; they pray by choirs, reciting something after the manner of the rosary; they wear priestly garments, and grant indulgences. Yet their religion is intermix'd with so many fables and lies, that it has scarce any resemblance left of christianity; for they allow the transmigration of souls; and believe that when any person dies, the soul continues three days in the country, that it may be try'd by the spirit *Tu-fun* (who is publicly expos'd and worship'd on the roads.) For this reason they repair to the *Bonzes* with money and presents, carrying them paper for the clerk, and money to bribe the idol, that he may be favourable in the trial. Thus deceiv'd by the *Bonzes*, they offer in the *Pagods* several parcels of red, silver, and gilt paper, burning most of it, as believing that which is gilt will turn to gold, and that which is silver'd into silver, to serve the dead in the other world. After the three days, they say the soul appears before the spirit of the city, whose name is *Chin-guan* (it being probable that the said soul has been in the city) who takes information of what he did in the city, within the space of five days, during which time the kindred of the party deceas'd follow the *Bonzes*, that by their prayers they may gain the judges fa-

vour, and have the soul favourably disposed. After these examinations, they say the soul goes to hell (whither, according to their opinion, good and bad must go) and there the cause is again heard over in ten several courts, called *Jeu-guan*, the soul staying several days at every one of them, that according to the good or evil, it appears to have done, the transmigration may be appointed either into the body of a man, or beast. I know not how they came at first by this notion of transmigration, or whether they had it from the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, or the *Druids*, who, as *Cæsar*, and *Lucan* will have it, invented it to inspire courage, and a contempt of death into mankind; from whom also *Pythagoras* is said to have learnt and brought it into *Italy*. Before transmigration, the *Chinese* will have it, that the soul which has been judg'd, must pass over the bridge of *Kin-inkian*, that is, of silver and gold; where guard being kept, money must be given them, as well as at the aforesaid courts, that they may not stop it; for if the soul falls over the bridge, it remains for ever in the river of flames, and if when pass'd over, it can find a flower they call *Lienxoa*, the fruit whereof is call'd *Larusa*, then it will become a person of wealth and plenty. By these fables, the *Bonzes* get money and the goods of the poor idolaters; and they are so obstinate in their opinion of transmigration, that they say, the *European* missionaries, like officers that raise forces, go to *China* to get men, and capture the *Chinese* to transmigrate them into *Europeans*, to people our countries.

From these three sects have sprung many others, in process of time, and an incredible number of idols, which are not only to be seen in their temples, but in all publick places, streets, ships, and houses; wherein they also imitate the *Egyptians*, who were infamous for their multiplicity of idols. There were counted to be four hundred and eighty of the most famous temples, most frequented for their wealth, structure, and the false miracles pretended to be wrought by their idols. In which, and the rest throughout the empire, there dwell three hundred and fifty thousand *Bonzes* that have patents; and if we would reckon those that have no patents from *Mandarines*, they will rise to a million; there being within the city of *Peking* only ten thousand six hundred sixty eight *Bonzes* who have no wives, and are call'd *Hoxam*, and five thousand twenty two married,

Gramp. 1695

Genettry'd, as father *Magallans* writes in his 1695. account of *Cbina*.

This multitude of idols proceeds from the erecting of statues to men, who for some memorable action of theirs, have deserv'd well of their country, and gain'd great reputation among the people for deserving Statues and *Pagods*; as also from their opinion that there are particular spirits in the woods, hills, rivers, and seas, to whom they erect and consecrate statues. Nevertheless, the chief idol they adore is call'd *Gian-boang*, of the family of *Cbiang*, who liv'd when *Cbina* was rul'd by the family of *Sung*, who gave it the title of *Gio-boang*, or rather king *Hoc-y-chuang* cannoniz'd it by this name. Before this idol were the other three famous ones, which are ador'd here, united, and call'd *Sin-Sing*, and by the learned *San-boang*. Besides which, there are five other kings, idols, mention'd in the history *Tung-kien*, and call'd *Xao-bao*, *Suon-bin*, *Tygioo*, *Tyxun*, and *Tyko*, by way of preference call'd *Uti*, that is, five kings.

The history *Su-ki-ay-ching* mentions three very ancient, but fabulous, the first call'd *Tieng-boang*; the second, *Ty-boang*; the third, *Giu-boang*; saying, the first had twelve brothers, and each of them liv'd eighteen thousand years. That the second had eighteen, who liv'd the same time; and that the third had nine, who all govern'd the empire, the successors of each of them continuing to the 150th generation.

The idol
protector
of cities.

The most universal idol is that they call *Chin-xuan*, the protector of towns and cities, every one of them having a *Pagod* with this idol, which is represented with horses bridled and saddled before the door, held by two servants for his use, and they say, whilst he liv'd, he travell'd a thousand miles a day.

Of the
idols.

The soldiers and martial men have *Kuangie* for their idol, as the *European* heathens had *Mars*.

Canton
pilgrimage

The famous pilgrimage of the *Chinese* is in the province of *Schantung*, in the city of *Tay-gan-chieu*, on the mountain call'd *Tay-shian*, renowned in *Cbina*, for being twelve miles in ascent. The *Pagod* is call'd *San Kiamiau*, and the idol *Tay-shian-niang*, or *Tien-sien-shing-mu*, which in the *Chinese* language signifies, *The Queen of Heaven of this Mountain, Mother of the Holy Spirit*. This was a religious woman, or *She-Bonze*, with whom a king of *Cbina* fell in love, as he travell'd that way, and taking her to himself, made her a queen whilst living, and a faint when dead, erecting the aforesaid temple to her honour, whither millions of *Chinese*

go every year in pilgrimage; some of whom, through the suggestion of the devil, persuade themselves, that after seeing to great a deity, there is nothing greater to be seen in this world; and therefore they cast themselves headlong down a rock some miles high. The *Pagod* is kept by a *Mandarine*, who makes all pay for admittance. In some of these *Pagods*, religious men and women live in community to serve them; of which there are two sorts, the one of the sect of *Foe*, and the other of that of *Tao*. The first of these live in celibacy; the others call'd *Tauzu* are marry'd, and live at home with their wives, like the *Greek* priests; they let a long tuft of hair grow, and winding it about their pole, cover it with a wooden dish, or oiler-shell, running a bodkin, or skewer through it, and the hair. In the daytime they attend at their monasteries in community, and at night in their own houses. Those who live single are call'd *Hoe-shiank* by the *Chinese*, as by us *Bonzes*. Their heads are all shav'd (which in that country is a token of contempt) their habit in colour and fashion is like that of the reform'd *Franciscans*, but with large sleeves, and a collar about the neck. The religious women are call'd *Nuxo-shiang*, or *Nyshium*, *Kuku-Shu*, or *Nicu*, according to the language of several provinces. They do not observe monastick enclosure, but walk about the towns where they please, and suffering others to go into their convents. I once at *Canton* went into one of them, where I was invited by those *She-Bonzes* to drink *Tea* or *Cbiau*, which made me judge, that religious life was not imbraced out of pure zeal, but out of a private end of enjoying their liberty, and give themselves to lewdness both within and without their monastery, like the *Bonzes*, who do the same, tho' they preach up celibacy. The *Mandarines* use all their endeavours to take them in the fact, and punish them with death; and therefore, by reason of the scandalous life they lead, as also because they stoop to all mechanical employments, they are scorn'd and disregarded by the *Chinese*; contrary to the *Japanese* and *Siamites*, who honour their priests and *Talapons*. The contempt is so great, that by the imperial laws they are banish'd the realm of *Cbina*, as strangers come out of *India*, and only tolerated by connivance. Both the men and women *Bonzes* profess an austere life, never eating flesh, or any thing that has life, but living upon herbs; but the *Tauzu-Bonzes*, eat every thing because they are marry'd. Both these

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St Francis
Xavier

forts of religious persons are oblig'd to be at matins, upon hearing a bell rung at midnight by hand, with a wooden clapper. Tho' the *Mandarines* know these false religious to be infamous persons, and fit for any villany; yet they command them to pray for obtaining of rain of the idols, when there is a want of it in the country, and if it does not come accordingly, they cause them to be cruelly beaten, and to stand several days fast-

ing in the sun, with chains at their feet. GEMELLI 1696.

The *Cbinefe* burn in these *Pagods*, and in their own houses, ropes made of the bark of trees pounded, shap'd after several manners, some like a cone, or pyramid, which last a whole month before the idol, and serve them instead of a clock, because being of an equal thickness, they know the time of the day by the quantity that is consum'd.

CHAP. V.

The last Persecution of the Catholick Religion in China, and its happy Restauration.

Fall christi-
anity in
China.

IT appears by the very text of *Con-
fucius*, who acknowledges a supreme
and sovereign good, that the antient *Cbi-
nese* knew there was a God. But a stone,
or tomb found in the year 1625, in the
metropolis of *Siganfu*, or *Sangun*, of the
province of *Xenfi*, is a sufficient proof
that the catholick faith was introduc'd
and preach'd in that kingdom in the year 636,
by the successors of the apostles; for the
aforesaid stone was set up in 782, to give
a brief account of the catholick religion,
and of the privileges granted by the em-
perors in those times to the bishops and
priests, which are to be read on the same.
It was accidentally found in the aforesaid
city, as they were digging to lay the
foundations of the *Jesuits* church; there-
fore I refer such curious persons as de-
sire more fully, to know the interpre-
tation given by the learned, to the *Si-
riack*, and *Cbinefe* characters that were
cut in it, to the original kept in the Ro-
man college, of the society of *Jesús*, and
the copy in the archive of their profess'd
house.

F. Kirker
chap. 11.
P. Martin
in S. Mart.
P. d'Alar.
S. d'Alar.
P. Michel
Bonnet.

Contra-
re-
sist'd, and
again lost.

The catholick religion being afterwards
wholly abolish'd by the persecution rais'd
by the *Bonzes*, with the death of many
christians; it arose again in the year
1256, upon the coming in of the *Great
Cham* of *Tartary*, who having with a
mighty army possess'd himself of all
the empire of *Cbina*, and being well in-
clin'd to catholicks, allow'd them the
free exercise of their religion. But the
Tartars being afterwards expell'd by the
Cbinefe, who recover'd their empire, the
christians leaving *Cbina*, follow'd the *Tar-
tars*, to prevent being subject to other
persecutions; so that the light of the gos-
pel was again extinct in that great em-
pire, the *Cbinefe* going on in the worship
of their idols.

St. Francis
Xavierius

After *St. Francis Xavierius* had in the
year 1542, spread the word of God thro'
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rough the remotest parts of the world
with very great advantage, and gain'd
souls to Christ in the islands of *Japan*,
he bent his thoughts upon the conver-
sion of *Cbina*; and as he was using his
endeavours to get admittance into that
empire, he dy'd of a fever in the island of
San-cheu, to enjoy the glory due to his
virtuous labours.

At length it pleas'd our lord, in the year 1610, to open a way to the work-
ing in this his vineyard, facilitating the ad-
mission of father *Matthew Riccio de Mace-
rata*, and father *Michael Rogerio* of the
society of *Jesús*. At first they met with
great contradictions and difficulties, be-
fore they could obtain of the *Cbinefe*
that they would suffer them to live a-
mong them; but father *Riccio* manag'd
things so dextrously, that in a short time
he gain'd great esteem among the princi-
pal men; for having been father *Chri-
stopher Clavio's* scholar, he was very skil-
ful in the mathematicks, to which the *Cbi-
nese* are much addicted, and by reason of
the rarity of several watches, and mathe-
matical instruments the fathers carry'd
along with them, they were honour'd as
men dropt down from heaven; so that
not only the vice-roy of *Canton* kept
them about him, but the learned came
from remote parts to admire their know-
ledge. Having thus gain'd the good will
not only of the great men, but of the
emperor himself, in a short time they
propagated the faith in many parts of
the empire, calling in fresh labourers to
that plentiful harvest.

The *Bonzes* growing envious to see
the gospel preach'd so successfully, rais'd
great persecutions against the missionaries,
which broke out in racks, imprisonments,
and banishments, wherein the *Cbinefe* new
christians bore a part. Afterwards the
judges were somewhat pleas'd, consider-
ing the great benefit they receiv'd from
1.111 the

GEMELLI the *Europeans*, as well in composing of
1696. their almanack, and the observations of
eclipses, and comets, as on account of
the good clocks and watches they brought
them. But this toleration lasted no longer
with them, than necessity prevail'd,
the covetousness of the *Mandarines* at fev-
eral times raising violent storms against
our missionaries.

At the intigitation of the court of rites
and ceremonies, when the emperor now
reigning was but seven years of age, and
his tutors govern'd by reason of his mi-
nority, an edict was publish'd, forbid-
ding the erecting any more churches to
the true God, or the preaching of his
holy law, or any other missionaries com-
ing into *China*, yet this was not put in
execution, because of the need the *Chi-
nese* had of the *Europeans*; so that by the
means of the fathers residing at *Peking*,
the gospel was preach'd throughout the
whole empire. And tho' the *Mandarines*,
for their own private ends, had at several
times, on pretence of that edict, rais'd
severe persecutions, yet the fathers were
still restor'd for the reasons aforesaid.

Last per-
secution.

But the last persecution, whereof I in-
tend to treat, and which was such as
might have utterly destroy'd the catholick
religion in *China*, happened in this man-
ner. In the year 1689, the emperor now
reigning set out from the court at *Pe-
king*, and taking a progress thorough the
provinces of *Chekiang*, *Nanking*, and *Sbian-
tung*, shew'd particular favour to the fa-
thers of the society. Father *Prosper In-
torceta*, a *Sicilian*, was then superior in
the province of *Chekiang*. He going out
to meet the emperor, who came attend-
ed by fifty thousand men, having pleas'd
the emperor, he was by him receiv'd in-
to his boat. It happened after this, that
the vice-roy of the province coming to
the emperor, was presently depriv'd of
his employment, an ill account having
been given of his behaviour; and another
put into his place. He suspected that ill
offices father *Intorceta* might have done
him, had been the cause of his disgrace;
which made him, and other great men
his friends, conceive a mortal hatred a-
gainst the said father, and wait an oppor-
tunity of taking revenge.

In 1691, the new vice-roy began to
spit his venom, beginning with the *Bon-
zes* of *Nanchou*, all whose temples he
caus'd to be shut up pursuant to the an-
cient edicts of the kingdom; and pro-
ceeding from them to the missionaries, he
examin'd them, to find whether they
were newly come, or any of the old ones
permitted to reside in the kingdom, ac-
cording to the edict of 1671, after the

persecution of 1664. Then having con-
sulted with the counsellors of *Chekiang*,
he ask'd father *Intorceta*, how it came to
pass, that he being design'd for the pro-
vince of *Kiangsi*, liv'd in that of *Chekiang*,
and how he had presum'd to open the
church there, after it had been shut up in
1664, and how he durst baptize *Sbinta-
Serg*, a *Chinese*, the christian religion be-
ing forbid, and the converting of *Chinese*
to it by the edict of 1668. Father *In-
torceta* answer'd these questions, but the vice-
roy's malice, being ground on revenge,
was not quell'd; for he shut up the said
father's church, burnt all the books, and
boards for printing (for the *Chinese* way
of printing is by carving on boards) and
banish'd father *Intorceta* the province of
Chekiang, ordering him to go live in the
city *Kien-Sbian*, of the province of *Ki-
angsi*, turn'd the great churches through-
out the whole province into idol tem-
ples, and the small into schools, and all
christians to return to their idolatry un-
der most severe penalties, to be inflict-
ed upon all *Chinese* that conceal'd them.
'Tis true, some counsellors were not con-
senting to this violent proceeding of the
vice-roy, which nevertheless he caus'd to
be put in execution. After this he pre-
sent'd a memorial to the emperor, re-
presenting that it was not convenient to
suffer the *Europeans* to range about the
kingdom, but that they ought to be
drawn all to one place, to make use of
them in the mathematicks.

Whilst this was transacting at *Cheki-
ang*, the fathers at *Peking* having notice
of it, presented a petition to the em-
peror, which prevented any surprizing re-
solution might be taken against them;
and afterwards having advis'd about this
affair with *Sbiaolao-je*, a *Tartar* page in
great favour with the emperor, and
protector of the christian religion, and
of the church at *Peking*, he undertook
to deliver the emperor another petition
in behalf of the fathers, representing
how unjustly the vice-roy of *Chekiang*
had rais'd a persecution. The emperor
answer'd, the fathers ought not to be
surpriz'd at being molested by the *Chi-
nese*, because very often even his own
Tartars were expos'd to it, tho' they
were always careful not to offend him;
whereas the christians relying on the
protection of the fathers, committed in-
solvency, despising the infidels, and their
religion, and living apart from them,
dealing only with those of their own
profession, which had produced such ha-
tred against them. Nevertheless the em-
peror having a tender affection for the
missioners, bid the page tell the fathers,
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they should be of good courage, for he, who the year before had quell'd the persecution of *Sbiantung*, would after the same manner, without any noise, take off that of *Chekiang*. The fathers going to the palace to return thanks to the emperor, he ask'd them, whether they would proceed by the usual method of the courts. The fathers answer'd, they accepted of his majesty's favour, hoping he would not leave their cause to be decided by the court of rites and ceremonies, which his majesty well knew was averse to the catholick religion; they wholly reposing themselves on his majesty, and hoping in him for success, and that the edict of 1668, which forbids the exercise of the christian religion in *China*, should be recall'd.

The fathers by means of the same page, presented another petition, praying they might be allow'd the publick exercise of their religion, and offering to answer to any argument or question propos'd by their adversaries. Two days after, they receiv'd the emperor's answer, which was, That the petition was not in due form, to obtain what they desir'd. On the 5th of January 1692, *Sbiaolao-je* went to the fathers house, by the emperor's order, and taking them aside into a private chamber, inform'd them, that his majesty finding the petition unfit to answer their design, and pitying their sufferings, sent them a rough draught in the Tartar tongue, not quite perfect, to show them how it ought to be, yet so that they might add to, or take from it, at their pleasure. The fathers kneeling, touch'd the ground with their heads as the custom is, to express their gratitude for this favour and kindness. Then they went to the palace to return thanks, and extol the elegance of the copy, asking leave to present it the next day. He, to remove the difficulty that stood in the way of having the petition examin'd first by the court, order'd that the fathers *Pemeira* and *Antony Thomas* (as publick persons in the empire, and of the mathematical court) should present it in their name, which was done upon *Candlemas-day*. That same 2d day of February the fathers had notice, that their cause had been refer'd by the council of the *Kolao* (this is the supreme council of *Peking*, the counsellors being the emperor's assessors) to the court of rites and ceremonies, for them to give their opinion in it; but the resolution was put off, by reason of the nearness of the *Chinese* great festival.

About the beginning of March the courts were again open, and the court of rites made a very disadvantageous report under the petition presented, reviving all the edicts which forbid the *Chinese* the exercise of the christian religion, and allow'd it only to the *Europeans*. The fathers hearing of this ill success, went all to the palace, to beseech themselves with *Sbiaolao-je*; who dismiss'd them with a promise, that he would speak to the emperor, that another petition might be presented; the fathers offering to maintain the truth of their religion. On the 9th the emperor ask'd the page how the fathers did, and whether they knew what had been decreed in their cause. He answer'd they did, and were come very disconsolate to the palace to beg comfort from his goodness. The emperor hearing this, said to those about him, *I know not what prejudice these Chinese Counsellors have against the Europeans; this is now the third time, I have signify'd to them it is my Will, to favour them in what they ask concerning their Law. I thought the Petition presented me, a very means to make way for granting their Request; but these obstinate Men have put me by it; so that discoursing with the Kolao upon the Resolution of the Court of Rites and Ceremonies, I could not persuade them to have it amended, or moderated, so that I was forced to sign it.* The next day the emperor sent to the fathers, to bid them not be cast down, but to have patience, and not precipitate the business.

On the eleventh, the decree was notify'd to the fathers in form. On the 18th, the emperor call'd *Sosanolao-je* his father-in-law, a Tartar by nation, and grandfather to the prince that was sworn heir to the crown, and telling him what had happened in relation to the answer given to the petition, presented by the fathers, he very sharply like a Tartar answer'd, *That His Majesty ought not to permit such Injustice to be done; but in this Case, it would be fit to use his Prerogative; and to persuade him so to do, put him in mind of the Services done the Empire by the Europeans, without any Reward, and that now they were deny'd so just a Request, as the publishing of their Law, which was known to be good and agreeable to Reason.* And proceeding in his discourse, he added, *That would to God the whole Kingdom were Christians, for then they might spare the expence of so great a Number of Soldiers to secure it against Robbers and Rebels; for in above thirty Years your Majesty has*

Reign'd,

GEMELLI
1696.

Reign'd, it has never been hear'd that the Christians promoted any Rebellion in the Provinces where they live, and whilst I was Kolao, I was well acquainted with the Behaviour of these Men, and with that of the Xolcian or Bonzes. These Men are ready to serve your Majesty, without desiring any Honour or Riches for their Pains, but only the Liberty of Preaching their Religion. Your Majesty is very sensible how much Pains they have taken in reforming the Kalendar; the Benefit of the great Guns cast by their directions, and the advantage of the Peace settled with the Muscovites by their means. The emperor having heard all this discourse, answer'd, You are in the right, but the Sentence is past, how can it be recall'd? Sojanlao-je reply'd, Your Majesty may make use of your Prerogative, and not permit the Court of Rites and Ceremonies to do wrong. The emperor was surpriz'd at this answer; but soon after resolving what was to be done, said, I will send Orders to the Council, or Court, to recall the Judgment given against the Europeans, and to take this affair again more sedately into consideration; but it will be fit that you go to the Counsellors, and Kolao, and make them sensible of the Injustice of the Decree, urging the same reasons you have laid before me. That lord, a Tartar by birth, but a catholic in inclination, offer'd to do as he was order'd; and accordingly on the 19th, went to the council of the Kolao and the court of rites to acquaint them with all that has been here set down, persuading them so effectually, that they own'd, that the decree had pass'd out of a jealousy that many embracing the catholic religion, there would tumults and rebellions ensue in the kingdom. And this good lord's dexterity in this affair was well worth observing, for he, tho' no friend to the president of the court of rites, who was a Chinese Kolao, yet, to oblige him, in speaking, he gave him the title of *Loo-sieu-jang*, which signifies, lord-master, a title of great honour and respect among the Chinese; by which means he oblig'd the president to be for the fathers. Having acquainted the emperor with his proceedings, and that the counsellors were well dispos'd, he order'd that two Tartar Kolao should signify his pleasure, which was, that *Sojanlao-je* should be present when the matter was debated by the Chinese counsellors, that it might be in favour of the fathers. This alteration in the emperor's mind happening on the 19th of March, which is St. Joseph's day, this saint was therefore chosen protector of the Chi-

nese mission, and the confirmation of it desir'd from Rome.

In pursuance to the emperor's order, the matter was debated in the palace, in the presence of *Sojanlao-je*; whence he went with it, the same day to the council of the Kolao, who approv'd the proceedings, but did not infer the character the said lord had given of our religion, who not being able to persuade them to mention it in the decree, however, oblig'd them to give an account of the services done by the Europeans. The resolution being pass'd, they all subscrib'd it, and presented it to the emperor, the same day. On the 22d, the emperor sign'd the decree, wherein he granted his subjects liberty to become christians, abolishing the former prohibitions. The decree in English runs thus.

Ku-patai (a Name given him, because the Quality of the President of the Court of Rites had been taken from him) with due respect informs your Majesty. We the Counsellors of the Council of Rites assembled, and consulted upon Examination find, that the Europeans come from 9000 Leagues distance by Sea, out of Affection to your Majesties good Government, and at this time have the charge of the Matbenaticks; in time of War carefully made Marital Engines, and cast great Guns, and being sent to the Muscovites, faithfully commenced and concluded the Treaty. The Merit was great; the Europeans who live here in the several provinces, are not vicious, nor do they endeavour to disturb the Publick Peace, nor do they draw People after them with false Doctrine, or use fallacies to stir up Rebellion. If every one be allow'd to go to Worship in the Temples of the Bonzes, it seems unreasonable to deny the same Liberty to the Europeans, who do nothing contrary to the Laws. It is certainly necessary that the Churches in all places be preserv'd as they were before, and it is not fit to forbid any that will go in to them to pay their Worship, but that they be permitted to repair thither at Pleasure. We expect the day when your Majesty's Order shall come to us, that it may be publish'd in this Court and Province, we the Counsellors of Rites not daring to assume this Authority, but with all Respect represent it, and pray your Majesties Order.

The king approv'd of the resolution, and the fathers went to return him thanks. The decree was publish'd, and the viceroy with regret, by the emperor's order, made good their losses, open'd the churches, and restor'd all things to father Intorceta; who having again return'd thanks to the emperor, was allow'd as a favour

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to go along with father *Antony Thomas*, who with the title of his majesties envoy, attended by two *Tartars*, was going to meet father *Philip Grimaldi*, now returning out of *Europe*. They went all four to *Macao*, to congratulate the father from the emperor; and the viceroy of *Canton* himself, by his majesties order, went with other *Mandarines* to perform the same function, according to the custom of the country, which is to touch the ground with the head nine times, praying for the emperor's health, with the ceremonies abovemention'd. The city of *Macao* perform'd the same towards father *Grimaldi*, so great is the respect paid to the favourites, and servants of the emperor of *China*, not only by the subjects, but by himself, who had sent messengers three times before to welcome the aforesaid father. Thus the very means that were to have been the ruin of the catholick religion, by God's permission, serv'd to establish it the stronger. After this happy success, all the fathers, who were confin'd in *Canton*, return'd to their churches, and the religion before privately profess'd in *China*, and as it were by stealth, by reason of the edicts forbidding it, is now as publicly preach'd as in *Europe*. Still churches are erecting throughout all the empire to the true God, tho' some oppos'd it; being now authoris'd by the aforesaid decree, which is to be seen in gold letters, over the door of every catholick church.

In *Peking* the *Jesuits* have three churches. One is within the first enclosure of the palace, belonging to the *French* fathers; where father *Fontane* is superior, assisted by the fathers *Gerbillion*, *Buet*, *Vidalon*, and a *German* father, whose name is *Kilian Stumps*, all greatly learned in the mathematicks, and well read in other sciences, being chosen by the society by the king of *France's* order, at the request of the king of *Siam*; whence (after his death) it is almost nine years since they pass'd through the city of *Nimpo* into *China*, and settled themselves at *Peking*, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition made against their fixing there, by the *Portuguese* fathers of the same society. However at present they are very much in the emperor's favour, who gave them a house within the aforesaid first enclosure, where now their lodgings and church are building.

The second church is in the east quarter of the *Tartar* city, and is call'd *Tu-tang*, where father *Sisaro* was superior, who went to be bishop at *Nanking*, father *Antony Thomas* of *Namur*, a good

mathematician being there at present, and with him father *Suarez*.

In the third church resided father *Grimaldi* superior and vice-provincial, with the fathers *Pereira*, *Rodriguez* and *Ossorio*. It stands in the same *Tartar* city on the west side, therefore call'd *Sit-tang*, near the gate *Sunchimuen*, and is the antientest and best of them all. It has three altars well adorn'd, and a good outward front with two turrets on the sides. The emperor allows for their maintenance such a quantity of rice, oil, sugar, spice, salt, wood, (which is scarce in *Peking*) and other things, that the *French* fathers told me it amounted to the value of a hundred *Leans*, or a hundred and twenty five pieces of eight for every father. This and the rent of some shops and houses, keeps the *Portuguese* fathers well enough, without standing in need of any supplies from their country. It is not so with the *French* fathers, who live very bare, tho' they have as much allow'd them from *France*, because it is dear living at court, and tho' the emperor several times he went to see them, ask'd whether they wanted any thing, yet they out of modesty answer'd in the negative. It is proper here to observe, that when the emperor goes to see the *Portuguese*, or *French* fathers, they must turn all their servants out of the house, and leave all the doors of the cupboards open, to show there is none hid within.

The life the *Jesuits* told me they lead there, is very hard and troublesome, for every day at sun-rising, the fathers *Grimaldi*, *Gerbillion* and *Fontane* are to go to the palace, either to teach the emperor, or to receive his orders, and if any one fails of going any morning, he is presently sent for, and there they stay till afternoon. The other fathers are employ'd in making mathematical instruments, mending clocks, or running up and down; so that father *Grimaldi* told me he would willingly change his life for that of a gally-slave, where he should at least have some hours to rest; and he further complain'd that the emperor will have the disposal of all things, and even remove the fathers from one place to another, meaning the *German*, whom he brought over, and the emperor had appointed him to live with the *French*. But he had sufficient cause to complain; for coming from the palace, on the 25th of *June*, he fell off from his mule, and his foot hanging in the stirrup, he was dragg'd two musket shot, with peril of his life, one of his eyes being almost beaten out, tho' afterwards

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he recover'd, being cur'd by a surgeon sent him by the emperor. They do not only attend the emperor with so much assiduity, that in winter their very hair freezes to their faces, but the *Chinese* christians, for the good of their souls, keeping *Chinese* exorcists whom they maintain, at the gates of *Peking* to baptize children expos'd, which are thrown down before the gates of the city, and are in danger of death. Father *Ossorio* told me, there were about thirty thousand baptiz'd in a year, before they are carry'd to the hospital of *Miau*, or a *Pagod* assign'd for bringing of them up; and he added further, that there were above forty thousand expos'd every year, whereof many thrown into the common shore, are starv'd to death with cold.

Christians
in *China*.

There are about two hundred thousand christians throughout the empire of *China*, serv'd by missionaries of several orders, who to speak the truth are much oblig'd to the *Jesuits* in *Peking*, who in all persecutions have stood up against the malice of the *Mandarines* in defence of the fathers, who are spread about the kingdom looking after their churches. Nor could any other order maintain itself, as the reform'd *Franciscans* and missionaries of the clergy, own'd to me; because to please the emperor, it is requisite they should know how to do every thing, to compose their almanack in three languages, with the motions of the planets, and most considerable stars; to observe eclipses, and make all sorts of mathematical instruments, as also to mend clocks, and distill waters, because the *Chinese* love the *Europeans* for their own interest. And thus the mission is kept up, not only of the fathers of the society, but of sixteen *Spanish* reform'd *Franciscans*, of ten *Dominicans*, and of five *Spaniards* of the order of *St. Augustin*, who are maintain'd by the charity of the king of *Spain*. Thus the *French* clergy-men are tolerated, who live in community upon the revenues they have in *France*, distributing every little supply sent them among all the missions of *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Siam*, and *Tunking*. The worst provided are the *Portuguese* fathers, who live dispers'd about the empire to the number of forty; for having no revenue but the bishop of *Munster's* legacy, and the little that comes from *Portugal* divided among so many, it does not hold out to keep them, and they can expect no relief from the wretched christian *Chinese*; for the rich men, and *Mandarines* do not become christians, because they will not quit their many wives. Yet these fathers hold fast their

right of being patrons, or proprietors of the mission of *China*, the king of *Portugal* and the *Portuguese*, suffering no missionaries of other nations to go any other way into that empire, but through *Lisbon*, that they may there first swear fidelity to the king of *Portugal*, and yet they are not afterwards maintain'd by him in *China*. Nor can he send fathers enough out of his own kingdom, or much less maintain them, so that if the king of *Spain* does not take part in that mission, the *Portuguese* will make no great progress there, nor will they be able to hold out long.

The *Chinese* nation is so fond of itself, that it looks upon all others as barbarous, and unpolish'd. Yet the *European* missionaries begin to undeceive them by printing five hundred books of the law of God, which they have compos'd with less than an age; having translated the holy bible, and the works of *St. Thomas*. In *Peking* they have a good library of *European* and *Chinese* books, where I saw the map of the world, put into *Chinese* characters, but square, those people being of opinion that *China* lies in the middle, and the other kingdoms about it like islands.

For as much as the war between the *Muscovites* and *Chinese* was brought to an end, by the conduct of the fathers, it will be convenient before we conclude this chapter, to give a short account of that expedition. The emperor fell at variance, and broke with the *Muscovites* on account of the pearl fishery, of the city and lake of *Nepe-byu*; but then considering they might join with the *Tartar-Elutb*, to the damage of the kingdom he possess'd in the eastern *Tartary*; he dispatch'd one of his fathers-in-law, a *Tartar* petty king, with the fathers *Pereira* and *Gerbillon*, to conclude a peace with them. That *Tartar* petty king being come near to the frontiers of *Muscovy*, indiscreetly drew up the strength of his horse to strike a terror into those people, and then in a haughty manner said to them. My Emperor of his own Bounty allows you to Fish only in such a part of the Lake. The *Muscovites* answer'd these haughty words with scorn, saying, They gave the Emperor of *China* no thanks for it, because they had that already; and so in a passion turn'd away without hearing any more of the peace. The *Tartar* was sorry to see the treaty broke off, fearing he might be in danger at his return, well knowing how desirous the emperor was to entertain a good correspondence with the *Muscovites*, not for fear of them, who cannot

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cannot raise above 10000 men, but only to prevent increasing the forces of the *Elutó Tartars* of the west, who are always at war with the emperor, infesting the imperial *Tartary* with continual incursions. And tho' the emperor of *China* has more numerous forces, yet the *Chinese* are not so good foldiers as the *Tartars*, who are enur'd to hardship, and cross several deserts in a weeks time, with only a sack of meal at their crupper, and feed on camels and horses; whereas the *Chinese* are so dainty, that they go to war with all conveniences; nor do they think of going beyond the frontiers, if the others do not come to them. Therefore the emperor, to prevent the burning of his country, which is remote from *Peking*, by 150000 horse, that *Tartar* king can bring into the field, endeavours to keep him quiet, by paying him a sum of money, and to hinder him by all means possible from growing more powerful; war being the principal revenue of those people, who have no other inheritance but their bow and arrows.

Father *Pereira* perceiving that petty king and ambassador, was much concerned at his ill management of that embassy, he offer'd to go to the *Moscovites* camp, to set the treaty on foot again. At first the *Tartar* refus'd, saying, *the Moscovites were a fierce people, and would murder him, and he should be answerable for him to the emperor, who had put him into his power.* On the contrary, says father *Pereira*, *they are rational and civil people, and I dare undertake to compose matters with them.* In conclusion he went, and when the *Tartar* was apprehensive of his death, he after two days return'd with the capitulations of peace, whereat the petty king was much surprized with joy. After that the *Moscovites* treated the *Tartar* generously, and he very sparingly return'd their entertainment.

The *Chinese* ambassador having aken his leave, return'd to *Peking*, crossing several deserts by the way, without finding town or city to rest in. 'Tis

true, that tract of the imperial *Tartary*, GEMELLI 1696. under the emperor of *China*, is of a vast extent; but it is so desert and woody, that as to worth, it may be accounted very little; only a few poor *Tartars* inhabiting in hovels, without houses, like the antient *Numidians*, or *Hamaxobites*, who being wholly employ'd in a pastoral life, had not so much as houses, but went about with their portable huts, settling wheresoever they thought fit. The present emperor of *Tartary*, in order to civilize, begins to make them build towns, and gather them into bodies, having forty petty kings and princes, who are tributary to him, among whom are the *Tartars*, call'd *Fautazes* and *Xalkas*, who can raise some seven, some twenty thousand horse, of the stragglers that live by plunder. The curiousest thing to be found in this uncouth tract of land (as the fathers *Grimaldi*, *Gerbillon*, and *Pereira* told me) are great bridges of a wonderful structure, which they lay over rivers for the emperor to pass over, often joining mountains with them.

When the *Chinese* ambassador came Moscovite to *Peking*, the emperor was well pleas'd ambassadors. with the agreement, which the *Tartar* own'd was owing to the fathers. Next came the ambassadors from the great duke of *Muscovy*, whom the emperor receiv'd sitting on a throne rais'd twenty steps above the ground, whither he afterwards made them ascend to drink; and tho' they at first refus'd to touch the ground with their heads, according to the custom of the country, at last they consented. They much admir'd to see a *Tartar* family in such majesty, declaring they could not find whence it came, tho' they had travell'd all that vast country (for the *Moscovites* come twenty days journey in their way to *Peking*, from *Moscow*, within their own dominions) in which is a considerable part of *Tartary*, which the emperor makes little account of, having rais'd himself from a homely tent to the stateliest palace in the world.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Antiquity of the Empire of China; of the Value the Chinese put upon their Empire; of the Number of Cities, and other Places; and of the Families and Souls it contains.

Founders
of the Chi-
nese mo-
narchy.

THE interpreters of the *Chinese* history deduce the original of that great monarchy from *Pobi*, who began his reign in the year 2952, before Christ.

He brought the savage and wandering men to live in society, whereas before they liv'd like beasts; and they having afterwards learn'd the art of tillage, and others

of

GEMELLI of Xinum, began to live more regularly in villages.

In the year 2697, before Christ reign'd, Hoamti, call'd the fair emperor, or rather yellow, because he took that colour, which is allow'd to none but the emperors. This emperor, with the assistance of Tanea, perfected the Chinese period, or cycle of sixty years, invented musick, and musical instruments, as also arms, nets, carts, ships, and carpenters work. By the invention of his queen Luy-su, he brought up the keeping of silk-worms, and of dying and weaving silk. He instituted six Kolaos, or prime ministers of the kingdom, and compos'd several books of physick.

Hoamti dying, Xao-Hao succeeded him in the year 2577, and began to build and enclose the city with walls; invented new musick, and brought up the custom of having carts drawn by oxen.

Xao-Hao dy'd 2517 years before Christ, and was succeeded by Kuen-Hio, grandson to Hoamti, who ordain'd that the only emperor on earth should offer sacrifice in solemn manner to the supreme emperor of heaven. He also invented the Kalendar, and order'd the year should begin with the next new moon to the beginning of spring, which in China answers to the fifth degree of *Aquarius*.

In 2457, before Christ, Kuen-Hio dy'd, and Tico his grandson succeeded him. This man had four wives, he appointed masters to teach the people, and found out vocal musick.

After these princes came those two celebrated emperors and legislators *Yo*, and *Xum*, from whom the civil rites, and political institutes are deriv'd. They reign'd a hundred and fifty years, which added to five hundred eighty seven, the other six before them liv'd, make seven hundred thirty five years.

The imperial families are descended from those two founders of the Chinese nation, and from the aforementioned six emperors, in whom the supreme dignity, and government of the Chinese monarchy continu'd till these latter times. In all they reckon twenty two of them, that is, nine great ones, and thirteen lesser, among whom is included this family of the eastern Tartars, which at this present rules the Tartar and Chinese empires. They may all be seen briefly put together in the following table.

A Numerical Table of the Twenty Two Imperial Families and Emperors, and the Years they Reign'd.

Families.	Emperors.	Years.	Imperial families.
1 <i>Hia</i>	17	458	
2 <i>Xam</i>	28	644	
3 <i>Ken</i>	35	873	
4 <i>Cbin</i>	3	43	
5 <i>Han</i>	27	426	
6 <i>Hen-Han</i>	2	44	
7 <i>Cbin</i>	15	155	
8 <i>Sum</i>	7	59	
9 <i>Cbi</i>	5	23	
10 <i>Leam</i>	4	55	
11 <i>Kin</i>	5	32	
12 <i>Suy</i>	3	29	
13 <i>Tam</i>	20	289	
14 <i>Hew-leam</i>	2	16	
15 <i>Hew-tam</i>	4	13	
16 <i>Hew-cbin</i>	2	11	
17 <i>Hew-han</i>	2	4	
18 <i>Hew-ken</i>	3	9	
19 <i>Sum</i>	18	319	
20 <i>Yuen</i>	9	89	
21 <i>Mim</i>	21	276	
22 <i>Cbin</i>	2	53	

The three families *Hia*, *Xam*, and *Ken*, as they preceded the others as to time, so they surpass'd them in fame and esteem, for they behav'd themselves like true princes in integrity of manners, instituting just laws, affection to their people, and above all in an unviolated faith and sincerity; going beyond the others in number of emperors and years. Thus it appears, That the emperors, including the two first founders of the nation, were two hundred and thirty six, omitting those that liv'd but a very short time, or that for some other reason are not inserted into the table of emperors. Therefore I refer the reader to the chronicles of the Chinese monarchy, publish'd at large by father *Philip Couplet*, in his book, intitled, *Confucius Sinorum Philosophus*, where he will find not only the names of the aforesaid emperors, and the years they reign'd, but the most remarkable actions that happened in their time.

By the aforesaid table it appears, That the monarchy continu'd in the imperial families 3920 years, according to the most probable and general receiv'd opinion of the Chinese. To which if we add 737 years, they write the eight princes of the nation liv'd, they all make 4657 years, from which if we deduce the 255, that the first princes *Fobi* and *Xinum* reign'd (because they had not the imperial dignity) there will remain 4402, or according to the shortest computation

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4053, since this great monarchy began in *Yao*, and has continu'd ever since without any interruption. We cannot but own, there is no kingdom or state in the world, that can boast of so ancient a race of kings, so numerous, and so well continu'd. The monarchies of the *Assyrians*, the *Persians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans* are at an end after a much shorter duration; and this of *China* still stands, like a great river that never ceases running. This long continuance and antiquity, besides other excellencies of *China*, fill the *Chinese* with pride, looking upon their own empire as the greatest, and so every thing else that belongs to them, and despising other nations; which is the reason they make so little account of them. In their maps they describe *China* square, and very large, and represent the other kingdoms about it without any order, or geographical method, making them little, and inconsiderable with ridiculous and contemptible names. As for instance *Siao-gin-que*, or the realm where the inhabitants are all dwarfs. *Niu-gin-que*, where the inhabitants are women. *Kuen-sin-que*, the kingdom where the inhabitants have a hole in their belly. The kingdom where the inhabitants have a man's body, and dog's face. The kingdom where the inhabitants have such long arms that they hang down to the ground; and the like. In short, they call the *Tartars*, the *Japanese*, the people of *Corea* and *Tunking* by the name of the four barbarous nations. They say there are seventy two kingdoms out of *China* which they describe little, in the midst of the sea like nut-shells; and the inhabitants of them brutal, and monstrous, and of such ridiculous shapes, that they are more like monkeys, or wild beasts than men. The *Jesuits* in these latter times having made them acquainted with *Europe*, they have inserted it into their maps, and plac'd it in the midst of the sea, as if it were some small island. They divide the heaven into twenty eight constellations, and *China* into as many parts, to each of which they assign a constellation, giving it the same name; not leaving one for the other kingdoms. They give their own provinces lofty and stately titles, and call other countries by barbarous and despicable names.

They have so lofty a conceit of their own kingdom, that when they are convinced by the missionaries with demonstrative arguments, they answer with astonishment, *Kum-que-ki-vac*? *Hoon-jeu-tao*? which signifies: What is this we see? What is it we hear? Is it possible that without this great empire there

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should be any rule or way to attain to virtue, and that there should be another faith, and another law? And it happens very often that the said fathers discouraging of learning, of religion, and the *European* sciences, they ask whether we have their books; and being told we have not, they reply with wonder and amazement. If you have not our books in *Europe*, nor our writings, as you own, what learning, or what letters can you have?

They have given several names to that great empire, for every time a new family got into the throne it gave it a new name. From the family before this, it took the name of *Tai-mim-que*, that is, The kingdom of great brightness. But the *Tartars*, who now govern, call it *Tai-cim-que*, or kingdom of great purity. But as there were formerly some reigns famous, either for their long continuance, or the virtue of the kings, or number of learned men, so their names have been preserved, and are still us'd in their books, as for instance, those of *Hiaque*, *Xamque*, *Keuque*, *Hanque*, &c. by which it appears that these names do import *China*, but were given rather to distinguish the several reigning families, than to express the realm it self. In the memorials presented to the king, and in their books it is generally call'd *Xamque*, that is, high and sovereign kingdom. The learned in their writings use the word *Kum-bo*, which signifies, flower in the middle; yet after all, the most antient and common name among the *Chinese*, is *Kum-que*, or middle kingdom, as believing *China* to be in the middle of the world, or else because the first king of *China* settled his court in the province of *Honan*, which was then the center of the kingdom; or else because they esteem it above all others, as appears by the hyperbolical name they give it of *Tien-bia*, or the kingdom that contains all there is under heaven. Thus when any one says, *Tien-bia-tui-pim*, that is, all under heaven is in peace, it is the same as if he said *China* is at peace.

As the *Chinese* have given names of contempt to other kingdoms, and nations, so others have repaid them in the same coin. For the western *Tartars* call the *Chinese*, *Harakitai*, or black barbarians, and give the same name to the kingdom. The *Muscovites* imitate the *Tartars* in this point, giving the *Chinese* the name of *Kitai*, as do the kingdoms of *Sbiabamalaba*, of *Tumet*, or *Tibet*, and that of *Ufangue*, but these corrupting the word *Kitai*, call it *Catai*, and the merchants

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Names of
China.

Names of
contempt
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Nnn chants

¹⁵⁹⁶ **GENELLI** chants coming from *Indostan, Cataio*; by which it plainly appears that the kingdom of *Cataio*, of which father *Andrade* speaks in his account of *Tibet*, is no other but *China*, and that the words *Cataio* and *Harakilai* are the same. Nevertheless *Baudrand*, and others, will have *Catay*, or *Catbay* to be one of the kingdoms of the *Great Tartary*, by the ancients call'd *Seri*, and stretching out eastward, between the imperial *Tartary* on the north, *China* on the south, and *Turchestan* on the west; which by him is also call'd *Kara Catbai*, where are the *Scythians*, call'd *Alani*, in that *Scythia* within mount *Imaus*. But *China* may be call'd *Catbay* of the *Cataini Tartars*, who possess'd themselves of it with the *Niu-cani*. The eastern *Tartars* have given it no better title, calling it *Nica-corum*, that is, kingdom of barbarians, tho' now they are fix'd in, and are masters of it, they call it *Tulinpa-corum*, that is, middle kingdom.

^{Length of China.} This vast empire is seated at the furthest eastern part of *Asia*. The *Chinese* in their maps represent it square, pretending it has equal breadth and length, but according to the best account of the *Europeans*, it is rather oval. It reaches 23 degrees from north to south, that is, from the fort of *Cai-pim*, on the frontiers of the province of *Peking*, in 41 degrees of north latitude, to the southernmost point of the island of *Ainan*, in 18 degrees of latitude, south of the province of *Canton*. Thus the length of *China*, according to the *Chinese* books, is

5750 *Li*, or *Chinese* furlongs, at 250 to a degree.

402 *Spanish* or *Portuguese* leagues and a half, allowing 171 to a degree.

575 *French* leagues at 25 to a degree.

345 *German* leagues at 15 to a degree.

1280 *Italian* miles at 60 to a degree.

But if we would take the greatest length of *China*, it must be measur'd from the north-east point of the province of *Leao-tung*, call'd *Cai-Yuen*, to the last city of the province of *Yun-nan*, call'd *Chintien-kun-min-fu*, and then the greatest length of the empire will be

525 *Spanish* leagues.

750 *French* leagues.

450 *German* leagues.

1800 *Italian* miles.

8400 *Chinese* furlongs at the rate of four and a half to an *Italian* mile.

^{Its breadth.} Its breadth taken from the point of *Nimpo*, a sea-port town of the province of *Chequian*, to the uttermost part of the province of *Suebuen*, in a strait line east and west is

2973 *Spanish*, or *Portuguese* leagues.

426 *French* leagues.

255 *German* leagues.

1020 *Italian* miles.

4080 *Chinese* furlongs.

But taking the greatest breadth of *China* from *Tamcham*, the most eastern part of the province of *Leao-tung*, bordering on the kingdom of *Corea* to *Tumtim*, the westernmost point of the province of *Xenfi*, it is

350 *Spanish* leagues.

500 *French* leagues.

300 *German* leagues.

1200 *Italian* miles.

5400 *Chinese* furlongs.

This empire on the east is bounded by the eastern ocean, on the north by a long wall dividing it from *Tartary*; on the west by vast high mountains and sandy deserts, separating it from several kingdoms; and on the south by the ocean. It is divided into fifteen provinces, which for their extent, wealth, and fruitfulness, may better be call'd large kingdoms than provinces; to which must be added *Leao-tung*, a country not inferior to any province. This and eight of the provinces lie along the eastern and southern ocean; six others, four are enclos'd on all sides by the rest, two are separated by high mountains, from the other kingdoms of *Asia*, and one by the wall from *Tartary*, as is also *Peking* and *Leao-tung*, but these are reckoned before upon the sea, and so is *Yun-nan*, which on one side borders on the kingdom of *Tunquin*. These provinces are call'd *Peking*, *Nanking* now call'd *Kiam-nam*, *Xanfi*, *Xantung*, *Honan*, *Xenfi*, *Chiekian*, *Kiamfi*, *Huquam*, *Suebuen*, *Fokiam*, *Quantung*, *Quamfi*, *Yunnan*, *Quei-chieu*, and the country of *Leao-tung*, which might well deserve the name of a province, but the *Chinese* place it under the province of *Xantung*. The provinces that border on foreign nations, are *Peking*, *Xanfi*, *Xenfi*, *Suebuen*, *Yunnan*, and *Quamfi*. So that *Cluverius*, who assigns eighteen provinces to *China*, was misinform'd; for the kingdoms of *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*, which he reckons as provinces of *China*, are no way subject to it, and tho' they were under it some few years, they have been a long time exempt from its jurisdiction. There are several islands depending on *China* at the great and little *Lieu-kieu-Taiwan*, which the *Portuguese* call *Formosa*; *Hainan*, *Hiamzan*, on which is seated the city *Amagao*, or *Macao*, upon its southernmost point, and abundance of other inhabited and desert islands. The kingdom of *Corea* is not an island near *China*,

as *Cluverius* imagins, but a vast promontory joining to the continent, and running out from north to south: Nor is *Xambai*, as father *Martin* made it in his atlas; but a citadel so large, and so well fortify'd, both by art and nature, that it may vie with the best in *Europe*. It is built upon the continent, near the sea, between the province of *Peking*, and the country of *Leaotung*.

wall'd places.

The wall'd places in this mighty empire, are to the number of 4402, and divided into two classes, the civil and military. To the civil class belong 2045 wall'd places, that is, 175 cities of the first rank, which the *Chinese* call *Fu*; 274 of the second rank, call'd *Cheu*; 1288 cities call'd *Hien*; 205 royal houses call'd *Ti*; and 103 guards, or royal mansions of the second rank call'd *Cham-chin*. Among the cities of the empire there are some comprehended lying in the provinces of *Yunnan*, *Quéichen*, *Quamsi*, and *Su-chuen*, which pay no tribute to the emperor, but are subject to particular absolute princes and lords of their own. Most of these cities are so hemm'd in by high mountains, and steep rocks, as if nature had study'd to fortify them; and yet within those mountains there are planes several days journey over, in which there are cities of the first and second rank, and many towns, and lesser places. The *Chinese* call these lords *Tulu*, or *Tuqu-n*, that is, *Mandarines* of countries, because believing there is no emperor in the world besides him of *China*, they imagine there are no other princes, or lords, but those whom their emperor creates. The subjects of these lords, with the *Chinese*, speak the *Chinese* language, but have another peculiar tongue to themselves. Their customs differ but little from those of the *Chinese*; and they are like them in shape and countenance, but only are braver. The *Chinese* fear them, for having, after several trials of their courage found them a vigorous opposition, they think fit not to disturb but to trade with them. So that there is no question to be made concerning the number of cities and towns, as to its being greater than what is mention'd by father *Martin*, because we here include those belonging to those petty princes, whose dominions, tho' not subject to the emperor, yet are in the midst of his empire, in the four abovemention'd provinces; as are also the cities and towns of the country of *Leaotung*, and the province of *Yunnan*, which the *Chinese*, who are above measure devoted to their formalities, do not mention in their general number, but in particular catalogues.

The *Chinese* have printed an *Itinera-GEMELLI* *rima*, or book of all the roads and ways by land and water from *Peking* to the remotest parts of the empire. The *Mandarines*, who go from court to their posts, and all travellers use it, to know the way they are to go; the distances of places, and the length of every days journey. In this book all the royal roads of the empire are divided into 1145 days, to every one of which there is a place where the *Mandarines* are lodg'd, and treated at the king's expence, when they go to take possession of their employ; but when they return from them they lose the privilege of being entertain'd at the emperor's cost. These 1145 places are call'd *Ti*, or *Chin*, or joining the two words *Ti-Chin*, that is, a place of entertainment, and guard, because there the *Mandarines* are expected with as much care and vigilancy, as if they were upon their guard against an army of enemies. Of these places there are 735 within the cities of the first and second rank, and in the towns, frontier places, and castles within the empire; 105 in those they call *Ti*; and 103 in the places call'd *Chin*. Both of them were formerly built, where there were no cities; and may be call'd towns of the second rank, being all of them wall'd, and each of them having a *Mandarine* to govern it; and there are of them larger, and more populous than some cities, and towns. The others to the number of 102, tho' not wall'd, are large and populous.

A day before the *Mandarine* sets out, there goes a messenger with a small tablet, which the *Chinese* call *Pai*, on which is writ that *Mandarine's* name, and office, and the impression of his seal under it. As soon as this is seen, the palace where he is to lodge is clean'd and made ready, and the preparations are greater or less according to the quality of the guest, and so the provisions, servants, horses, chairs, litters or boats, if he is to go by water, and all other things they may have occasion for. In these inns, or houses of entertainment, are receiv'd after the same manner in proportion to what they are, all other persons, as well *Chinese* as strangers, to whom the king grants this favour. Here also the king's messengers, or expresses are furnish'd with what they want to haste on in their journey; beating a furlong or two, before they come to the house, a basin call'd *Lo*, which they carry hanging at their back; upon the hearing of which sound the horse is presently saddled for him to change, so that he makes no stay.

The

GENELLI
1696.
Military
posts.

The military class contains 629 great fortresses of the first rank, as well on the frontiers to serve as keys, or a defence against the *Tartars*, as on the borders of provinces against robbers and rebels. The *Chinese* call them *Yuan*; and that of *Kam-bai* above-mentioned, is of this number. There are 567 of the second rank, call'd *Guei* in the language of the country. The place father *Martin* in his atlas calls *Tien-chim Guei*, signifying the fortresses of the country of heaven, is of this number, and by it a judgment may be made of the other fortresses of the second rank. There are 311 forts of the third rank call'd *Su*; 300 of the fourth, call'd *Cbin*, whose name and signification is the same as that of those of the fifth order of the civil class; and 150 of the fifth rank call'd *Pao*. There are 100 forts of the sixth rank call'd *Su*, and lastly 300 of the seventh rank call'd *Cbai*. These last are of several forts, some in the country, which serve as places of refuge to the peasants, when the *Tartars*, robbers, or rebels infect the country, as also when the emperor's army is upon its march. Others are upon steep mountains, to which they go up by steps cut in the rock, or by ladders of ropes, or wood to be taken away, and these have no wall about them, as not standing in need of any. Others are also upon mountains, but have a path-way to them, and these have a double or treble wall to defend the entrance. Now, reckoning all together, it appears there are 2357 military posts, which added to those of the civil class make 4402. Besides all this, there are within and without the great wall which parts *China* from *Tartary*, 3000 towers call'd *Cai*, every one of which has its proper name, and in these there are guards and centinels, who give the alarm, as soon as they discover an enemy, making a signal in the day with a flag they hoist up on the top of the tower, and at night with a great lighted torch. If these towers be added to the number of the military places, as the eighth rank of them, they will in all make 5357.

It is 150 years since a *Mandarine* of the supreme council of war, compos'd a book, which he dedicated to the emperor, and calls it *Kien-pien-tumke*, that is, a practical description of the nine frontiers, meaning the nine quarters, or districts into which he had divided the great wall, which encloses part of *China* for 405 *Spanish* leagues, according to the common computation, making 23 degrees and ten minutes from east

to west, from the city *Caiyenn* seated in the utmost part of the country of *Leao-tung*, to that of *Campo*, or *Can-cheu* in the very borders of the province of *Xenji*, which is to be understood in a strait line; for if we follow the windings of the mountains and the wall, it will certainly hold out to 500 *Spanish* leagues. In the same books all the mountainous places that are inaccessible are describ'd, and 129 other parts shews there must be 1327 great and small forts to hinder the *Tartars* passing. Had not the *Chinese* been careless, cowardly, covetous, and disloyal to their kings, the *Tartars* could never have pass'd the wall, nor get within the fortresses which were so conveniently dispos'd in proper places, and so strong either by art or nature; so that as appears by ancient histories, and by what has happened in our own times, the *Tartars* never enter'd *China*, but when either the treachery of the soldiers, or the avarice of the commanders made way for them, they receiving half the booty every time they let in the enemy; till at length those traitors have put the richest and most populous kingdom in the world into the hands of a small number of savages, and barbarians. In this same book is mention'd the great number of soldiers, who kept guard on this frontier, which were nine hundred two thousand and fifty four. The auxiliary troops resorting thither, when the *Tartars* attempted to break into the kingdom, were innumerable, and there were three hundred eighty nine thousand one hundred and sixty seven horses always in a readiness for them, according to the same author's computation, who reckons the charge the emperor is at yearly, for the pay of officers and soldiers, to amount to the sum of two millions and thirty four thousand *Leans*, at fifteen *Carlines* of *Naples* each, which is just a noble a *Lean*. By what has been said of the number of soldiers appointed to guard the wall and frontiers against the *Tartars*, it is easy to guess at the number of those kept on the confines of the several provinces, and in the cities, towns, and other wall'd places of the kingdom, there being no place without some garrison. They reckon seven hundred sixty seven thousand nine hundred and sixty, who in time of peace guard and attend during the day the *Mandarines*, ambassadors, and others who are lodg'd at the king's expence, and at night keep guard near their boats and quarters, and when they have gone one days journey they return, and others take

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Number
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p. 106.

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| 8 | <i>Kia</i> |
| 9 | <i>Nan</i> |
| | <i>Kia</i> |
| 10 | <i>Che</i> |
| 11 | <i>Pek</i> |
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take their place. The horses the emperor maintains for his forces in the garrisons amount to five hundred sixty four thousand nine hundred, and as well these soldiers as horses, are always kept on foot: But where there is any war or rebellion, the forces that rendezvous from all the provinces are almost innumerable.

Number of people in China.

P. Comple.

P. 105.

The realm of *China*, according to the computation of a grave author, contains eleven millions five hundred and two thousand eight hundred and seventy two families, or houses; without including in this number, women, children, beggars, *Mandarines* in employment, soldiers, batchelors, licentates, doctors, *Mandarines* above age, all persons that live on the rivers, *Bonzes*, eunuchs, and all those that are of the blood-royal, because only those are poll'd who till the land, or pay taxes to the king. There are in the empire, according to the same author, fifty nine millions seven hundred eighty eight thousand three hundred and sixty four men. The number of all the inhabitants, or souls, without excluding any age, sex, or condition, if we will credit father *Daniel Bartoli*, makes three hundred millions, three times the number there is in all *Europe*. But because this

father allows more to the whole than it ^{GEMELLI 1696.} has, and takes from the parts and principal cities, diminishing their real number, there is no relying on his account, for his strange exaggeration will not suit with the multitude of small places. Having endeavour'd diligently to clear this point with the fathers of his society, I found not one that agreed with him, nor did any of the missionaries of other orders, who having liv'd there some twenty, and some thirty years, know more of it than father *Bartoli* could do by hear-say; because they are continually conversing with *Mandarines*, and great men, who thoroughly know this matter, as numbering the people to receive the imperial tax. The greatest difference I found in the accounts given me, during the time I stay'd in *China*, was of five millions, some telling me the whole empire contain'd an hundred ninety five millions, and others that they had found two hundred millions in the *Chinese* books, which difference may well happen in counting with two or three years interval. To make what has been here said the plainer, I think it will not ^{Pag. 105} be amiss to insert the particular, as it is found in father *Complet*, and is as follows.

Provinces.	Metropolitan Cities	Cities	Families	Men
1 <i>Peking</i>	8	135	418989	3452254
2 <i>Xanji</i>	5	92	589659	5084015
3 <i>Xenji</i>	8	107	831051	3934176
4 <i>Xantung</i>	6	92	770555	6759685
5 <i>Honan</i>	8	100	589296	5106270
6 <i>Suebuen</i>	8	124	464129	2204570
7 <i>Huquum</i>	15	108	513686	4833590
8 <i>Kiamsi</i>	13	67	1363629	6549800
9 <i>Nanking, or Kiamnan</i>	14	110	1969816	9967429
10 <i>Chekiang</i>	11	63	1242135	4525470
11 <i>Fokien</i>	8	48	509200	1802677
12 <i>Quantang</i>	10	73	483360	1978022
13 <i>Quamsi</i>	11	99	186719	1054760
14 <i>Yunan</i>	22	84	132958	1433100
15 <i>Queibeu</i>	8	10	45305	231365
Total	155	1312	10128789	58916783

P. 105.

There are also reckoned in the empire three thousand six hundred and thirty six men renowned, and illustrious, for their virtue, learning, valour, or other remarkable qualities. There are two hundred and eight virgins and widows, remarkable for their chastity, or other heroic acts, and celebrated in the *Chinese* books, and in their temples, and inscriptions.

VOL. IV.

There are one hundred eighty five *Mausoleums* famous for structure, and riches, for it is forbid in *China*, under severe penalties, to carry the dead into any city, but they may be remov'd from one province to another, keeping without the walls.

There are four hundred and eighty *Temples* idol temples of renown, and much resorted to, as well on account of their

O o o o majesty,

GEMELLI majesty, and wealth, as for the pretend-
 1696. ed miracles wrought at them. Within
 these and other temples of the empire,
 there live above three hundred and fifty
 thousand Bonzes.

Other Besides, throughout the kingdom are
 temples, erected by the *Chinese*, at several
 times, in memory of their ancestors, and
 remarkable for their beauty and structure.
 It is the custom among the *Chinese* to
 express much love to their parents af-
 ter their death; and to make it appear,
 they built stately halls with great charge,
 in which instead of statues, they place
 inscriptions, with the names of their an-
 cestors. Upon certain days in the year,
 the families they belong to, meet in these
 halls and prostrate themselves on the
 ground, in token of love and respect,
 offering incense to them, and making a
 splendid entertainment, in which there
 are several tables well cover'd, and fill'd
 with abundance of well-dress'd meat in
 great order.

Statues. The famous antient statues are to the
 number of two thousand ninety nine, be-

sides paintings, and other celebrated **Picture**
 works of that nature, one thousand one
 hundred fifty nine towers, triumphal ar-
 ches, and notable monuments, in honour
 of kings and men in vogue; two hun-
 dred seventy two libraries well adorn'd,
 and stor'd with books. The great ri-
 vers and fountains of note, for hot and
 medicinal waters are one thousand four
 hundred seventy two. There are also
 two thousand ninety nine mountains, ren-
 dered fruitful by their many springs, and
 singular for pasture, and the excellent
 minerals they produce, and no less for
 their great height. The schools, and **Schools**
 publick structures erected in honour of
Confucius, the great philosopher of that
 empire, are as many as the cities. It is
 no easy matter to reckon the vast num-
 ber of scholars, but the batchelors are
 above ninety thousand. Besides thirty
 palaces belonging to petty kings,
 there are others in all places, for the
 great officers of the kingdom, according
 to their dignity. And to conclude, **Br**
 there are in the empire two hundred
 thirty one famous bridges.

CHAP. VII.

*Of the notable Government of the Empire of China, the several degrees of
 Mandarinæ, and of six Supreme Courts, or Councils of the Learned, or Gown-
 Men, and six of the Soldiers, or Military Men.*

CHINA deserves great commendation
 for its excellent government. Of
 the three sects or religions follow'd there,
 that of the learned is the first and an-
 tiest, and its principal end, is the
 good government of the kingdom, upon
 which subject they have writ a great
 number of books, and comments upon
 them. *Confucius* in his time writ a treatise
 upon this matter, and call'd it *Chun-
 num*, that is, the *Golden Mean*, where he
 solidly teaches, that a good king is to
 have nine qualities, for the well-govern-
 ing of his subjects, which if he practises,
 he will make his reign immortal.

Degrees The *Mandarines* of the empire, are
 of *Mand* divided into nine classes, and every class
 into nine degrees. As for instance, they
 say, such a *Mandarine* is of the second
 degree, of the first or second class; or
 he is a *Mandarine* of the first degree, of
 the first, second, or third class. This dis-
 tinction signifies nothing but a meer title
 of honour the kings have bestow'd on
 them, without any regard to their em-
 ployments; for tho' the *Mandarines* be
 of a higher or inferior rank, according
 to the dignity of their offices, yet this is
 no general rule; for sometimes to reward

one man's merit, whose charge us'd to
 be executed by one of an inferior rank,
 the king honours him with the title of
Mandarine of the first, or second class;
 and on the contrary to punish another,
 whose post belongs to those of a superior
 class, he sometimes put him down to be
Mandarine of a lower rank. The know-
 ledge, distinction, and subordination of
 these orders are so perfect, the submission
 and veneration of the inferior to the su-
 perior, and the authority of the latter
 over the others, so great; and in short,
 the king's power over them all, is so ab-
 solute, that there is nothing to compare
 to it in our government, either civil, or
 ecclesiastical.

The *Mandarines* of the first class, are **First**
 counsellors of his majesties council of
 state, which is the greatest honour, and
 dignity, a learned man can rise to in
 the empire. They have several honou-
 rable titles, as *Nui-co*, *Kolao*, *Cai-fian*,
Suam-cum, *Siam-que*, and others, signi-
 fying assessors, assistants, and supreme
 counsellors to the king. There are in
 the royal-palace, several halls for them
 of a stately structure. When the king
 will do any of these counsellors a special
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honour, he gives him the name of one of those chambers; as for example that of *Chumki-tien*, signifying, the supreme chamber in the middle; this new title being immediately added to his name; and he is call'd such a counsellor or *Ko-loo*, supreme chamber in the middle. There is no certain number of these counsellors, but they are more, or fewer, at the emperor's pleasure, who chooses them as he thinks fit, among the *Mandarines* of other courts. There is always one call'd *Xen-fiam*, who is chief of them, and the king's favourite. This is the supreme council, or court in the whole kingdom, and kept in the palace on the left hand of the supreme chamber, where the emperor gives audience. Where it is to be observ'd, that the left hand among the *Chinese*, is the most honourable, as it was among the *Greeks* and other nations; which puts me in mind, that I have seen some ancient *Grecian* pictures, on which *St. Peter* was painted on the left, and *St. Paul* on the right, the first having the preference as head of the church. This court is call'd *Nui-yuen*, and is compos'd of three ranks of *Mandarines*; the first is that of the emperor's counsellors already mention'd, who have it in charge to peruse, examine and judge of all petitions presented to his majesty by the six great courts, of which we shall treat next, upon all the most important affairs of the kingdom. When they are come to a resolution, they present it to the emperor in writing, who either confirms or cancels it, as he thinks fit. Those of the 2d rank, or class, are as it were assessors, or assistants to the king's counsellors, chosen out of the second or third class of *Mandarines*, whence they often rise to be the king's counsellors. The title is *Tahio-fu*, that is, learned men of great knowledge. This title is also given to counsellors, on whom the emperor bestows others more lofty, as *Tai-en-tai*, that is, the princes great governour, or *Cai-tu-cai-fu*, great master to the prince, and the like. The third rank of this court, is call'd *Chum-xue*, that is, class, or school of *Mandarines*; these write, or cause to be writ, the business of the court, on whom the emperor bestows titles, according to the chambers they are employ'd in. They are generally of the fourth, fifth, or sixth class of *Mandarines*, and are much look'd upon, because they have charge of all suits, and writings, by reason they may give or take away, all a man has depending on the suit, by only a word of a double meaning, and some-

times by a single letter. Besides these, there is a vast number of clerks, solicitors, and supervisors.

Besides this sovereign court or council here mention'd, there are eleven other great courts, among which the emperor of *China*, divided all the affairs of his empire two thousand years before Christ; and these same continue still. Six of them belong to the learned *Mandarines*, or gown-men, call'd *Lo-pu*, and six to the military *Mandarines*, or swordsmen, call'd *U-fu*. The power of these courts was extraordinary great, and unlimited, inasmuch, that it might reasonably be fear'd, lest some one of them should make use of its authority, to stir up a rebellion; and therefore the wisdom of the *Chinese* emperors, has so regulated their business, that no one of them can determine any affair committed to it, without the concurrence of the others. Within the palace of every one of these six courts, there is always a chamber, or apartment appointed for a *Mandarine*, call'd *Coh*, that is, supervisor, or examiner, who in private and publick, examines all that is transacted, and if he finds any error, presently acquaints the emperor with it. This *Mandarine* is neither subject, nor superior to his court, but only a censor of their proceedings, as was us'd among the *Romans*. In *China* these men are call'd mad-dogs, because they are continually biting, by the ill offices they do.

The first presidents of these six courts, are of the first degree of the second class of *Mandarines*, and are call'd *Xam-xuo-li-pu-xam-xu*, that is, first president of the court of ceremonies, and so of the others. Each of these presidents has two assessors, the first of which is call'd *Tjo-xil-am*, that is, president of the left hand; and the other *Yeu-xi-lam*, that is, president of the right, and these are of the first degree, of the third class.

These six courts, are seated, according to their dignity, near the imperial palace on the east side, being great square structures, with three divisions of courts and apartments; for the convenience of so many as belong to them, the emperor daily providing their dinner, that they may not be oblig'd to go home to their houses, and may dispatch business with more expedition.

The method of proceedings in these courts is thus. When any man has a suit, he writes it down on a paper of such form and size, as is fix'd by custom, which he carries into the palace of the court, and there beats a drum, which is at the second gate, then kneeling and lift,

GRIFFITH
1696.

Eleven
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councils.

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Six civil
courts.

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GEMELLI
1696.

lifting up the paper or petition with both hands as high as his head, it is taken from him by an officer, who conveys it to the *Mandarines* of the great chamber, and they to the president, or in his absence to his assessors, who having read it, approve or reject it, as they think fit. If rejected, they send it back to him that presented it, causing him often to be well beaten for having proposed an unreasonable thing. If they approve of it, the president sends it back to the inferior court, that they may examine the cause and report their opinions. When this court has examin'd and adjudg'd it, they send it back to the first president, who gives the sentence, adding to, taking from, or confirming the decision of his inferior court. If the matter be of high concern, he orders the said court to draw it up in a memorial, which having read with his assessors, he remits to the revisor *Mandarine* before mentioned, and he refers it to the supreme court of the counsellors of state, who examines the cause, and acquaints his majesty with it, who for the most part orders the court to examine it again. Then the counsellors of state send back the memorial to the revisor, who having seen the king's order, returns it to the first president. He causes it to be examin'd again, and when brought to him again returns it to the revisor; he to the counsellors of state, and they to the emperor, who then gives the final sentence. This decree returns the same way to the first president, who notifies it to the parties concern'd, and then the suit is ended. When the cause is any of those the courts of the provinces send up to court, it is directed seal'd to the king's inspector or revisor; who opens and reads it, and then sends it to the first president, who proceeds as has been said.

Did the *Mandarines* in trials and decisions of affairs, do their duty according to the laws and the king's design, *Cbina* would be the happiest country in the world, and the best govern'd; but as great observers as they are of outward formalities, they are inwardly no less malicious, hypocritical, and cruel. Their frauds and artifices are so numerous, it would take much time to recount them, there being scarce any *Mandarine* free from avarice and corruption; so that they do not consider the justice or injustice of the cause, but who gives most money, or the best presents; thinking of nothing but satisfying their vile covetousness, like so many ravenous wolves.

The first of these six courts is call'd *Tai-pu*; its business is to furnish all the kingdom with *Mandarines*, and to examine their merits and demerits, to present them to the king, that they may be prefer'd to better posts, or put back into meaner, as a reward or punishment. Within its palace there are four courts. The 1st is call'd *Yen-jwen-su*, that is, The court that judges of those that are qualified and learned enough to be *Mandarines*: The 2d, *Coo-cum-su*, which examines the good or bad government of *Mandarines*: The 3d, *Nien-sum-su*, which has the care of sealing all publick acts, to give the seals to all *Mandarines* according to their post, and to examine whether the seals of the dispatches they bring or send be true or counterfeit: The 4th *Kibian-su*, which has the charge of examining great lords, as petty kings of the blood-royal, dukes, and others, whom the *Chinese* call *Hun-chin*, that is, ancient vassals; who are honourable for their great services perform'd in war, when the family now reigning conquer'd the empire.

The 2d sovereign court is call'd *Hu-fu*, which signifies the king's great treasury or court of exchequer. It has the management of all the treasures, revenues, and taxes, as also of the expences. It pays out the pensions, and the quantities of rice, pieces of silk, and sums of money the emperor bestows on petty kings, great lords, and *Mandarines* of the empire. It keeps the rolls or multiers taken very exactly every year, of all the families, houses, of all the men, of the surveys of the land, of the duties it is to pay, and of all the customs. And it is here to be observ'd, that tho' in *Cbina* there are fifteen provinces, yet in the publick records, and their common way of speaking, they are call'd fourteen provinces, and one court, because, say the *Chinese*, the court resides, commands, and is not subject, and therefore is not to be reckon'd in the number of the other provinces. Hence it is, that among the supreme courts, there is never an inferior one for the affairs of the province of *Peking*; but the first president refers them, as he thinks fit, to one of the inferior courts appointed for the provinces. Thus the supreme court of exchequer, has within its palace on both sides, fourteen subaltern courts, which bear the names of the provinces they are appointed for. During the reign of the family before this now ruling, there were reckon'd thirteen provinces, and two courts, because the city of *Nanking* was a court, as well as that of *Peking*, and had the same six supreme courts, and

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and all others, that are now in the court of *Peking*; but the *Tartars* took away its title of a court and all its tribunals, and have chang'd its very name, calling it the city of *Kiam-nim*, and the province *Kiam-nan*, names it had formerly.

31 Court. The 3d court is call'd *Lî-pu*, and has the inspection into ceremonies, rites, sciences, and arts. It has charge of the emperor's musick, of examining students, and giving them right to be admitted to the examination of the learned; of judging of the titles and honours the emperor will bestow on persons of merit; of the temples, and of the sacrifices the emperor offers to the sun, moon, heaven, earth, and to his ancestors. It orders the entertainments the emperor gives to his subject or strangers, and the receiving, presenting, and attending his guests, and ambassadors, and has full power over arts and mechanicks, and in fine over the three religions profess'd in the empire, whereof the 1st is that of the learned; the 2d of *Taoïsm*, or the marry'd *Bonzes*; and the 3d, of the single *Bonzes*. By this court the fathers *John Adams*, *Luis Buglio*, *Ferdinand Verbiest*, and *Gabriel Magalhães* were imprison'd, with nine chains on their feet. This court has four courts under it. The 1st is call'd *Tchi-fu*, that is, The court of matters of moment; as for instance, of the titles of petty kings, dukes, and great Mandarines: The 2d, *Su-chi-fu*, or the court that inspects the emperor's sacrifices, the temples, the mathematicks, and the three religions: The 3d, *Chu-ke-fu*, which receives and attends the king's guests, whether subjects or strangers: The 4th, *Chim-xen-su*, to take care of entertainments given by the emperor. Whilst the *Chinese* had the power in their hands, learned men were chosen to fill these courts; but at present there are *Tartars* appointed, who do every thing in this and the other courts, the *Chinese* ministers being like dumb statues; thus they suffer the punishment due to their pride at the hands of rude ignorant barbarians. Tho' the name of this court looks like that of the first, yet there is a great deal of difference according to the *Chinese* way of speaking, for the characters of the first syllable *Lî*, are not alike, and the pronunciation differs very much. The first is pronounced, raising the voice and sounding it shrill, as we mark it with an acute accent *Lî*, and on the contrary in the second the voice is let fall, as if it were mark'd with the flat accent *Lî*. So

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that in the first, *Lî* signifies *Mandarine* Gemelli 1696. and *Pâ* court, and both together court of Mandarines. In the second, *Lî* signifies rites and ceremonies, and *Pâ* being added, court of ceremonies. This double meaning is not found among the *Tartars*, who call the first court *Hafan-Xurgan*, or court of Mandarines, *Xurgan* signifying a court, and *Hafan*, Mandarines; and the other *Toro-Xurgan*, or court of rites and ceremonies.

The 4th sovereign court is call'd *Pim*-4th Court *pu*, which has the direction of war and military affairs through the whole kingdom. It chuses and prefers all officers, distributes them in the army, frontiers, and garrisons, and all parts of *China*; raises and exercises soldiers; fills the magazines with arms offensive and defensive, ammunition and provisions, and with all things necessary for the defence of the empire. Within its palace there are four interior courts. The 1st is call'd *Fu-fven-fu*, which has the charge of chusing and giving posts to military Mandarines, and of exercising the troops. The 2d, *Che-fam-fu*, which has the care of distributing men and officers throughout the kingdom to pursue robbers, and suppress rebellions. The 3d, *Che-kia-fu*, which takes care of all the emperor's horses, as well those on the frontiers, and inconsiderable garrisons, as of the others that serve for posts; as also of the waggons and boats that serve to carry provisions and soldiers. The 4th, *Fu-cu-fu*, has charge of causing all sorts of arms offensive and defensive to be made, and keeping them ready in the magazines.

The 5th sovereign court is call'd *Him*-5th Court *fu*, which is the criminal court of all the empire; it has authority to punish all crimes according to the laws of the empire. Yet reason, law, and justice, are here sold, and he who gives most has the best cause; this nation suffering it self to be so led away by avarice, that it cannot be curb'd by so many severe punishments as the emperor inflicts on those that are convicted of corruption and bribery.

All the courts in *Peking* examine the Punish- offences of those that are subject to them ment of on account of their employments; but criminals, when the crime deserves a grievous punishment, as confiscation of goods, banishment, or death; then after acquainting the emperor with it, they send the process and criminal to this court, which gives the definitive sentence. In the palace of this court there are fourteen other subordinate to it, for the fourteen provinces of the empire, as was said of the fe-

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cond court. The practice of *China* differs much from ours, as to the diversity of punishments; for we behead noble persons, but there the greatest dishonour can be done a man, is to cut off his head. When the emperor will show a great lord or *Mandarine*, condemn'd to death, a special favour, he sends him a piece of delicate fine silk to be strangled with. It being therefore the custom in *China* to strangle the nobility, and behead the commonalty; when this happens, the kindred buy the head and body of the executioner for an hundred, and sometimes for a thousand pieces of eight, according to their wealth; looking upon it as a great disgrace that the body should remain unbury'd, because this punishment is attended with a prohibition of burying the body, yet the executioners run the hazard of it. Among other laws observ'd by this court, there is one enacted by the antient kings; which is, That when a criminal deserves any favour for some rare quality, or excellency in some art (as is also appointed by our civil law) the execution is respited till the end of the ensuing autumn; that he may enjoy some grace, or general pardon granted at the birth, or marriage of princes, or extraordinary alteration, or earthquake; all prisoners being discharg'd at such times; so that those who are repriev'd, are either set at liberty, or at least have their liberty and hopes for some months.

6th Court

The sixth sovereign court is call'd *Cang-pu*, or the court of publick works. It has the care of building and repairing the royal palaces, the king's tombs, the temples where they pray to their ancestors, and the others in which they worship heaven, earth, the sun and moon: It has also charge of repairing the palaces of all the courts in the kingdom, and those of all the great lords: It is to look after the towers, bridges, and all other necessary works to make the rivers navigable, and the roads fit to travel. In its palace there are four subaltern courts. The first call'd *Yu-xen-fu*, whose duty it is to examine and form the draughts of all works that are to be made. The second *Tu-em-fu*, to whom is committed the providing of arms for the fleets. The third *Tu-xui-fu*, takes care to make the rivers and lakes navigable, to level roads, and build and repair bridges. The fourth *Che-tien-fu*, looks to the king's houses and lands which is lett out, and receives the rents.

Judges
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of the
court

By what has been said it appears, that the six sovereign courts have under them forty four inferior courts, which have all their palaces within the precincts of the

great one they depend on, with all necessary chambers and halls. Each of these forty four courts has a president and twelve counsellors, whereof four are of the first degree of the 5th class of *Mandarines*, four of the second degree of the same 5th class, and the other four of the 6th class. In the court of exchequer they are double the number, as also in that of criminal causes; every inferior court belonging to these having a president and twenty four counsellors. Besides these *Mandarines* in employment, there are others who are of no class, and yet are such only by name, and after some years service, the emperor puts them into the eighth or ninth class of *Mandarines*. All these courts have clerks, cryers, and other officers, whom they send into the provinces. They have tipstaves to employ in the palace, messengers to carry their orders, jailers, sergeants, catchpoles, and others, who baitinado offenders; cooks to dress the meat the emperor allows them every day, servants to wait at table, and a vast number of others, all kept by the emperor: The number here mention'd is to be understood, as it was in the time of the *Chinese* emperors, under the family before this now reigning, as authors deliver it; for now they are all double, as for instance, the court that had but twelve in all before, has now twelve *Chinese* and twelve *Tartars*. These are the six sovereign courts that govern all *China*, and are so famous in that empire; but because each of them of it self would have been too powerful, the wise emperors have so settled them and order'd their business, regulating all their proceedings, that none of them is absolute in the affairs it has cognizance of, but they all depend one upon another. As for instance, The first president of the 4th court, which is the court martial, might have rebell'd, had his authority been independant, because all the troops in the kingdom are under his direction; but he has no money, and after he has the emperor's order he must have recourse to the second court, which is that of the exchequer. The boats, waggons, tents, arms, and other necessaries for a war, depend on the sixth court, to which the fourth must have recourse; and lastly, the horses are at the disposal of another separate court, of which they must be ask'd.

The martial *Mandarines* make five courts, call'd *Ufu*, that is, five classes or companies. Their palace is on the right and west side of the emperor's. The first is call'd *Hui-fu* or rear. The second *Tso-fu* or left wing. The third

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Yeu-fu, or right wing. The fourth *Chün-fu*, or the main body. The fifth *Chien-fu*, or the van. These five courts are govern'd by fifteen great lords, three in each of them, of whom one is president, and the others assessors. All the fifteen are of the first class of *Mandarines*, but the presidents are of the first degree of this class, and the assessors of the second: They have charge of all the officers and soldiers of the court. These five courts are subject to a sovereign court, call'd *Iün-chün-fu*, that is, court martial, the president whereof is always a great lord. His authority extends over the said five courts, and over all the officers and soldiers in the empire, but for fear, lest he should make ill use of so great a trust, a learned *Mandarine* is appointed his assessor with the title of supreme regent, and two royal inspectors, who have an eye upon all his actions. The number of *Mandarines* is so much increas'd, both for the better government, as also to reward subjects that deserv'd well in assisting the first king of the family before this now reigning, to make himself master of the empire. And certainly the predominant passion of the *Chinese* is the desire of rule, wherein they place all their glory and happiness; as may appear by an answer given by a *Mandarine* to father *Matthew Riccio di Macerata*. This father discour-

ing him concerning our holy faith and eternal bliss. *Peace, faith the Mandarine, leave these follies, your Glory and your Bliss be all your own, who are a Stranger for all my Glory and Happiness consists in this Girdle and Habit of a Mandarine; all the rest is nothing but Talk and Words, which the Wind carries away, and are things told but not seen; what we see is the benefit or advantage of Governing and Commanding others. Gold, Silver, Wives, and Concubines, as also a numerous Train, Goods, Feasting, Diversions, and all sorts of Happiness, Honour and Glory are the Consequences of being a Mandarine. This is the Happiness we covet, and which we enjoy in our great and mighty empire; and not yours, which is as unprofitable as it is Invisibile, and impossible to obtain. Thus spoke that wicked atheist.*

There are other *Mandarines* of none of the nine classes, call'd *Vi-jo-lieu*, that is, unsettled men. There are also others call'd *Vüpin*, that is, who find no class to fit them, because their merits are so great, that they lift them above all classes and degrees. These are the petty kings, dukes and marquesses, who govern in the five courts martial, esteeming the dignity of dukes and marquesses, which they have purchas'd by their great services above that of *Mandarines*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of several other Courts in Peking, of the fifteen Provinces, and Cities of the Empire of China.

THE first of these courts is call'd *Han-lin-üen*, that is, a garden or grove flourishing with learning and sciences. This court contains a great number of learned *Mandarines* of pregnant wits divided into five classes, and making five courts; being chosen by the emperor from among the new doctors that take their degree every three years at *Peking*, for all the licentiates of the kingdom call'd *Kün-gin*, that men illustrious in learning, are examin'd for thirteen days together with all possible rigor, out of which the degree of doctor is afterwards given to only three hundred sixty six, who have proved themselves the ablest men. The members of these five courts, are teachers and preceptors of the young prince, who is to succeed in the empire, whom they instruct in virtue and learning according to his age. They write all whatsoever happens at court or in the empire, which

deserves to be transmitted to posterity. They compose the general history of the kingdom and other books, and they are properly the kings men of learnings, whom he choseth to be *Kolao*s and counsellors; in short, this court is a royal seminary. Those of the first court are of the third rank of *Mandarines*, those of the second of the fourth, and all the other three of the fifth.

Having spoke of the examination of ^{Manner} licentiates, and the degree of doctors, it is ^{of taking} proper to describe the manner how they ^{Degrees.} arrive at the decree of batchelors, which is conferr'd in the cities, and to that of licentiate given only in the metropolitan cities of provinces, as that of doctor is only at *Peking*. As for the batchelor's degree, which the *Chinese* call *Siu-Zay*, there is a person appointed by the king in every province, who goes from one city to another to examine the students, of whom four or five

GEMELLI five thousand come to be examin'd in every city, according as they are more or less inhabited. They are thrice put

upon tryal by as many several examiners. The first is by four antient learned men, who reside in the colleges of *Confucius*: The second is by the magistrates of the city, and only of those who were thought worthy of it by the first examiners: The third by the *Tibio*, or king's examiner, of those few that have pass'd the second tryal. Thus, of the thousands that at first expos'd themselves to the hazard of so difficult an undertaking, only a few are at last admitted to the honour of batchelorship; and sometimes they do not rise to thirty, all the rest being rejected as unworthy and incapable. Yet this does not dismay those that are rejected, or put them by their studies; but being spur'd on by the honour done to those that receive the degree, they return to their studies with more earnestness, to appear again at the next examination.

Afterwards only the ablest of those that were graduated in the first examination of batchelors resort to the second for licentiates, or masters, because it is very severe. These are promoted only once in three years in the eighth moon, which usually happens in our *September*, and this no where but in the fifteen metropolitan cities of provinces, and such a certain number prefixt, there being about one hundred and fifty in the two principal cities of *Peking* and *Nanking*, and more or less in the others down to an hundred. The emperor chuses thirty able men to be examiners, of whom two go into every province for that purpose, and it is to be perform'd precisely on the ninth, twelfth, and fifteenth day of the eighth moon. These examiners call two others to their assistance, for they would not be able to go through so much alone. In the mean while the two examiners speak with no body, to prevent any jealousy or suspicion; and they stay till the ninth day in the morning to give all at once, on a sudden, the argument or theme they are to write upon. This examination is perform'd in a palace, about which there are small chambers with tables and chairs. When the batchelors go in, they are strictly search'd to see whether they have any writing about them, which if they had, they would certainly be bastonado'd, they being allow'd nothing but white paper, three pencils, and an ink-horn. Having their subject they are to treat of, they are shut into these little rooms, and guarded that they may not talk to one another. The theme given

them to try their wits the first day, is four sentences taken out of the vast number of them in *Confucius* his books, that is, out of three of the four counted most authentick among the *Chinese*; these are hung up at the four corners of the court, in vast black letters on white paper. Upon them every one is to frame a discourse, not exceeding five hundred characters, which are as many words. On the 12th day of the moon, three several points are propos'd, upon which judgment is to be given, to advise the king by way of memorial. The last day they desire three cases in civil and criminal affairs; either absolving, condemning, or compounding between the parties, as if they were giving judgment upon the bench. They labour at each of these examinations from break of day, till night; the dinner for those in the court being provided by the city, and very light, that it may not dull the wit. At night the compositors fold their compositions, and deliver them to people appointed to receive them, every one subscribing his name. These compositions are transcribed by clerks, and being afterwards compar'd with the originals, are deliver'd to the assessors to judge of the worth of them, without knowing the authors, to prevent all corruption. They pick out the best, double the number that is to be prefer'd, and the two examiners chuse one half out of them. These compositions being then compar'd with the originals, kept the mean while lock'd up, the owners names are publish'd, and they thus receive the degree of masters, with great rejoicing, at the end of the same eighth moon. And because the *Tartars* by reason of their ignorance could not easily pass through these examinations, that they may have the decree of licentiates to capacitate them to be *Mandarines*, the emperor has in their behalf brought up the title of *Kien-Sem*, which is bestow'd for money, confirming them for ever in the degree of batchelors, and in a capacity of being *Mandarines*.

The court call'd *Guercu-Kieu*, is the royal school of all the empire, which has care of all these batchelors and students, to whom the emperor has granted some privilege to make them equal to batchelors, as delivering the wine to the emperor when he sacrifices to heaven, the earth, the sun, moon, or any other well-deserving creature. These graduate students, are of six sorts, viz. *Cum-sem*, *Quon-sem*, *Nyen-sem*, *Cum-sem*, *Kien-sem*, *Cum-cu*, who are usually marry'd to women of the king's household, to whom the king grants this favour, as

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Court of
visitors.

CHAP. V.
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also upon account of their fore-fathers services, or upon occasion of publick rejoicing.

Court of
visitors.

The *Mandarines* that belong to the court call'd *Tucha-yuen*, or visitors and censors of the court, and of all the empire. The president is equal in dignity to the president of the six sovereign courts; and accordingly is a *Mandarine* of the second class, and his first assessor of the third, and all the other *Mandarines*, whose dignity is very great, of the seventh class. It is their duty always to have a watchful eye over the court and all the empire, to cause the laws and good customs to be observ'd, and the *Mandarines* to observe justice; punishing their inferiors, and acquainting the emperor with the faults of their equals. Every three years they make a general visitation, sending fourteen visitors throughout the empire, one to every province. As soon as the visitor enters the province, he is superior to the vice-roy, and all the *Mandarines* great and small, and he tries or acts the censor over them with such rigor and authority, that the dread the *Mandarines* have of him, was the occasion of that common proverb in *China*, *Lao-xu*, *Kien-mao*, that is, *The mouse has seen the cat*, and this not without cause, for he can take away their employments, and ruin them. The visitation ended, the visitors return to court, with every one half a million given him by the *Mandarines*, which they share with the president and his assessors, and then give them and the emperor an account of their visitation. For the most part they accuse none but such *Mandarines*, whose injustice, and other crimes are so publick, that they cannot be conceal'd, or the poor one that could give them no money. This visitation is call'd *Tachai*, or the great and general visitation. The same court makes a second visitation call'd *Chun-chai*, or middle visitation, sending visitors to the nine quarters of the frontiers, on the side of the great wall that divides *China* and *Tartary*. If those that go the general visitation make a great advantage, or rather steal much; these out-do them amongst the distributors of salt. The third visitation is call'd *Siaochai*, or the little visitation, and is made every three months, sending visitors sometimes unknown, and in disguise, first to one province or city, and then to another, to receive private information against some *Mandarine* famous for his ill practices. Besides these visitations the court every three years sends a visitor call'd *Hio-guen* into every province, and another call'd

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Ti-bio into every city, to examine the batchelors, and punish their infolencies committed against the people by abusing their privileges, and punish them severely. To conclude, this court, every time it thinks fit, sends a visitor call'd *Sbun-bo*, to make a visitation upon that famous canal we have spoke of elsewhere.

This court is kept in a vast palace, and has under it twenty five inferior courts, divided into five classes; and each of the five courts has five presidents, and abundance of assessors and inferior officers, who have particular names, as has been said of other courts, that take care of the welfare of the city. Particularly the two last classes have the charge of apprehending thieves, malefactors and vagabonds, and to remit them to the superior courts; to visit the streets and quarters; and to go the rounds, and keep watch at night. The captains of streets, or headbouroughs are subject to these two classes; for every twelve families have a chief over them, call'd *Paiten*, and over ten of these *Paitens*, is another officer they call *Tjum-Kia*, whose duty it is to acquaint the court with what is done within his ward contrary to law, or good manners, and to give an account of all strangers that come thither, and any thing else that is unusual. They are also to exhort the several families to virtue, and a good life.

The court *Ju-bio* is govern'd by two presidents, who have charge of the learned and martial batchelors, to exercise the first of these in discourses upon good government, and the others in military affairs.

The court call'd *Cotao*, or *Co-la*, is that of the inspectors before-mention'd, divided into six classes, as are the six sovereign courts from which they take their names. As for instance, the first is call'd *Lico*, or inspectors of the supreme court of *Mandarines*; or *Huo*, inspectors of the supreme court of the exchequer, and so the rest. Every class consists of several *Mandarines* of the seventh rank. They are appointed to tell the emperor what faults he commits in government; and they are so bold in this particular, that they often expose themselves to the hazard of banishment and death, to tell their prince the truth, either by way of memorial, or by word of mouth; of which there are many examples in the *Chinese* histories. And it has happen'd that kings have mended their faults, and generously rewarded those that reprov'd them. It is their duty to have a watchful eye over the miscarriages of the six supreme courts, and

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GEMELLI to give the emperor notice of them by memorial privately. The emperor makes use of these *Mandarines* in affairs of consequence, and chuses three out of them every year for visitors.

The court *Him-gin-fu* furnishes the emperor with ambassadors, and envoys to send into *Corla*, when he confirms that king in his title, or to carry a title to other deserving persons.

The court *Tai-li-fu*, that is, sovereign reason and justice, has the charge of examining doubtful and difficult cases; and of confirming or revoking sentences pronounced, especially in the criminal court, where goods, honour, or life lie at stake; for if any man be condemn'd to death, and this court find the motives of such judgment dubious, it remits the case to its *San-fa-fu*, which is, as it were its council of conscience, and this joining with the court of *Tai-li-fu*, and that of *Tu-che-yuen*, or supreme court of visitors, and the criminal court, they all together examine the matter over again, in the presence of the accuser and party accus'd, and often reverse the sentence.

The court *Tum-chim-fu* has the charge of publishing the emperor's orders at court, and throughout all the empire; as also of perusing all the memorials of the lained and military *Mandarines* before they are deliver'd to the emperor, which they stop, or send up, as they think fit; none being allow'd to present a memorial to the emperor, before it has been revis'd, and approv'd by this court; except those of the *Mandarines* of *Peking*, who present theirs immediately. The president of this court is of the third class.

The court *Tai-cham-fu*, is in a manner associated to the supreme court of rites and ceremonies. The president is of the third class, his assessors of the fourth, and the rest of the fifth and sixth. It has peculiar charge of the musick, of the sacrifices, and of the marry'd *Bonzes*, and other matters.

There is also another court associated to that of rites, and call'd *Quam-to-fu*, that is, royal inns, which has charge of providing the cattle, wine, and other things necessary for the emperor's sacrifices, and entertainments. The president is of the third class.

The *Mandarines* of the court call'd *Tai-po-fu*, are of the same classes as those of the last, and provide horses for the emperor, and for war, distributing them to the commanders, and in the fortresses. At present the *Tartars* bring them in, and the emperor buys seventy

thousand every year, and the great men and private persons double the number.

Kin-tien-kien is the court of the mathematicks. The president (who at this time is father *Philip Grimaldi* of the society of *Jesuit*) is of the fifth class, his two assessors of the sixth, and the rest of the seventh and eighth. They apply themselves to the study of astronomy, and astrology, and are to inform the emperor when there will be eclipses of the sun and moon, and their quality and duration. Whereof the emperor gives notice to all the courts of the provinces by means of the court of rites, that they may prepare to perform the necessary ceremonies; which consist in beating the drum, whilst the eclipse lasts, the *Mandarines* kneeling, with their eyes lifted up to heaven, and with awful fear. This court every year sets out the almanack, which is spread throughout the whole empire.

The court *Tai-yuen*, or rather college of physicians, is compos'd of those belonging to the emperor, empress, and princes; who prepare their own medicines. These *Mandarines* depend on the court of rites.

The court call'd *Hum-lu-fu*, consists of masters of the ceremonies at publick audiences, and is assitant to that of rites.

The court *Xam-len-yuen*, has charge of the gardens, and of the cattle kept for sacrifices and entertainments. It is subject to the court of rites.

The court *Xam-pao-fu*, has the keeping of the emperor's seal; which is square, a span over, made of a precious stone, as the letters on it denote, which are *Xam-pao*. Here the court of *Mandarines* come for the seals, to bestow their employments on the *Mandarines* of the court and provinces, the king's leave being first had.

The court *Kin-y-guei*, is the guard to the emperor's person. They guard, and attend him when he goes abroad, or gives audience. It consists of several hundreds of martial *Mandarines*, the sons of great lords, and is divided into four classes. These are never remov'd as other *Mandarines* are, but continue in their court, but often rise to be presidents and *Kolao*. These, tho' they are martial *Mandarines*, are independent of the *Pimpu*, that is, the supreme military court.

The two courts call'd *Xui-gue-fu*, which have the management of the customs of *Peking*, and take care to place waiters at all the gates of the city to receive the duties, which depend on the court of the exchequer.

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Court for
male
diar.

The *Tu-pu* has two courts, which are to apprehend thieves and malefactors, and proceed against them; if they find them not guilty, they may discharge them; but if it finds them guilty, it must turn them over to the criminal court. It has also power to secure runaway slaves, to bastinado, and then restore them to their masters, first marking them with a hot iron on the left arm. Cut-purses are mark'd with such an iron on the left arm, for the first offence; for the 2d in the right, and for the 3d are sent up to the criminal court.

Gover-
nor's
court.

The court call'd *Fu-yn*, is that of the two governors of the city of *Peking*. These governors are superior to those of all the other cities in the empire. They are of this 3d class of *Mandarines*, and their assessors of the fourth. The first superintendent of all the scholars and learned men in *Peking*, who are not yet *Mandarines*. The second has the administration of justice, and takes account of all the families, and souls in the city, and prepares the place and necessaries to offer sacrifice. The *Chinese* call this governor *Fu-Mu*, that is, father and mother of the people.

Court
under
them.

There are two other courts call'd *Tai-bim-bien*, and *Vom-pin-bien*, which depend on that of the governors of the city, and have the same affairs in charge; because *Peking* is divided into two cities, according to the practice throughout the empire, where cities are reckoned as one, or two, according to their bigness. The presidents of these courts are of the 6th class.

Court of
the royal
family.

Tjum-gin-su is the court of the great men, who are lineally descended from the royal family. The president is one of those who have the quality of kings; and is of no class, being above them all. His two assessors are lords of the blood-royal, and above the classes; but all affairs are dispatch'd with the assistance of some of the *Mandarines* of the six sovereign courts. All their business is to distribute the money allow'd for the emperor's male-kindred, whether rich or poor, to the sixth degree of consanguinity; more or less, according to their dignity, and nearness of blood. Besides, they judge of all matters, civil or criminal, wherein those are concern'd; and execute the sentence, after acquainting the emperor. These relations of the emperor's have the privilege of painting their houses and moveables red. The family before this now in the throne, having reign'd two hundred seventy six years, was increas'd to such a number, that the allowance falling short, for

some who were remotely ally'd, they apply'd themselves to mechanick arts, and were become too insolent among the people; but at present there is no offspring of them left. The kindred of the *Tartar* emperor now reigning, are all lords of note, and live at court; but if their reign lasts long, they also must come to a mean condition, by reason of their numbers.

Hoam-chin is a court that has the like power over the king's kindred by female descent. These are of two sorts; the first, of those who descend of the emperor's daughters, marry to choice students, as was said above, call'd *Fu-ma*; but they are not accounted princes of the blood by the *Chinese*, nor the emperor's kindred, as having no right to the succession, tho' the male-line were quite extinct. This custom is observ'd even among the people; for in *China*, to marry a daughter, is the same thing, as for ever to exclude her the family, and fix her in the husband's, whose surname she takes. Therefore when the *Chinese* will express, that a maid is gone to the bridegroom's house, they do not make use of the verb *Kiu*, to go, but of the verb *Qui*, to return; thus they do not say, she is gone, but return'd home. So when the grandfather talks of his son's children, he calls them plain *Sun-cu*, my grandsons; but when he speaks of his daughters, he says, *Vai-sun-cu*, my grandsons abroad; because he accounts them of his son-in-law's family. So when they speak of a dead person, they do not say, such a one is dead, but such a one is return'd to the earth. Among the 2d sort of kindred of the emperors of the female line, are accounted the parents, brothers, uncles, and other relations of the empresses; the emperor's sons-in-law, and their parents, brothers, and uncles; of these two sorts the emperor chooses some of the most remarkable to compose their court. The difference between these and the princes of the blood, is, that these last are none of the nine classes, and the others are of the 1st and 2d, tho' they think themselves more honour'd by the title of *Hoam-chin*, and that of *Fu-ma*, signifying the king's kindred, than by that of *Mandarine*, tho' of the first class. This 2d sort of kindred, was also destroy'd by the *Tartars*.

Enough has been said of the courts of *Mandarines*, and the government of the court; it remains now to speak briefly of those of the provinces. Each province has a sovereign court, on which all the others depend. The president

GEMELLI
1696.

Court of
the female
line.

Sovereign
court of
each pro-
vince.

GEMELLI has the title of *Tutan Kiun-muen, Fu-yuen, Sium-fu*, and other names, signifying

governours of provinces, or vice-roys, and is usually chosen out of the 1st, 2d, or 3d class, as the king pleases. It belongs to him to govern, both in peace and war, the people and soldiery, in civil and criminal affairs; and to give the emperor, and fix sovereign courts, an account of all things of note. To him are directed all orders from the emperor and his courts, and all the *Mandarines* of the province are oblig'd to have recourse to his court, in matters of weight. There are other vice-roys call'd *Tjum-to*, who have the government of two, three, or four provinces; as for instance, *Leam-quam Tjum-to*, vice-roy of the provinces of *Quam-tum* and *Quam-si*, (*Quam-tum* signifies a province towards the east, and *Quam-si* a province that stretches towards the west) and others, especially on the frontiers of *Tartary*. Besides the vice-roy, there is in every province a visitor, call'd *Ngan-tai*, or *Ngan-yuen*; and another officer of great note, call'd *Tjum-pim*, who commands all the troops in the province. This man is usually chosen out of the first class of martial *Mandarines*. All these supreme officers of the provinces, have many *Mandarines* under them, who assist in dispatch of business. Tho' every one of them generally has his palace within the metropolis, yet they do not always live there; but travel about all the province, according as necessity requires.

Courts of cities.

The particular courts of metropolitan cities, are these that follow. A court for civil causes, call'd *Pu-chimfu*; the president whereof is a *Mandarine* of the first degree of the 2d class, his two assessors of the second degree of the same class. This has two other courts not depending on it, but by way of assistants. That on the left is the most honourable, and is call'd *Tjan-chin*, in which there are two presidents of the 2d degree of the 3d class. That on the right is call'd *Tjan-y*, its presidents are equal, and of the 2d degree of the fourth class. In all these three courts there are many inferior *Mandarines*, call'd *Xeu-lin-quon*, who have it in charge to decide all controversies, and gather the revenues of the province. The criminal court is call'd *Ngan-chu-fu*; and its president, who is of the 3d class, has no assessors under him, but two benches of *Mandarines*. On the first call'd *Fo-fu*, are *Mandarines* of the 4th class; on the 2d call'd *Chien-fu*, of the 5th, both together are call'd *Tao-li*,

or *Tao Tjum*; and are for the most part visitors of all parts of their province. This court may punish criminals with confiscation of goods, and loss of life, according to the heinousness of their offences; and when there is no visitor in the province, it has an eye over all the other *Mandarines*, and acquaints the emperor with what happens. In a word, these two courts, the civil and criminal, act in the same affairs as the six sovereign courts at *Peking*, and are as it were their substitutes.

Every province is divided into territories, and each territory has a *Mandarine* call'd *Tao-li*, who is as it were a visitor, or inspector of all that is well or ill done within his district, and therefore he is taken from the court of inspectors, call'd *Co-tao*, whereof we have spoke above. It is his duty to cause the governors of cities and towns, to pay in the emperor's duties punctually.

All cities of the first rank, whether they are metropolitans or not, have a court, in which the governor of it and its territory presides, who is a *Mandarine* of the 4th class, and call'd *Cbisu*. He has three assessors; the first call'd *Tum-chi*, the 2d *Tum-puon*, and the 3d *Cheu-quon*; all of the 6th and 7th class. They are also call'd 2d, 3d, and 4th lord of the 2d, 3d, or 4th seat; or of the 2d, 3d, or 4th city, because the president is call'd first lord, first seat, and first city. Besides these there are four inferior *Mandarines*, call'd *Kim-lie*, *Cheu-fu*, *Chao-mo*, *Kim-kiao*, of the 7th, 8th, and 9th classes. Enough has been said of the duty of this court, when we spoke of the government of *Peking*. All the cities of the empire have such *Mandarines*; but when they are places of great trade, or have a large territory, and many villages depending of them, the number of *Mandarines* is double.

The cities of the 2d rank, call'd *Cheu*, are of two sorts, those of the first, are only subject to the metropolis, as if they were of the first rank, and have towns depending on them; those of the 2d are subject to the cities of the first rank, whether they have villages depending on them or not. The president of these cities call'd *Cbi-cheu*, is of the 2d degree of the 5th class, and has two assessors of the 2d degree of the 6th and 7th classes, the first of which is call'd *Cheu-tum*, and the 2d *Cheu-poon*; besides another *Mandarine* call'd *Limo*, of the 2d degree of the 9th class. These act in the same manner as the governors of cities of the first rank. The people call the governor *Ta-ye*, that is, great, or first

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Every other city of the empire has a court, whose president is call'd *Chibien*, and is of the 1st degree of the 7th class. Under him he has three assessors, the 1st of them of the 8th class, and call'd *Hieu-chim*; the 2d of the 9th *Cbue-pui*, but the 3d *Tien-fu* of no class. Yet if this man behaves himself well during his three years employment, the governor of the inferior city acquaints him of the superior, and he the governor of the metropolis; who informs the two great courts of the same, and they the vice-roy. He writes to the sovereign court of *Mandarines*, they give notice to the counsellors of state, and lastly the counsellors of state speak to the emperor; who generally makes him a *Mandarine* of the 8th or 9th class. And thus must *Mandarines* rise to a higher dignity, but by the help of some present, proportionable to the benefit they may receive; and this is the cause why they afterwards sell justice.

A *Mandarine* when once he is mounting, must always be employ'd, that he may commit no gross error in his office; as at *Rome* the governments of the ecclesiastical state, are given in course, men rising from the inferior to the greater. But it is customary in *China* to write as many names of cities, as there are *Mandarines* that want employments, and then they draw them by way of lot; tho' it is well known, that he who is of intelligence with the court, so orders the tablets, that the name of the city he would have comes up. This artifice does not always succeed, and they tell us of a *Mandarine*, who drawing a mean lot instead of a great city, and therefore being enrag'd for the money he had given the register, stood up (for it is the custom to kneel at that time) and falling upon him, beat, and abus'd him sufficiently in the presence of above three hundred *Mandarines*. For which being both sent to prison, they wanted but little of being condemn'd to death, those contracts being forbid by the laws upon pain of death.

Besides those already mention'd, there is a court in all the cities of the empire, consisting of a president, and two or three assessors, who are call'd *Kiao-quon*, that is, judges of the learned, because it is their duty to take care of learning, and of the learned men; to see the batchelors commit no infolencies against the people; and from time to time to assemble the licentiates, doctors, and priviledg'd *Mandarines* to treat of matters of learn-

ing in a school. Besides these *Mandarines* dispers'd throughout the empire, there are particular courts in other provinces, as that for the distribution of salt, the superintendence of the emperor's revenue and others.

All the courts we have hitherto given an account of, consist of learned *Mandarines*, but those that belong to the martial men are more numerous, for besides that they are in all places where those of the gown-men are, there be others on the borders of provinces, in the sea-ports, and many more on the frontiers towards *Tartary*. There is a new catalogue printed every year with the names of the martial *Mandarines* employ'd in them, their titles, country, and the time when they took their degrees, and the like of the learned *Mandarines*.

The number of the learned *Mandarines* throughout the empire is 13647, and that of the martial 18520, in all 32167; which tho' most certainly true, may perhaps seem unlikely; but there is no less to be admired in the distribution of their employments, their distinction and subordination; so that it seems the legislators omitted nothing that was necessary, and foresaw all the inconveniences that might happen. No empire in the world would be better govern'd or more fortunate, were the conduct and integrity of the officers suitable to the goodness of the laws; but the inferior *Mandarines*, studying nothing so much, as how to cheat their superiors, these the sovereign courts, and all together the emperor, with extraordinary art and ingenuity, not to call it humility, and flattery; it is no wonder the prince should sometimes be impos'd upon with falshood, instead of truth; and the people be oppress'd by the tyranny of evil ministers, notwithstanding the wholesome laws.

All the *Mandarines* here mention'd, have their employments for three years, which being expir'd, they rise to others better, their ill behaviour being no hindrance, as has been said. No man has any power or authority, in the city or province where he was born, that justice may not be wrested out of favour, or affection; but this is allow'd in martial *Mandarines*, that they may fight with more resolution, in defence of their country. None of them has servants, or officers of his own; but when he comes to the place of his government, must receive those that are offer'd him and maintain'd by the publick, that they may have no confidants, through whose means to receive presents or sell justice.

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If

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GEMELLI 1696. If they take along with them their sons, brothers, or other relations; these are not to converse with the people, but to live recluses like *Cartusians*. The best of it is, that tho' there be so many good laws to prevent and punish the corruption of *Mandarines*, suspending any one that receives to the value of ten *Tayes*, displacing him for thirty, and taking his life for fifty, yet their knavery and avarice finds ways to receive money so privately, that it is a hard matter to convict them; besides that they conceal one another's faults.

When a *Mandarine's* father or mother dies, he must resign his employ, to mourn three years, and give the due honour to those from whom he had his being; sleeping for a long time upon a pile of straw by the tomb, eating for some months nothing but rice boiled in water, but water, wearing for the first year a garment of sackcloth, the second of some cloth not so coarse, and the third of a better sort; and all this time continuing the usual sacrifices; which dutiful cu-

stom the emperors themselves observe.

The several dignities and qualities of so many *Mandarines* are known by several signs. 1. By the inscriptions and titles written on tablets they cause to be carry'd before them. 2. By the number of attendants that go along with them, dragging staves along the ground, carrying banners and other things. Besides, by the number of men that carry them in their chair, for four are allow'd the inferior sort, and eight to the better; and lastly by the number of strokes on the *Chinese* drum which goes before the company, for they give five strokes on it for the meanest *Mandarines*, seven, nine, eleven, and as far as thirteen for the greatest. It is also to be observ'd, that amidst this prodigious number of *Mandarines* there never happens any contest, as is usual in *Europe*, on account of precedence. Because, if the emperor hears of any such thing, he certainly puts them out of their employments, as that they may decide their controversies as private men.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Chinese Characters, of their Ingenuity and Skill in the liberal Arts, and of their chief Books.

Chinese characters.

THO' the *Egyptians* boast of their being the first who transmitted their thoughts to posterity, by the means of characters and hieroglyphicks; yet it is certain the *Chinese* had them long before. All other nations have had a general way of writing, compos'd of an alphabet of about twenty four letters, which tho' differing in shape, have almost the same sound; but the *Chinese* make use of at least fifty four thousand four hundred and nine letters to express their meaning; and this with such a grace, vivacity and force, that they seem not to be characters, but voices and tongues that speak, or rather figures and images, which represent every thing to the life.

Two sorts of characters.

These letters are of two sorts, either simple, or compound of several simples; and because every one of them (contrary to what is with ours) is a sign and image, representing some particular thing when join'd to another; therefore they are not to be call'd letters but hieroglyphicks. Another thing wonderful in this tongue is, that the words are few, and all syllables, as *Pa, Pe, Pi, Po, Pu, Pam, Pem, Pim, Pom,*

The language.

Pum, and the like; so that taking away those monosyllables which they make no use of, as not being able on any account to pronounce them, as *Ba, Be, Bi, Bo, Bu, Ra, Re, Ri, Ro, Ru, Pom, Tom, Nom, Mom*, &c. Their words well consider'd in themselves, are not above three hundred and twenty, but consider'd with their different accents, they are enough to compose a most perfect language. For instance, the syllable *Po* pronounced several ways signifies eleven several things, being as occasion serves a noun, pronoun, substantive, adjective, adverb, and participle; and so when it is a verb it may be demonstrative, imperative, subjunctive, and infinitive; in numbers more or less with their persons; in time present, imperfect, preterperfect and future. The diverse pronunciation is in the diversity of the accent, which is either plain, strong, flat, sharp, or circumflex; as also from the aspiration, which is also mark'd down, as among the *Greeks*. All this may be understood by the eleven several ways the syllable *Po* may be mark'd and consider'd.

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When this syllable is pronounced with the accent smooth and all of a piece, *Pò*, it signifies a *Glass*; with the flat *Pò* it signifies to *Boil*; with a sharp *Pò*, a *Sister of Corn or Rice*; the 4th with the circumflex open, *Wife*; the 5th with the circumflex clos'd with a point over it, to *Prepare*; the 6th with the circumflex charg'd and an aspiration, an *old Woman*; the 7th with the plain accent and an aspiration, to *Break*; the 8th with a flat accent and aspiration, signifies, *Bow'd*; the 9th with the acute, accent and aspiration, signifies, *Near*; the 10th with the open circumflex and aspiration, to *Water*; the 11th with a close circumflex, with a point over it and an aspiration, a *Slave*. By this example it may be easily conceiv'd how the *Chinese* language can be expressive, copious, and eloquent, with so small a number of monosyllables; for as we, by the different putting together of letters from such an infinite number of words; so they joyning, separating, and giving several accents to their monosyllables, express themselves as plainly and gracefully as any other language that is more in esteem. The same ease they have in explaining their thoughts in writing, by the variety of accents; they find in pronouncing of words several ways; like a musician who, by long practice, easily knows at first sight, and expresses the several notes he is to sound with the voice. Yet it is not true that the *Chinese* sing when they talk, as some have imagin'd; nor that they carry a tablet hanging about their neck, on which they write their meaning, when they perceive they are not understood; and that they cannot whisper, as some people fancy, thinking the tones and accents cannot be express'd without raising the voice.

The *Chinese* language, in the opinion of the missionaries, is the easiest of all those in the east; for if the memory be the most necessary faculty for learning of a language, that must be the easiest which has fewest words, for it is always easier to remember a few than a great many. Now the *Chinese* language is compos'd of only three hundred and twenty monosyllables, whereas the *Latin* and *Greek*, have an infinite number of words, of several tenses, moods and persons; and therefore the *Chinese* must be easier. Add to this, that it requires remembering nothing but the accents, which are as it were the form, distinguishing the significa-

tion of the words. The *Chinese* people therefore pronounce all things well and with ease, without knowing what tones or accents mean; only the learned being acquainted with them. There can be no doubt made hereof when we consider, that the fathers missionaries, who go into *China* with only two years application, preach, hear confessions, and write in that language as if it were natural to them; tho' they go into those parts well advanced in years; which is the reason they have writ and printed abundance of books, which are admir'd and valu'd by the *Chinese* themselves.

If those who are best and most ready at invention, have a more lofty wit than others, the *Chinese* are doubtless to be prefer'd before other nations, because they have been the first inventors of writing, of paper, of printing, of gun-powder, of fine porcellane, and of several other things. If they want several sciences it is for want of communication with other people; and yet they are consummate in moral philosophy, to which they apply themselves very earnestly; and by the sharpness of their wits easily come to understand the books writ by the missionaries, upon nice and difficult questions in mathematicks, philosophy and divinity.

What kingdom is there in the world so full of universities as *China*? There are certainly above ten thousand licentiates, whereof six or seven thousand meet every three years at *Peking*, where, after severe examination, three hundred sixty five are admitted to the degree of doctors. I believe there are not so many students in any kingdom, as there are batchelors in *China*, for they are counted above ninety thousand; nor that there is any country where the knowledge of letters is so universal and common; for especially in the southern provinces there is not a man rich or poor, citizen or peasant; but can at least write and read. In short, it is certain that no part, except *Europe*, has publish'd so many books.

The *Chinese* chronicles are as ancient as the flood, beginning but two hundred years after it; and have been continu'd to this time by several authors; by which it is easy to judge what a number of volumes they make. They have abundance of books of moral philosophy, which treat of nature, its properties, and accidents, several others of the mathematicks, and concerning the art of war; most ingenious

GENEAL 1696. nious and delightful romances, and books

of knight-errantry, like *Amadis, Orlando*, and *D. Quixote*; infinite volumes of history, and examples of the obedience of children towards their parents, and of the fidelity of subjects towards their king; of husbandry, of fine speeches, of delightful poems, of tragedies, of comedies, and upon infinite other subjects too tedious to relate. The most wonderful thing is to see with what ease they compose them, which is such, that there is scarce any doctor or licentiate but publishes one or two works. They

Physick.

also exert their wit in physick, whereof they have writ excellent treatises. True it is, they pretend to discover much by the pulse, as to know the distemper, and apply the proper remedies; but I cannot be persuaded it is so much as father

See Narcisse.

Daniel Bartoli magnifies it in his history of *Cbina*, Part 3. Pag. 62 & 63; where he says that the *Cbinese* physicians never ask the patient any questions of his present condition, nor how it has been with him since he fell sick, which they would look upon as betraying their ignorance; but taking the sick person aside, they feel his pulse with great attention for about half an hour; and by the diversity of its irregular motions, which they nicely discern, they discover, conceive and declare all that has happen'd to the patient till then day by day, and foretel what will befall him; wherein, as the father says, they far out-do our physicians of *Europe*. This indeed is a notable way of practising physick, and not human, but prophetick, and divine. In *Europe* there are schools where physick is taught, but in *Cbina* there is none; and if a son having learn'd it of his father, finds not his account in it, he leaves it, and takes to a more profitable trade, for the *Cbinese* are expert at every thing. What I can affirm for a certainty is, That these physicians, as much better than ours as they are, shun with all possible diligence the taking charge of the cure of *Mandarines*, and great lords; for if any one dies under their hands, the kindred beat him to death; and the experience they have of their skill makes them rather put themselves into the hands of an *European* surgeon, than of the best of them. As a proof hereof, I saw a surgeon of *Macao*, whilst I was at *Canton*, going up to court into the emperor's own service, having been employ'd by him before, and being gone then with his leave to see his wife; and if the *Cbinese* were such prophets, and *Esculapius's*, I do not think the emperor himself would seek after *Europeans*. Father

Bartoli adds, That their great cure is fasting, keeping the patient seven, fourteen, and even to twenty days without giving him the least morsel of sustenance, but as much water as he would drink, and two, three, or four times, the juice of pears. I fancy if father *Bartoli* had been so fasted but six days, he had not been able to publish so many choice works; and the *Cbinese* are flesh and blood as we are, and of a much tenderer constitution. It is also to be observ'd, that the *Cbinese* physicians at the same time play the apothecaries; and wherever they go, their servant carries their drugs after them. If they are not call'd a second time, they never return; for the patient is free to make use of any other without affronting them. They are paid for the medicine, not for the visit, and therefore to satisfy their covetous disposition they never omit to purge, tho' there be no occasion for it; applying stones, seeds, roots, herbs, leaves, bark, and other simples, whereof they get the knowledge in books, where they are drawn, and their virtues describ'd. In this particular they follow the aphorisms of an antient emperor of theirs, who was an excellent botanist, and physician, his name *Jenti*. Scarce any of them lets blood in the most scorching fevers. Such is the art of the wise physicians of *Cbina*; but the mad ones are much more numerous, and a thousand times more in request. These boast of a wonderful secret they have, to make old people young at any age whatsoever; others to make them immortal, and so they go about selling their antidote against death. It is not only the simple ignorant people that are catch'd in this foolish trap, but the wisest and most learn'd; who placing all their happiness in this world, purchase that precious liquor at a vast expence, which they hope will make them immortal, and tho' often deceiv'd, yet they never fail to be ensnar'd again, inasmuch, that to avoid death, they destroy themselves in the prime of their age.

Among the rest the *Cbinese* have five books, call'd *Ukim*, or the five writings, held in as great veneration among them, as the holy scripture is among us. The first of them is call'd *Xun-Xim*, The first that is, the chronicle of the five antient kings; the three last whereof were heads of three several families, that reign'd two thousand years, almost double the time of the nineteen following families, including that of the *Tartars* now reigning. The first of these emperors name was *Yao*, who according to their histories began his reign 4057 years ago, or

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500 years after the flood, according to the chronology of the *Septuagint*. This prince and *Chinese* law-giver, perceiving that his son was not duly qualify'd to govern (for as the *Chinese* tell us, virtue was then regarded above any thing) he chose for his companion, a subject whose name was *Xun*, whom at his death he declar'd emperor, leaving him his two daughters for wives.

Xun, the second emperor, is highly commended in the aforelaid book for his virtue, and particularly for his obedience to his father, and love to his brother.

Tsu, the third emperor, having serv'd his predecessor *Xun* faithfully, was by him at his death declar'd his successor, not regarding his own son, who was not so fit to govern. This man during his predecessor's reign employ'd himself in draining the waters of the flood, which then cover'd part of the plains of *China*; which the *Chinese* call'd *Xun-Xui*, that is, great deluge of waters. The succeeding emperors, rul'd by right of inheritance, not of election, till the emperor *Kie*, a cruel man, and last of this first royal family.

The fourth emperor was *Chim-Tam*, sprung from the second family. He took up arms against the emperor *Kie*, and possess'd himself of the empire. In his time there was a dearth of seven years, during which time no snow, nor rain fell, the springs, and rivers were almost dry'd up, the earth became barren, and so of consequence there follow'd famine and plague. In this distress the emperor quitting his palace and royal robes, clad himself in skins, and prostrating himself on a hill call'd *Samlin*, offering up this prayer to heaven. *Lord, if thy People have offended thee, Punish them not, because they have done it without knowing what they did; rather Punish me, who bere offer my self up as a Victim, to atone all your Divine Justice shall think fit.* No sooner had he done speaking these words, but on a sudden the sky was cover'd with clouds, which pour'd down so much rain, as sufficed to water all the lands of the empire, and cause all sorts of fruit to grow in a short time. The line of that emperor *Chim-Tam* reign'd above six hundred years, till the emperor *Chen*, who was cruel like *Kie*. When the *Chinese* call a man a *Kie*, or a *Chen*, it is as if among us we should call him a *Nero*, or a *Domitian*.

The fifth emperor was *Vu-Vam*, who overthrew *Chen* in battle, and possess'd himself of the empire. He having a wife and virtuous brother, made him king of the kingdom of *Lu* (at present

contain'd within the province of *Xanung*) GEMELLI 1696. and dying, left him governor of the empire, during his son's minority. To him the *Chinese* assign the discovery or invention of the load-stone, or compass, two thousand seven hundred years since, which afterwards the emperor his nephew made known to the ambassadors of *Cochinchina*, who brought the tribute, that by the help of it they might return home the strait way, without being put to the trouble of fetching a compass as they did when they came. The history of these five emperors, look'd upon as holy men by the *Chinese*, especially the four first, and of their descendants, is the subject of the first book; which has as much reputation among them, as the book of kings in the bible among us. Its style is antient, but polite and elegant. There vice is run down, and virtue extoll'd; and the actions of the emperors and their subjects impartially related.

The second book is call'd *Li-ki*, that The 2d book is, the book of rites, or ritual, and contains most of the laws, customs, and ceremonies of the empire. The chief author of it was the emperor Vu-Vam's brother, before mention'd, whose name was Chen-cum; it also contains the works of several other authors, disciples to Confucius, and of other modern commentators.

The third book is call'd *Xi-Kim*, that The 3d is, book of verses, romances, and poems divided into five sorts, one to be sung in honour of famous men, with a sort of verses repeated at obsequies, sacrifices, and ceremonies perform'd by the Chinese, in honour of their ancestors. The second of romances, which were recited before the emperor and his ministers; invented to describe the customs of the people; the manner of the government, and all the affairs of the empire; as in the Greek plays the faults of private persons, and of the publick were remov'd. The third was call'd the way of simile, because all it contain'd was express'd by comparison, and similitudes. The fourth sort was call'd lofty, because in a more elevated style it gave information in several matters, to delight the understanding, and gain attention to what follow'd. The fifth is call'd, rejected poems, because Confucius having perus'd the book, rejected some he did not approve of.

The fourth book was compos'd by The 4th Confucius, and contains the history of the kingdom of Lu, his native country; for which reason the Chinese hold it in great esteem. He writ this history of two hun-

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GENEBLI dred years, in the nature of annals; where he represents to the life the actions of virtuous and wicked princes, according to the time and places where they happened; and therefore he calls it *Chun-chieu*, that is, spring and autumn.

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The fifth book is call'd *Ts-kim*, and is accounted the antientest of them all; for the *Chinese* lay *Fo-bi* their first king was the author of it. The book very well deserves to be read and valu'd, for the excellent sentences and moral precepts it contains; and the *Chinese* have a peculiar veneration for it, believing it the most learned, the profoundest, and most mysterious in the world; for which reason, they think it impossible to understand it thoroughly, and therefore improper for strangers to see or touch it.

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They have one book more of equal authority with these others, which they call *Su-xu*, that is, the four books, as being above all others. These are an extract, or epitome of the other five; and thence the *Mandarines* take the sentences, which they give as a theme to the learned, who are examin'd in order to take the degrees of bachelors, licentiates, and doctors. It is divided into four parts; the first treats of the laws and the doctrine of the men renowned for wisdom and virtue. The second of the golden mean. The third contains a great number of moral sentences, well express'd, solid and profitable for all members of the state; which three parts are the works of *Confucius*, the first *Chinese* doctor, publish'd by his disciples. The fourth part which in bulk is equal to the other three, was writ by the philosopher *Mem-cu*, who was born an hundred years after *Confucius*; and is esteem'd by the *Chinese* as a doctor of the second rank. This is a very eloquent, and ingenious work, full of weighty moral sentences. All the missionaries in *China* study the letters and language in this volume; from which and the five abovemention'd are deriv'd, as from their source, so many books and comments of several antient and modern authors, that their number is almost infinite; which is a great argument of the extraordinary wit, industry, and eloquence of the *Chinese* nation, which from the meanest condition raises it self to the greatest dignities in the empire by dint of ingenuity and learning, try'd by severe and repeated examinations, so rigorously contriv'd, that there is no place left for favour, so that no man's affection can raise one that is undeserving, nor hatred depress, or cast down the worthy.

The wit of the *Chinese* is no less wonderful and sublime in mechanick arts, than it is in sciences; and the more, because what they know they owe to none but themselves, having always kept themselves at a distance from all other nations, as if they were in a separate world. This has happen'd, because by most antient laws they are forbid having any communication with strangers, or going abroad to travel, nor to admit foreigners among them; and for this reason there is no doubt they want the knowledge of several useful things, which is gain'd by the commerce of one nation with another. Yet it cannot be deny'd to be more honourable to be beholding to themselves alone for the invention of little less than all curious arts, which are to be found in any other polite nation. It plainly appears how sharp-witted the *Chinese* are, and how much they exceed the *Europeans* in ingenuity, in that the latter, as some authors will have it, learn'd of them the art of printing, of making paper, of using the load-stone, of casting cannon, and making powder for it. To return to their mechanicks, they are most excellent workmen at engraving on precious stones or crystal, or at cutting them in relief; and at other works of admirable curiosity. They also make watches, having found out the art by seeing ours; and most exact spectacles for all ages. As for the matter they make them of, they had an old invention to make a sort of glass of rice, tho' not so clear as ours, and more brittle. True it is, that a mean price being no way agreeable to curious workmanship; all the study of the *Chinese* is to make their work look fine, because the buyers are very sparing in their expences; but if the reward were suitable to the labour, they would do wonders. There are none like them for cleansing and whitening wax, as well the common bees-wax, as another sort peculiar to them, which is gather'd from certain worms upon the trees; and another which drips from the body, or is squeez'd from the fruit of certain plants, but this is not so fine as the others. The very butchers shew their dexterity; for when they kill hogs, they artificially force a great deal of water into all parts of the carcase through the veins of the feet, that they may weigh the more.

They weave excellent stuffs of paper, silk, and gold, plain, or wrought, like sarcenet, taffety, satin, and velvet; and in the figur'd, the birds, beasts, flowers, or what else they please is so artificial

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artificial that it looks like embroidery, tho' it be but plain weaving. The worst is they have no good draughts, and their figures are all lame. They know not how to paint in oil, but only with a sort of varnish they have; nor can they shadow regularly, because they do not take a settled light, and according to it dispose their darker or brighter colours as they ought to do; nor can they tell how to temper and mix colours. But they work to a prodigy in carving, even upon the hardest stone, making most delicate works cut through, as flowers with all their perfect leaves distinct, and chains all of one piece of marble, with every link loose, wrought by dint of incredible patience, and other such like extravagancies. They also understand casting, even of statues like giants, where-with they chiefly adorn their temples; but tho' they are beautiful for the gold they are adorn'd with, they are very misshapen. There are twelve of these in the province of *Honan*, which still stand upright on their pedestals, after 1800 years since they were set up. They cast iron, and make many more uses of it than we do; and tho' the great guns they cast be rough, and irregular, yet they deserve commendation for having invented them, and powder; with which they make most admirable fire-works; and the quantity they consume after this manner is so great, that father *Matthew Ricci* judg'd what he saw spent in one of the two greatest cities at the feast of the new-year, would have serv'd to have maintain'd us in war three years; which feast being celebrated in all parts with equal joy and solemnity, we must own, that what he saw was but the least part of the vast quantity burnt throughout all the kingdom.

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As concerning the *Chinese* architecture, it is regular, and has certain rule and method; as appears by their ancient books of their excellent masters now extant, and much more in the structures to be seen; so great and beautiful that they may more than vie with those so much celebrated ancient *Roman* buildings; besides that the number is every where incomparably greater. As for arch'd bridges over royal rivers, and great arms of the sea, they are stupendious, either for the matter or workmanship. One of the great works of the *Chinese* is the towers, whether those that are design'd to eternize the memory of some men accounted hero's among them for their excellency in learning, or soldiery, or those that are only for ornament to the cities, royal-palaces, bridges, and

other publick structures; or those consecrated to some idol, as the two so much celebrated which are on the side of the temple of the idol *Fe*: They are certainly wonderful for the fineness of the marble they are made of; for the equal beauty and majesty art has conferr'd on them; and for their incredible height, each of them being an hundred twenty six pearches high. But those are stupendious beyond all that can be express'd, which are built by any city, upon a vain opinion, that they will preserve them from all disasters, and make them as happy as may be, so they be seated, and begun to be built in a fortunate place, and moment of time; according to the appointment of their diviners who profess this art.

The *Chinese* musical instruments wholly differ from ours as well in their shape, as the manner of playing on them. And not to speak of those made of stone, brass, and of skins extended after several manners; they have some of one only string, of three, and of seven, which are their lutes, and violins; and another most antient sort, partly like our harp; but their strings are not small guts, nor of metal, but of raw silk twitted. In their less noble sort of wind-musick it may be said they have some excellency; if there can be any excellency in a sort of musick, which has not variety of tones, nor keeps any rule of time, or notes; nor knows any rules of concord, and harmony, or the difference of treble, alt, tenor, base, and other varieties which compose the delight of musick. So that sometimes an hundred musicians are heard keeping the very same tone, and never parting from the same note. Among their musical instruments there is one made of a piece of wood, with nine thin plates of metal hanging to it, on which they play with a little hammer very pleasantly.

The art of navigation is one of the greatest honours of the *Chinese* nation. They invented the sea-needle, or compass (for in *China* in the iron mines is the best load-stone in the world) and by the help of it their kings conquer'd distant islands in that archipelago; as still appears by the memory there remaining of the *Chinese* domination.

They write like the *Hebrews* from the right hand to the left, and the lines do not go a-cross, but from the top of the leaf to the bottom. Their paper is extremely thin, and yet they write with the whole fist, after a manner, very unhandy to us, but easy to them that are us'd to it. The ink they use is not liquid,

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quid, but lamp-black made into a paste with gum-water, which they dry in cakes as long as a man's finger. When they would write they rub it on a hard stone, which is their ink-horn, with a few drops of water, more or less, as they have occasion, and then use it with a fine pencil.

Printing. They do not print like us but in stone or wood, as follows. The composition being writ out in excellent fair characters, which they value themselves upon, the paper which is extraordinary thin and transparent, is pasted on a board of pear-tree, or apple-tree, as smooth as possible may be; with the writing next the board, that when printed the letters may come right again. Then the characters are cut with a small tool or pen-knife, so that their lines may rise, and the wood about them be lower than they; as among us the cuts are made on wood for printing. Nor does this require great labour, or much time, but it is done much sooner than our printers can compose and correct. The price of cutting is so small, that volumes are printed for a small matter. After printing, the boards are return'd to the author, because they are his, and he pays the cutting of them.

It is also us'd sometimes to print with stone, but the method is quite contrary to the other, for the characters are cut in, and the superficies of the stone remains above them, and therefore the ink being laid upon the stone when it runs through the press, the paper remains black, and the characters white; but they must be pretty large, otherwise they would be confus'd. Thus the printing of *Cbina* is unlike to, and worse than ours; for their letters made of so many dashes, knots, and crooked lines cannot be express'd in so small a figure as ours, who have some so small, that a great work may be brought into a small volume. As for the paper, they outdo us in largeness of sheets, I having seen some as big as sheets for beds, and all throughout of an equal fineness; but they are not of equal whiteness; besides, that they are of so little substance, and so thin, that they are not printed on both sides, because the characters appear quite through. Some is made of silk; another sort of cotten steep'd, and reduc'd to a paste; another of the pith of certain canes, and of other trees, but they are not lasting.

CHAP. X.

Of the great Industry and Navigation of the Chinese.

Industry.

THE magnificence and great number of publick structures in *Cbina* is not only the effect of a vast expence, but of their extraordinary industry. Thus they perform all sorts of mechanick works with fewer instruments, and more ease than we do. They have an admirable invention to buy and sell, and find a way to live: And as throughout the whole empire there is not a foot of land that lies waste; so neither is there any man or woman, old or young, halt, lame, deaf or blind that has not some employment to get bread. Therefore it is become a general proverb, *Cbum-que-yu-y-vo*, that is, in the empire of *Cbina* there is nothing lost; and so it is, for tho' a thing seem never so vile and useless, it serves for something, and yields a profit. For instance, in the city of *Peking* there are above ten thousand families, who have no other trade to live on but selling of matches to light the fire, as many more that subsist upon gathering all sorts of rags in the streets and walks, and bits of paper, and the like, which they afterwards wash and sell to others, who make several uses of

them. Their inventions for carrying of burdens, are also remarkable, for they do not carry by strength of arm, or on their backs, as is us'd among us; but fasten the burden with cords, or hooks in two baskets, which they afterwards hang at the ends of a piece of wood made smooth and fit for the purpose, they lay over their backs like a pair of scales to ballance, and so carry with much ease. This is no other than as a common yoke us'd among us to carry buckets.

In every city of the empire there are two towers, the one call'd of the drum, and the other of the bell, which serve for the centinels to strike the hours in the night. The *Chinese* divide the night into five parts, either greater, or smaller, as they are longer, or shorter. At nightfall the centinel gives several strokes upon the drum, and the bell answers, after the same manner: Then during the first division, the one centinel strikes a single stroke on the drum, and the other answers with one on the bell; after about a minute they both strike again on the drum and bell, and so continue

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till the second part of the night begins. Then they begin to give two strokes, and so hold on till the third part; so in the third they give three, in the fourth four, and in the fifth five. At break of day they redouble their strokes, as they did at night-fall. Thus whensoever a man wakes, in any part of the city, he hears the sign (provided the wind does not hinder) and knows what a clock it is. Within the king's palace in *Peking* there is a great drum in a tower, and in another a large bell of a pleasant and harmonious sound, and in those of the city a great bell and a drum fifteen cubits diameter. They have found out a method to measure the parts of the night which well agrees with their wonderful ingenuity. They make a sort of paste of the dust of a certain sort of wood (the learned and rich men of *Sindal*, eagle-wood, and others that are odoriferous) and of this paste they make sticks of several sorts, drawing them through a hole, that they may be of an equal thickness. They commonly make them, one, two, or three yards long, about the thickness of a goose quill, to burn in the *Pagods* before their idols, or to use like a match to convey fire from one thing to another. These sticks or ropes they coil, beginning at the center, and so form a spiral conical figure, like a fisherman's wheel, so that the last circle shall be one, two, or three spans diameter, and will last one, two, or three days, or more, according as it is in thickness. There are of them in the temples that last ten, twenty, and thirty days. This thing is hung up by the center, and is lighted at the lower end, whence the fire gently and insensibly runs round all the coil, on which there are generally five marks to distinguish the five parts of the night. This method of measuring time is so exact and true, that they scarce ever find any considerable mistake in it. The learned, travellers, and all others, who will rise at a certain hour to follow their business, hang a little weight at the mark that shews the hour, they have a mind to rise at, which when the fire comes thither, drops into a brass basin set under it, and so the noise of it falling awakes them, as our alarm-clocks do; but with this difference, that their invention is more easy, and one that will last twenty four hours does not cost above a grain of *Naples* coin, whereas our clocks are made of several wheels, and so dear, that only the rich can purchase them.

Navigation is universal throughout all the empire; for there is scarce any ci-

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ty, or village, especially in the southern GEMELLI 1696. provinces) but enjoys the convenience of some river, lake, canal, or arm of the sea that is navigable; so that there are no fewer people on the water, than on the land. It is no less pleasant than wonderful to see wherever there is a city on the land, another of boats is on the water. When vessels set out early in the morning, or come in late at night, they pass for some hours among multitudes of boats on both sides of the rivers. Some of these ports are so much frequented, that it takes up half a day to get out a-crofs the boats; and therefore it may be said there are two empires in *China*, one on the land, the other on the water. These boats serve the owners instead of houses, who are born and bred, and die in them, and there they dress their meat, keep cats and dogs, and breed swine, hens, ducks, and geese.

There are several sorts of boats great Sorts of and small, for the Emperor, *Mandarin* boats. *rines*, merchants, and common sort. Among the emperor's boats, those they call *Co-chuen*, serve to carry *Mandarines* to, and from their employments. They are built like our caravels; but so lofty, and so curiously painted, especially the cabin where the *Mandarine* lies, that they look more like structures provided for some publick solemnity, than common boats. Those they call *Leam-Chuen*, that is, boats appointed to carry all sorts of provisions from the provinces to the court, are not so large, and to the number of 9999. The vanity of that nation made them not add one more to make up 10000, because this number is writ with only two *Chinese* letters, 2, and *Van*, which have nothing that is great and magnificent either in writing or speaking, and therefore do not deserve to be us'd to express so great a multitude of boats. The third sort of the emperor's boats is call'd *Lum-y-Chuen*, that is, boats that carry to court the emperor's garments, silks, and brocades. There are as many of these, as days in the year, or three hundred and sixty five, because the emperor calling himself the son of heaven, all things belonging to him generally take their names from heaven, the sun, the moon, the planets, and stars. Thus *Lum-y*, signifies, the dragon's garment, because the king's device consists of dragons with five claws, and therefore his cloaths and moveables must of necessity be adorn'd with dragon's embroidery'd, or painted. In fine, there are other light boats, call'd *Lam-Chuen*, which are long and slender, and serve the learn-

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GENEAL, or rich men that go to, or come from court. Within them is a fair chamber, or great cabin, a bed, a table, and chairs, to sleep, eat, study, write, and receive visits, as conveniently as if they were at home. The mariners or watermen keep in the head, and the owner of the boat with his wife and children in the stern, where he dresses meat for them that hire the boat. This last sort, and several others belong to private persons, and are almost innumerable.

Floats.

There is also an incredible number of floats of all sorts of wood, going up and down the rivers and canals of *Cbina*; which if they were all put together, would be enough to make another bridge like that of *Xerxes*. Sometimes they fill several hours, and now and then half a day among these floats, which are sometimes made of canes; because all sorts of wood sells well, and yields a good profit. They go to cut timber in the province of *Suckuen*, on the western frontiers of *Cbina*, whence they convey it to the bank of the river *Kian*, (by the *Chinese* call'd the son of the sea, as being the greatest in the empire) and joining them into floats, carry them to several provinces with little charge, and

sell them to good advantage. The length and breadth of these floats is more or less according to the merchant's ability; the longest are half a *Spanish* league, rising two or three foot above the water. They make them after this manner. They take as much timber as is requisite for their length and height, and boring it at both ends, run ropes made of canes through the holes, and to these they fasten other trees, letting the float run down the river, till it be of the length they design. Then four men stand upon the end with oars and poles, who steer, and make it go as they think fit, and others about the middle to forward and conduct it. Upon them they build wooden huts at equal distances, cover'd with mats or boards, which they sell all together, where they find chapmen. They lie in these huts, and keep their goods in them. After this manner a vast quantity of wood is convey'd to *Peking*, tho' above seven hundred *Portuguese* leagues distant from the mountains where it is cut. By what has been said it will be easy to judge whether any country in the world out-does the *Chinese* in numbers of seamen.

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A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part IV.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
CHINA.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the Nobility, Empire, Civility, Politeness, and Ceremonies of the Chinese.

IF we apply the word nobility to the state, and it be taken in a general sense, as it denotes a grandeur and magnificence continu'd for many ages; it is most certain there never was in the world a more glorious empire than that of *China*; for it began 200 years after the flood, and has lasted till this day, for the space of about 4559 years. But if we mean only nobility of men, it must be own'd there is but little, for the following reason. All the great lords of *China*, who are like so many dukes, marquesses, and earls, continue in that state no longer than the reigning family, and all perish with it; because the family that rises instead of the other that falls, puts them all to death, as has been seen in our times. For this reason there was never any nobler family there than that of *Cheu*, which continu'd 875 years, and expir'd 2200 years since; no other since extending to 300 years. This is to be understood of nobility acquir'd by the sword; for that which is got by the gown, was never of any considerable duration. For tho' a man should rise to be *Xam-Xu*, which is the supreme dignity of the sovereign courts at *Peking*; or *Kolao*, that is, first minister, which is the highest pitch of honour and wealth that fortune can raise a *Chinese* to; yet his sons and grand-children will be extraordinary poor, and forced to be merchants, retailers, and meer scholars, as their predecessors were. In short, there is no family of gown-men, that has continu'd great as long as any of the reigning families.

Nevertheless that which is the common calamity of the learned men, is among the descendants of swords-men

an effect of their enemies cruelty, whose families would otherwise have continu'd great and noble as long as the empire it self. However there still flourishes a family, which has not only preserv'd its honour for above two and twenty ages, but is at present equally honour'd by the great men, and commonalty, so that it may truly be accounted the antientest family in the world. It is the family of the famous *Confucius*, who liv'd under the third imperial family, call'd *Cheu*, 551 years before the birth of Christ, which this year 1699, is 2250 years. The ancient kings gave the race of *Confucius* the title of *Que-Cum*, which is something like a duke, or a count; and they continue like sovereigns, free from all taxes in the province of *Xantung*, and city of *Kio-feu*, where he was born; without having been ever molested, tho' the empire and reigning families have been several times oppress'd. The *Chinese* give this philosopher the most honourable titles of *Cum-ju*, *Cum-su-ju*, and *Xim-gin*; the two first signify doctor, and master; the third, holy man. So that when they say the saint, or holy man, it is to be understood of *Confucius*; he being accounted among the *Chinese* a man of an extraordinary and heroic prudence. This nation has so great a veneration for this philosopher, that tho' it does not hold him as one of its gods (but rather looks upon it as an affront to have him reputed such), yet it honours him with more ceremonies than it does the very idols; giving him titles since his death, which he could never obtain whilst living; as, *Su-Vam*, that is, king without command, without scepter, and without a crown; and precious stone without any light, to express that he had all

See
General.

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GENELLI the qualities belonging to a king, or emperor, but that heaven was not favourable to him.

Many volumes might be fill'd with the *Chinese* civilities and ceremonies. They have a book which contains above 3000; and it is wonderful to see how exactly they observe them. At weddings, funerals, visits, and entertainments, the master of the house, tho' he be a great lord, and of more eminent quality than any of the guests, yet gives the upper-hand to his elders, these give it to them that come from far off, and all of them to strangers. When an ambassador comes, from the day he is admitted as such, till he departs *China*, the emperor furnishes him with all necessaries; even to horses, litters, and boats. At court he lodges him in the royal house of entertainment, where every other day, he sends him from his own kitchen, a treat ready dress'd; for he glories much in entertaining strangers honourably.

No nation has so many honourable names and titles, as the *Chinese* give one another in their compliments. They have also a great number of names to distinguish the several degrees of kindred: for example, we have one we name grandfather and grandmother, to denote both the father and the mother's line, but they have four several titles. So we have no name but that of uncle, to signify both our father and mother's brothers, and the *Chinese* have names to distinguish every sort. They also outdo all other countries in their care of making a good appearance, for there is no man so poor, but is decently and neatly clad. At the new year they are all trim'd up, and in new cloaths, so that there is not one, tho' never so poor that can offend the eye. Their modesty is no less to be admir'd. The learned are always so compos'd, that they think it a sin to make the least motion, which is not agreeable to the rules of decency and civility. The women are so bashful, modest, and reserv'd, that these virtues seem to be born with them. They live in perpetual retiredness; never uncover their hands; and if they are oblig'd to give any thing to their brothers, or kindred, they hold it with their hand cover'd with the sleeve (which for this purpose is long and wide) and lay it on the table that the kinsman may take it up.

The *Chinese* reduce all their breeding to five heads; that is, the manner of behaviour between the king and his subjects; between the father and son, the husband and wife, the elder brother and the younger, and friend and friend. These rules make up a considerable part of their

morals, and are so tedious, that it is hard to decide, whether the *Chinese* ceremonies are to be reckon'd among their virtues, or vices; for on the one hand, they are certainly extraordinary courteous and mannerly; inasmuch that their country deserves the title they give it, of the genteel kingdom; but on the other hand it must be said, that ceremonies are like perfumes, which us'd with moderation are comfortable and beneficial, but in excess do harm and offend. They have such and so many ceremonies, that every indifferent action is attended with as many as would serve at a solemn sacrifice; whence it is, that what in it self is convenient, through the excessive use of it becomes inconvenient.

Their common manner of saluting one another when they meet, is to lift up the arms bow'd, with the hands join'd, from the breast towards the forehead, higher or lower, according to the degree of respect they are to pay; and whilst they do this, they often repeat the word *Zin*. If the person met, be of worth, this lifting and letting fall the arms, begins at least twenty paces from him, after which follows another greater act of respect, which they call *Zeg*, and is bowing the body profoundly, and standing with the feet together, and at the same time lower the hands join'd together, as at first, within the sleeves, bending the forehead as near as may be to the ground. Nor do they perform this facing one another, but side by side, and looking towards the north, if they are in the street and open air, and if in the house facing the front of the room, for they are usually so built, that the door may be to the south. This I believe they do out of the modesty they affect; and that it may not look as if the one receiv'd that halt adoration from the other; as if they ought to pay it out of civility, but not receive it as unworthy; but whatever the reason is, the matter of fact is as mention'd. If learned men who are in employments meet, as they go either a horseback, or in chairs, carry'd by four or more men, the inferior alights and begins to give, and receive the usual compliments. The *Chinese* never take off their caps, for it is look'd upon as indecent for a man to appear before any one bare-headed; and therefore with great reason the popes, to comply in some measure with their custom, have dispens'd with our priests, to celebrate mass, and administer the sacraments in *China*, with the head decently cover'd.

As for civility, the sheet is long, or terms, the visit (with the usual description, the conduct on to this paper be visited it is left and thus times when they hang which it the house his pleasure as to say, with visits, writing of most us'd their common the same reason that I admitted the place given is on the left receiving, a is a task always making. Nor is placing the particular, is, in not their legs and a great stranger lets the house, anger, and it they touch the serv'd that the worthiest person from the wall be very clean over again, as may be upon great sleeve, terously in like a hand. strangers, they perform that which the man as if he were ordinary an host the visitors is to sit first long and tedious length being quarter of an hour with the d Vol. IV.

As for visits among persons of quality, they make none, without sending a sheet of red paper, a span and a half long, on which they write in courteous terms, that they are going to make the visit (without which none would be admitted) without omitting any thing of the usual ceremonies, as well in the subscription, as at the top, according to the condition and quality of the person to be visited. A servant carries this paper before, and if the person to be visited is not, or will not be at home, it is left with any of his domesticks, and thus the visit is fully paid. Sometimes when they will not be at home, they hang a little tablet at the door, on which it is written, that the master of the house is withdrawn to study, or to his pleasure-house; which is as much as to say, that he will not be troubled with visits. This custom of fixing some writing over, or about the door, is most us'd by the learned, as one of their commendable customs, being at the same time a declaration of the person that lives there. When they have admitted the visit of a stranger or friend, the place given him in the northern provinces is on the right, in the southern on the left, and the giving, refusing, receiving, and presently returning of it, is a task which is not soon at an end, always making the bows above-mentioned. Nor is there any less trouble about placing the chairs (the *Chinese* in this particular, imitating the *Europeans*, that is, in not sitting on the ground with their legs across, as is us'd in *Persia*, and a great part of the east) for the stranger sets the chair for the master of the house, and the master for the stranger, and if they are already placed, yet they touch them at least, and it is observ'd that the chair, which is for the worthiest person, be at a certain distance from the wall. Then that they may be very clean, they seem to wipe them over again, and stroke off any dust that may be upon them, with the flap of the great sleeve, which is gather'd so dexterously in the fist, that it all looks like a hand. If there were an hundred strangers, they all, one after another, perform that same dusting or cleaning, which the master accepts so thankfully, as if he were confounded at so extraordinary an honour. Next begins among the visitors the compliment about who is to sit first, and who next, a thing long and tedious only to relate. At length being seated, within less than a quarter of an hour, the servants come in with the dishes of *Chia* or *Tea*; and

if the discourse holds any considerable time, the *Tea* is brought in a second, and a third time. The third signifies dismissing the company, so that he would be look'd upon, as unmannerly, who should not be gone when he had drank; and as well this, as any other thing they bring in, must be taken with both hands, for it would be counted incivility to use but one. Then there are so many ceremonies, repeated bows, and counterfeit grimaces, as if they were really in earnest, in conducting them back to the door; that the fortifying themselves before-hand with *Tea*, seems to be rather of necessity, than a meer act of civility. But the stress of the compliment lies in the master of the house's endeavouring to persuade the visitor, by arguments and prayers, to mount his horse before him; and in the visitor's protesting the world shall be turn'd toply turvy, before he will do such a thing; and in this he persists, and labours till he has got the better; for the master of the house at last, after many bows, which are all answer'd, hides himself behind the door, or under a great umbrella, and then he that has prevail'd, mounts his horse. But as soon as ever he is in the saddle, the other pops out, and in their language bids him *Adieu*; *Adieu*, replies the other, and often repeating it, they part; and not so satisfy'd, at a few paces distance, they send a servant to one another, with a most obliging compliment of thanks.

The sending of presents to one another among the *Chinese*, is as usual as visiting, and custom has prescrib'd laws in this particular. They write on a sheet of paper in a very genteel stile, all they send as a gift, and perhaps, as for the most part it happens, that they are things of a very small value; but generally many of them, and of several sorts. But very often, before the things are sent, the paper goes, and he to whom the present is made, marks down as many as he will receive, and if he who is to make the present has them not, he must buy them. Generally they must be six several things; and it is lawful to accept of all or none, or what every one pleases; but whatsoever is receiv'd, so much must be return'd, not in specie, but in value; so that it is rather exchanging than presenting. It is also the custom to send money, and sometimes the value of a *Naples* ducat, but with some elegant words in writing; for they are prodigal of their breeding, but sparing of every thing else.

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Treats.

As concerning the ceremonies of entertainments: From the day the first invitation is made (which must be some days before, and be repeated three times, or else the invitation would be void and never accepted) till the day after the feast, when they interchangeably send one another thanks; there are so many, sometimes of several sorts, and sometimes the same repeated, that any one who is not us'd to them from his cradle, would think it less trouble to die for thirst, than undergo so many plagues to be made drunk at a *Chinese's* table. But they look upon all these as necessary things, and if any one were omitted they would not think themselves true *Chinese*, but barbarous people, and unworthy to be respected, as they conceive they ought to be, by all the nations in the world. To come to the point; they spend five or six hours of the night appointed for the feast in conversation and pastimes, with musick and plays: And this is so usual at entertainments, that there are companies of actors, who without being call'd, hearing where there is a great supper, come of their own accord to act their plays. Now if the entertainment is not among poor people, there are as many tables as guests, each a cubit broad and a cubit and a half long. The meat is brought in dishes of gold, silver, and purcellane. They use no table-cloths, but clean shining boards varnish'd over with several beautiful colours. Nor do they use napkins, knives, forks, nor spoons; nor do they use to wash their hands before or after meat; because being great lovers of cleanliness, they never touch any thing that is set before them at table with their hands or fingers; but to carry it to their mouth they provide two little sticks (of ivory, ebony, or some other precious wood) slender and about a span long or more; the one held fast between the little finger and the next to it of the right hand, and the other moving with the fore and middle fingers; and thus they eat so dexterously, that they take up a single grain of rice, contrary to our *Europeans*, who have a great deal of trouble before they can use themselves to it: And as for knives they have no need of them, for all is brought up cut into very small morsels. Dishes of fish and flesh always go together, that the variety may delight, being excellently season'd; and rather numerous and various than plentiful or sufficient, and therefore the plates, which are like little wooden dishes, or bowls, in which they bring

the meat, are small, but not those of fauces which are intermix'd to sharpen the appetite. After eating a few bits of that hash that is set before them, they lay down the little sticks, and the glass goes round; for, among the *Chinese*, it is not eating but drinking that makes the pleasure of the feast. But to the end they may hold out drinking six hours or longer, still in their senses, and discouraging of high matters, they provide little cups no bigger than a nutshell; besides they sip it so gradually, that they put it to their lips four or five times before they empty it; being accusom'd not to drink at a draught, but sipping. So whether it be winter or summer, they always drink their liquor very hot; and this is believ'd to be the reason why there, they know not so much as the names of some painful distempers that abound in *Europe*, and proceed from abundance of indigested humours, and weakness of stomach; as also of their enjoying health and strength till seventy eight or eighty, and sometimes a hundred years of age, to which many of them arrive. Their liquor is made of rice bruish'd in water, which being brought to such a strength (like beer or ale) is afterwards distill'd. Now tho' the glasses are so small, they drink so often (especially towards the latter end) that so many litters make such an excessive quantity, that very often their brains are disturb'd; and therefore the master of the house's women, are upon the watch to observe, how many of the guests tumble down the stairs, to make sport at them afterwards with their husband, who never thinks he has made a good entertainment unless somebody goes home drunk; otherwise he thinks, and is troubled that his liquor was not good. But in these feasts they have not that barbarous custom of making those drink that are not a dry, or filling the cup to a man who is so full that he is ready to run over, therefore it is usual to place screens before them that they may not see one another; but the pleasure of the feast, having nothing else to do, and the care of obliging their friend, are as powerful as laws to oblige them to drink till they are drunk; and the weak liquor they use is digested with a very little sleep.

I will conclude this chapter informing the reader, that one of the cardinal virtues (which among the *Chinese* are very many) is civility and decency in every action, and this, not regarding the worth and dignity of the person they honour, but rather to satisfy an ambition that reigns in them all, of appearing

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ing the most courtly and civiliz'd persons in the world. For they use such lofty and high forms of discoursing even with the meanest people, either by birth or profession, as might very well satisfy a prince; as for instance, they give a mulctier the title of the great rod or wand; for it would be a great affront to call him by his right name. Thus every other profession has its proper noble sort of name; and if a man is not acquainted with his condition, whom he discourses, he uses general terms of honour, and calls him brother. There is

besides all this a particular vocabulary, ^{GENERAL} or dictionary, to teach how to name and lessen all things that belong to one self; and to magnify those that belong to another; and to speak otherwise would be look'd upon as a great fault, not in language, but in breeding, and downright barbarous. Even the clowns brought up in the woods, are more mannerly than those in other countries who are bred in cities; and the most courteous and mannerly people among us, in *China* would seem rude and savage.

CHAP. II.

Other Customs of the Chinese.

THE greatest beauty of the *Chinese* women, consists in having very little feet: and because this is a beauty that may be acquir'd by art, which cannot be in the lineaments of the face, they wrap up the feet of the girls newborn, and bind them so hard that they hinder their growth, and make them cripples, there being very few that do not feel it as long as they live. This is the design the ancient wise inventors of this custom had in prospect, viz. To make going uneasy to them; so that if modesty would not keep them at home, the pain of going should be a confinement to them. Tho' this be the chief beauty they boast of, yet do not they expose or show it; for modesty will not permit them to go in such short coats, that their feet, scarce half a span long, may be seen under them. Besides, they always live among themselves, and it may be said in perpetual confinement; remote, not only from the publick, but from their own family; conversing with none but their own sons, and those no longer than they are in the state of innocence, no other setting his foot among them. Their apartment separated from the rest of the house, and without windows to the street, hinders their appearing where they may be seen. They rarely go out of doors, and this the rich ones always do in a chair not a bit of it open, and little less than seal'd up in it, without any the least hole to peep out at. Of all the fifteen provinces, only that of *Tunan* follows another custom in this particular, conforming to the liberty us'd in *Tibet-Tuncbin*, and other adjacent countries. Their garb is very modest, not open-neck'd to show any of the breasts; and unless necessity requires it they never put their hands out

of their sleeves, which are wide, not even when they take any thing that is offer'd them. If it is a man that offers a thing, it would be undecent for a woman to take it out of his hand; but he must lay it on a table or seat, and she take it thence, still with her hand wrapt up and cover'd. Their features and complexion are not inferior to the *European* women, and tho' they have small eyes, lying deep in, and their nose after the same manner, yet they do not look amiss.

This their retired life is the cause ^{Marriages.} they marry, if we may so call it, blindfold; for the bride and bridegroom never see one another till the day she is brought to his house. The fathers make the match without ever seeing or showing the maid, and without asking their sons approbation; or their being allow'd to intermeddle or oppose it. Thus they are often contracted and promised in the cradle, being generally much of an age. The women's portion is no other but her person, and that enough if she is virtuous; but good or bad she carries not her husband a-crofs, and so will not ruin the house she comes from, and where she goes she carries nothing to be proud of, or to upbraid her husband with. On the contrary, the bridegroom some time before the wedding, lends the maid a certain quantity of money, as among indifferent people is usually agreed on, and among the great ones is according to their worth, and when it rises to about a thousand crowns it is counted very great. This is to furnish the bride with household-stuff, cloths, and female ornaments, all which are afterwards carry'd with the greatest state that may be before the bride. The day she is carry'd to her husband, a great attendance goes before

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fore her with kettle-drums, and pipes, and many lighted torches, tho' it be at noon-day. After all comes she, lock'd up in a chair carry'd by four men, and being come to the husband's house, is deliver'd to him in that manner. Then he opening the chair takes out the wife he has never seen before; which, if she does not please him, he cannot possibly reject. The poor buy a wife for three or four crowns, and it is allow'd them to sell her again, if they can find a chapman. He who is so very poor that he cannot buy a wife at so low a rate, seeks out for somebody to sell himself to for a slave, and in recompence receives a wife; with whom, and the children that are born to him, he remains at the disposal of his master. The same happens to a free woman if she marries a slave. For this reason, poor men generally take but one wife; whereas the rich, besides the chief wife, which is of equal quality to themselves, take as many others, or as few as they please. Sometimes they take one of these second wives to get issue, and when they have it, sell the mother again, as having taken her only for that end.

Widows.

The honour and respect they pay to widowhood is very commendable. To marry again, tho' a woman be left in her prime, and without children, is look'd upon as unbecoming; and there are few well-born, who prefer their own satisfaction before their honour; or the title of mothers before that of chaste women. They remain in the father-in-law's house, and there continue in widowhood, under a strict guard, till death.

Modest
condition
of women.

By the laws of the kingdom no man may marry a woman of his own family, tho' the kindred be never so remote. Only the first is counted the lawful wife, tho' they may have as many as they please and can keep. For this reason it is, that they being in the nature of slaves, on account of the price given for them, the husband can sell them again to whom he pleases. And if the woman should happen to be a christian, and therefore refuse to go to the new idolatrous purchaser; she will be compell'd by the magistrate with much beating. A Chinese will make no difficulty of selling his wife, or daughter to a catholic-European if he comes in his way, who may keep her always as a slave in his house, but may not carry her out of the kingdom; and if he will return home he must leave or sell her.

Marriage
when
void.

The Chinese marriage becomes firm and valid and cannot be made void, when

once the bride has accepted of the gold and silver bodkins, bracelets, and other things the bridegroom sends her suitable to her quality. From that time forward, tho' the husband should go out of the kingdom, she never marries again, but will expect him all her life time. It is also customary, when the parents of the bride and bridegroom are agree'd (and they have full authority over their children, whom they never emancipate) to give one another the name, day, hour, month, and year their children were born in, to advise with the astrologers, and when they are of opinion that the marriage may be contracted, they send the presents above-mention'd, and not otherwise.

In China, that son who does not marry, is look'd upon, as if he extinguish'd his father's seed, and were ungrateful to him that gave him his being. So a marry'd woman accounts her self unhappy till she has children; for till she has them, she may not sit at table with her mother-in-law, those who as yet have no issue serving her and the other fruitful one, standing. This is the reason why, to avoid being in such ill repute among other men, there is no man so miserably poor that does not buy him a wife; nor any woman that does not endeavour to be got with child. Yet if they bring two or three girls without a boy between, the mother herself kills and strangles them; saying, the devil is got into the house. This cruelty is most practis'd in the southern parts of China, where the men are forced to seek for wives abroad. Thus the empire of China comes to be more populous than any other that allows of polygamy, because the climate is good, and the women fruitful; it being rare to see any at age of procreation, without one child at her breast, and another by her side, or in her belly.

The magistrates are so intent upon endeavouring to promote the good people of the country; that the superior of the Franciscan missionaries in Canton, had like to make me die with laughing, when he told me a story of the petty king of that province, to this purpose. *There were several Women in Prison, being either the Wives, Daughters, or Kindred of Thieves who had been Executed or were fled. The petty King, that they might not be follow'd, marry'd them by Lot to the other Prisoners, after this manner. Having caus'd them all, young, old, hale and lame, to be brought to his Court, he made every one leave some particular Token upon the Ground, then turning them by, brought in the Women,*

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ordering them to chuse every one a Husband, taking up one of those Tokens. This done, the Husbands appear'd, and making every one own his own Token: There appear'd a young Woman marry'd to an old or lame Man, and a blind or halt to a young One. The young Men or Women so ill match'd made a thousand Complaints, but the petty King, who was a pleasant Man, being ready to burst with laughing, upbraided them with their own Indiscretion in not making a good Choice; saying, they ought to thank themselves for their Misfortune, since the Choice was left to them.

The Tartars do not buy their wives, but receive portions, tho' very inconsiderable. When any one marries his daughter to her equal, the portion is not above eighty cows, eighty horses, eighty garments, and the like number of other things, according to the condition of the couple.

By all that has been hitherto said, the reader may perceive that the Chinese are very sharp-witted, and exceed the Europeans in ingenuity; yet nothing has been said of the cunning of the poor commonalty, taught them by nature to get their living. They are so crafty at cheating, that an hundred eyes would be too little for strangers, tho' never so watchful, to escape them; for they have wonderful flights of hand and other arts to deceive the sight. A thousand most pleasant inventions of theirs are told about. Among others, they carry small sharp tools in their nails which they wear very long, to cut purses. On the contrary, the merchants value themselves upon being just, and are really so, for their oath is inviolable; and they will hazard their head to keep their word; which the Europeans found to their no little astonishment when they first began to trade. And if those who ought to have given, would have follow'd their good example, and return'd honesty for honesty; then they would not have found them in proceeds of time, as they have done, more false and deceitful than themselves. To this purpose I can relate a true story told me by the Spanish fathers missionaries. The Dutch who came from Batavia to Trade in China, would have cheated the Chinese, giving them a great quantity of false Money; which, in a Bargain of some hundred thousand Crowns made in haste, could not all be view'd at leisure. They sign'd the Contract, and the Dutch returning the next Year to buy, they gave them an Oliver for their Rowland. For taking no notice of the Cheat put upon them, as the Ships were dispatching, they said they

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had most admirable new-fashion Stuffs just come from Nanking. In short they show'd the Dutch the Stuffs, and agreeing for several thousand Pieces, when they came to deliver them, and the Dutch had view'd a great many, at last, to avoid the trouble of examining all, because they were to be gone speedily, they took the rest upon Content. The Chinese in a Moment chang'd the Bales for others made up of old Rags, and so the Dutch carrying them away instead of Stuffs, were put upon to more loss than what they got by the false Money. They endeavour'd to be reveng'd the ensuing years, but the Chinese would not admit them to trade. They did not behave themselves so with the Spaniards whilst I was in China; for a vessel coming from Manila to Macao, with one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of eight to buy silks, the Spaniards requiring to have them wrought after their fashion (which differs much from that of China) that they might carry them over to New-Spain, and finding none such ready, they distributed the money among several merchants, for every one of them to furnish so many chests of such work as they agreed upon; and in short, within the space of five months, the silks were wove, and deliver'd punctually according to the price and goodness that had been agreed; tho' among so many there might perhaps be one, that furnish'd the buyers with the quantity, but not the quality of the stuffs; which must not be thought any extraordinary matter, considering the shortness of the time, and the vast quantity, which could not have been got together in Italy, in five years.

As for the outward appearance of the Chinese, it shews them as much men of the parts, as any others whatsoever; not only for their noble garb, but for their gravity, and the modest comportment of their persons, the majesty of their looks, and for their stately and graceful mien. To turn the head lightly about, would look among them, as if a man's brain were light. Oaths or words that have any taste of immodesty, are never heard, but from the mouth of some base mean fellows, and that very rarely. To make love, or play the beau, are things so far from being us'd, that they have no words to express them; because a woman's face is never seen, neither at window, nor elsewhere; for it were almost the same thing to have a Chinese woman seen, as if she were half ravish'd.

Tho' China may be call'd the country of candidates, or men aspiring to preferments, there being no other like it in the world, where every man of the

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meanest condition, thinks he has an undoubted right to become greater than another, and if his learning deserve it, to rise to the highest dignities, above which there is none but the crown; yet they all know how to conceal their emulation, envy, rancour and mortal enmity, under the appearance of sincere affection; and tho' the hatred they bear one another be never so great, yet they never fail to pay one another the ceremony of bowing, kneeling, and bowing the forehead to the ground, according to the dignity and employment of the person; thinking they herein act the manly part, and show themselves easy and well bred. It is a receipt maxim among them, that to draw a sword against one another, is not the part of men; and that war is nothing but a wildness reduced to rules, which the savage beast have not. That humanity is the property of man, and therefore, they pretend there are none like them in the world, for living up to the rules of reason: they affect an easy meek behaviour to such a degree, that to be in a passion among them, is like laying aside humanity, and becoming a beast, or at least a barbarian. Hence it is, that among them there is no open profest enmity, much less any factions, riots, or bloody frays. Their fights are the only weapons they fight duels with; in which the worst thing that can be done (this is to be understood of mean persons) is to tear off ones enemies hair, for the disgrace is more resented, than the pain. The wisest and most honourable persons if they are struck, fly, and that way get the better; because the honour of the battle consists in a man's over-coming himself with virtue, not the adversary with force. So that running away, instead of being a disgrace to the *Chinese*, makes them at once triumph over themselves, and their enemies, who are overcome by the passion of anger, and therefore rather beasts than men. The truth of it is, the *Chinese* are men of courage, little effeminate, and mean-spirited, putting up all wrongs patiently.

Hardiness.

They are at the same time indefatigable, using themselves from their infancy to carry on their back a yoke with two equal weights to it; which they increase from time, to time, as they grow up; from which fatigue, even the poor country women are not exempt, who besides all other femal duties, dig, and do other drudgeries. In the boats they row, or row them along, like so many mares, and do all the service of a sea-man, with a child all the while ty'd to their back; and at night they have no other supper,

but a little boil'd rice, and a decoction of wild herbs, to drink instead of tea.

They have an artificial pot to dress their meat, in which the water goes about, and the fire stands in the middle: so that any thing is boil'd in a shorter time, with less trouble, and cost. Having no other materials to make glass of they make them of rice, as was said before, and of beautiful colours.

They have invented a table or board, call'd with a string of wooden counters, to add, subtract, multiply, and divide, and they are quicker at them, than the best accountant in *Europe*. To tell money, they have another board with an hundred holes, into which they presently clap as many pieces of money, and so they tell them in a moment, and see whether they are good. If they do not like one profession, at the years end, they take to another, being handy at every thing.

They are ingenious in playing at any game; as cards, chess, which they call *Ki*, dice, tables, a sport like fox and geese and the like; but what ruins them, is their *Meima*, at the new year, which is even or odd, guessing at little heaps of money, at which sport they ruin one another.

Some make an ill use of their ingenuity, to make a composition they call *Xi-am*; which being smok'd in a room, puts all the people in it beside themselves, and renders them immoveable, whilst they rob the house. Water is a powerful antidote against it.

The *Chinese* generally drink hot, and fear cold, just contrary to the *Europeans*; nor will any of them ever refresh their palates with cold water, tho' the weather be never so hot, or they drouthy with travelling; but wait patiently till they have it so hot, that it scalds their lips; so that they think it a madness when they see an *European* drink cold liquor. As for their meat, it grows so cold, that it has no relish, they sitting whole days chatting at table, for they are naturally very talkative. This is not us'd only by the poor people, but among the *Mandarines* and great ones; who tho' they furnish their tables with birds-nests, which cost three hundred pieces of eight a measure, the fins of sharks, the finews of stags, precious roots, and other things of great value, yet they prate so long that all grows cold. Besides, all their delight, and the best of the feast consists in drinking, as was said before, to promote which, of the servants appointed to attend each table, one comes every now and then, and kneels down, praying the guests to drink; then comes another, and intreats them to empty their

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their dishes, sometimes one way and sometimes another; for if the guests do not go home drunk, he that treats is much troubled, as if his dinner had not been good and his liquor poor. Therefore to compass their design, after supper, they treat with a play, and after the play, they cover another table with sweetmeats, and then another with fruit, to entice the company to drink, and send them home in their servants arms. Those that are temperate, may pour the liquor on the ground, without being reputed uncivil, by way of pledge, there being a board before them for this purpose, that the others may not observe them. At the conclusion of the feast, they observe a custom, which perhaps no other nation will approve of, which is, that every one of the guests leaves eight or ten pieces of eight, more, or less, according to his quality who treats, in the hands of a servant; and tho' the master of the house (like physicians who hold out their hand at the same time they seem to refuse by words) pretends to be affronted at it, yet the custom is well known, and every one leaves as much as will pay for the play and liquor.

The *Mandarines* use themselves to eat such things as are naturally violently hot, not so much out of riotousness, as to provoke lust, and procure vigour, to please so many women, and get many children by them; and because we have mention'd some sorts of meat quite unknown in *Europe*, it will be proper to give some account of them. The birds-nests are taken on the coast of *Cochinchina*, the islands of *Borneo*, *Calamianes*, and others of the archipelago of *S. Lazaro*, where they are built upon inaccessible rocks, by certain birds like swallows, so artificially that they are eaten steep'd in warm water, to take out any feathers there may be in them. It is not known to this day, whether they are made of clay, or of what the bird fetches from its stomach; but they are of great nourishment, and taste like the *Italian Vermicelli*. The shark is a fish that feeds upon men's bodies, and is found all about the archipelago of *S. Lazaro*; the *Chinese* draw certain sinews out of their fins, which they eat. The root *Injon* is brought out of the province of *Leantung*, and is bought for its weight in gold, because it is excessive hot, and very nourishing, which makes them say, that if a man carries it in his mouth three days together without eating, he will feel no faintness. They also use abundance of spice, and essences for the end we have spoken of.

The laws of the empire are so severe to oblige parents to give their children

good education, that if it happens any of ^{GEMPLE 1696.} them commits a crime, and cannot be taken, the magistrate secures the father, and chastises him, for not teaching his son good manners. The government also takes care of the oeconomy of families, for the publick good; on which account they tell us a very notable passage. A *Mandarine* happened to go along a street, where a mother-in-law was crying out against and cursing her daughter-in-law, and her husband; inquiring into the cause, he gave the emperor an account of it, who order'd that the daughter-in-law, and her husband should be chastiz'd, his father should have his head cut off, and the *Mandarine* of the place be depriv'd of his command.

The *Chinese* smoke much tobacco, but ^{TABACCO} after another manner than is us'd among us. They cut it extraordinary small, and having dry'd it in an oven, they wet it with hot waters to make it strong, and therefore they that are not us'd to it cannot bear the smoke. Tho' they always carry their pipe, and a purse of tobacco by their side, yet they smoke but once an hour, and the women do so too, especially the *Tartars*.

The *Chinese* sit on high chairs, and use ^{Chairs, fans, and umbrells.} tables like ours in *Europe*. They do not value jewels, or other things that have their value only from opinion, but gold and silver which have an intrinsic value. In the city, and about it, they always carry fans, tho' it be winter; and in the country umbrells, tho' they have hoods to defend them against the sun.

They call people by the surname first, ^{Names and surnames.} and then by the name, contrary to the *Europeans*, who speak the proper name first, and then the surname. They do not take the names of their idols, but the sons are call'd by the parents, by the names of the first, second, third, fourth, &c. Others have their name from some accident happening before their birth, as the fortunate, the merry, the pleasing, &c. True it is, that whilst the *Chinese* reign'd, it was customary at fourteen years of age, to give names to the males, putting on their heads the country cap, and the females with the bodkins to bind their hair about, calling them till then, the first, second, &c. which was perform'd with as much solemnity as the wedding; but the *Tartar* now reigning, abolish'd that expensive custom.

The *Chinese* sell all things, even to Food, hens and chickens by weight, but cheap; selling a pound of twenty ounces for twenty *Zien*, which make three grains and a half of *Naples* money. They themselves consume but little, the poor



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GEMELLI 1696. poor people filling their bellies with rice, and herbs dry'd in the sun, that they may lie long in the stomach.

Antiquities.

They have a great esteem for any antique pieces of any metal or shape whatsoever, not regarding the workmanship, so they be old; and therefore the rougher, and more consum'd they are by time, the more they are valu'd, and sold the dearer. They also highly prize antient manuscripts, that are in a fair hand, with the author's seal to them.

Duty to parents.

The names of father and mother in *China* are sacred; the children believing that all the blessings of this life, are the reward of loving their parents, and serving them with humility; nor does history furnish us with examples of any nation, that has so fully paid the filial duty, as the *Chinese* do. There are young labouring men, who for grief of their fathers death, fast all the days of their life, without ever eating fish or flesh, eggs, or any white meat, that this penance may avail their souls.

Superstition.

They are much addicted to superstitions, and auguries. They conclude no match, without consulting the astrologers; nor do they bury the dead without appointing a fortunate day, for which reason in great cities, ten, or twenty thousand coffins, with dead bodies, are carry'd out together to be bury'd in the mountains. All the gates of the courts of judicature, out of a superstitious custom, are made in the south wall. They look upon it as a very ill omen, to have churches erected to the true God, in the country or villages, as fearing some of the people should die upon it. And to say the truth, it looks as if God were resolv'd to try the steadiness of the *Chinese*; for it is actually observ'd, that after the building of some church, more people than ordinary die; as also the brothers, children, and other kindred of the *Chinese* that is newly converted; as the fathers missionaries themselves told me. For this reason sometimes, when the missionaries would erect a new church, the *Chinese* not being able to obstruct it legally, as long as the imperial permission holds, they raise a mutiny of the rabble to overthrow it, so that the missionaries are forc'd to have recourse to the magistrates. This happened to the *Spanish Franciscans*, whilst I was at *Canton*. They going about to build a church in a village, distant from the city, for the use of the christians; and having bought the ground and materials, the peasants mutiny'd, and assembling in a riotous manner, by beat of drum, went to hinder the work. The fathers were forc'd to

get a *Mandarine* to go thither, at the sight of whom, all those peasants fell on their knees along the road, beseeching him to have some regard for their lives, which would not be secure, if the *Europeans* settled in their village. At length the business was compos'd after this manner. The *Mandarine* order'd the work should go on; but that when the master-beam, or highest timber was to be set up, the *Bonzes* should have notice given them; that they might cover the idols, who, otherwise would be frighted to see so high a fabrick rais'd, and thus the peasants might not lose their *Fan-scivvy*, that is their fortune. This superstition extends even to the structures of the *Chinese* themselves, (tho' not look'd upon as altogether so fatal) none being permitted to build his house higher than his neighbours, for fear of taking away their *Fan-scivvy*. In the suburb of *Canton*, going into a *Pagoda*, I saw two live snakes before the idol, in a basin, to try those that were accus'd of theft; so great is their superstition. They were to be laid on the body of the person accus'd; if they bit him, he was reputed guilty; if not, innocent. They call this *Pagoda*, *San-kiai-mian*.

All officers and magistrates pursue robbers severely, to make the roads safe, and take care to extirpate vagabonds, punishing them severely. The blind, the lame, and such like, have employments found for them, according to their ability. The old and disabled are fed by the emperor, who keeps a hundred in every city, more or less according to its greatness. This produces not only peace and quietness, but plenty; because all men apply themselves to tillage, and there is not a foot lies waste throughout the empire. They use some artificial plows that can be drawn by one only buffalo; and they water the land as ingeniously, drawing water from the bottom of the river. Others get their living by fishing, not only with many and divers sorts of nets, hooks, and traps of boughs placed in the water, but with birds like our sea-crows; from whom they cannot escape, tho' they were hid under the sand. The bird eats only the smallest, because the cunning *Chinese* put a ring about its neck, that it may not swallow the great ones.

The birds they catch in nets, snares, and other inventions. The wild geese, as cunning as they are to save themselves, cannot escape; for the better to deceive them, they keep certain floating vessels upon the waters they resort to, and when the geese are after some days well us'd to them, so as not to be afraid, they make

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make two holes in them, and clapping them on their heads, go up to the neck in the water, so that those vessels may seem to be still floating, and thus drawing near to the geese, before accustom'd to see those things, draw them down by the legs, and having catch'd as many as they can carry, come out of the water.

The *Chinese* judges, to deter the people from committing crimes, use to put the body of the party kill'd or murder'd in a coffin, in the house of the murderer, till he compounds with the friends. This I saw practis'd upon *Emanuel de Arango*, at *Macao*, because a servant of his being a black of *Mangiar Massin*,

had kill'd a *Chinese*, who provok'd him ^{GENELLI} by striking him over the face with a ^{1696.} frog, which is a thing they hate. And tho' *Arango* had kill'd the black, and offer'd to pay a thousand *Tayes*, yet he could not prevail with the kindred to consent that the dead body should be taken out of his house. The *Chinese*, tho' idolaters, are not such bigots as those on this side *Ganges*; for they eat beef, swines-flesh, frogs, dogs, (which they are great lovers of, and there are shambles of them) and all sorts of living creatures. Nor do they make any scruple to converse, eat, and contract affinity with christians.

CHAP. III.

The Habit, Weapons, and Coin of the Chinese.

^{Hint of the Chinese} **B**Efore the *Tartars* rul'd, the *Chinese* wore their hair long, winding it about on their pole, as the women do with us (but without making it into tresses) making a large roll of it, through which they us'd to run large silver bodkins, as well to bear it up, as for ornament; so that there are still at *Malaca*, and other places, some of these *Chinese* who are call'd hairy. But since the *Tartars* govern, they have been all commanded to cut it off upon pain of death; and to go after the *Tartar* fashion with their heads shav'd, and only a tuft, as the *Mahometans* wear it; but still with this difference; and the *Chinese* wear it platted, or wreath'd, and sometimes hanging down to their heels. They also forbid their large garments with wide sleeves, to bring up the *Tartar* fashion; which the *Chinese* did, and do still heinously resent.

The *Tartar* habit now worn in *China*, is in summer, a *Maozu*, or cap in the shape of a cone curiously made of silk, or *Indian* canes, and cover'd with red horse-hair; within it is lin'd with taffety, and has a knot to bind it under the chin. In winter they wear it of the same shape, but of silk quilted with cotton, adorn'd about the edge with fine furs, and cover'd with shaggy silk instead of hair. It is generally crimson, and few wear it blew, or black: At the end, or point of it they fix a piece of amber, or glass made of rice.

When they lay mafs, and administer the sacraments, all our missionaries wear a black cap, with four square pieces hanging down from it to the ears, of equal length, and becoming, and behind two labels like those of a bishop's miter. This

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fashion being brought up by the antient learned *Chinese*, the fathers of the society to distinguish themselves have added upon every square three arches like gates, made with a gold breed.

Their shirt is call'd *Kuaziu*, and is laced under the right arm on the sides, and under the throat. It reaches down half way the leg, with long narrow sleeves. Over it they wear wide breeches ^{Breeches} down to their heels, which they call *Ku-Ziu*, or *Zey*, ty'd with a silk ribband, at which hangs the purse of tobacco, the handkerchief, knife, and the little sticks to eat with in a sheath. But the nobility wear a silk girdle with gilt buckles, and jewels. The hose they generally wear are of silk, or cloth of silver, and call'd *Uvazi*. ^{Stockings.}

The nobility add to the shirt (which ^{Upper garment.} serves the mean sort for a vest) a long black garment, call'd *Paozu*, of a violet, or other colour (with narrow sleeves, which at the end have a little turning up like an ear) which when button'd from under the right arm down to the feet, is girt with a silken ribband call'd *Tay-zu*. Over this garment they wear the *Guaytao*, which is exactly like a bishop's rochet, but without the little hood, and with wide sleeves, and this is button'd upon the breast. The learned wear it long, ordinary people short, and the *Tartars* very short.

The learned, who are carry'd about ^{Baskins.} the cities in chairs, wear buskins of silk (instead of shoes) call'd *Xivezu*, of several colours. The common sort who walk a-foot have them of very soft leather, with the soles full of nails, to make them last the longer, and keep out the wet, for they use no heels. The shoes

Y y y worn

GEMELLI worn by trading and inferior people, 1696. are open without any binding, but close behind. They are made of silk, of all colours, with soles of stuff, and they are call'd *Illy*. Both the gentry and commonalty of both sexes, use the fan, or *Scezu* and umbrello, as well in summer as winter.

Women's
apparel.

The women wear the same garment, but button'd before the breast, and straiter about the neck for decency, with the other of the same cut as mention'd above. Their shoes differ from the men's, in that they are close, and with heels. But their head-dress is handsome, because their hair is generally long, and black, and they anoint it with several sorts of oil and gums, to order it as they please. On the forehead they make a roll or bunch with a small iron wound about with silk, which afterwards they cover with part of the loose hair, shining with the oil and gum. With part of the rest they make a roll behind on the pole, and what remains is divided into two locks, which fall gracefully upon the neck, like wings. In the northern countries they wind the hair behind the head without wreathing it, and then cover it with a thing like a little dish, curiously made of silk, and embroider'd. In *Peking* they add a black handkerchief wrapp'd round, because of the violent cold. The maidens, to distinguish them from marry'd women, cut off part of their hair about their forehead and neck, leaving as it were a fringe of it about two fingers long.

Features
of the
Chinese.

The complexion of the *Chinese* is white, like that of the *Europeans*, but they differ in features; because their eyes are generally small and sunk, and their nose tho' small somewhat flat, yet not disagreeable. Their beards are so thin, that some of them have not an hundred hairs, which grow on the bottom of the chin, and upon the lip; and if any happens to grow on the cheeks they pull it off with pincers, so that the beard is long, but very thin. This is the most certain sign to know an *European* among a thousand *Chinese*, and a *Chinese* among as many *Europeans*.

Women.

The women are generally fair, beautiful and more courageous than the men, who are of mean spirits. They value themselves much upon the smallness of their feet (as was said before) and the very old women are so proud, that in spite of wrinkles in their faces, they dress their heads with fine flowers; and punish themselves at that age to boast of small feet.

Weapons.

In war the *Chinese* carry bows and arrows, and a long scimitar, which they

wear the wrong way, with the point forwards, instead of the hilt, and when they would draw it they give a stroke upon the point, which brings the hilt forwards. Fire-arms are us'd but little, but muskets begin to be brought in play, by the emperor's order. In the southern provinces, by reason of their commerce with *Europeans*, they have some fire-locks seven spans long, which carry but a small bullet, and are rather for pleasure, than any use. They carry the scourer in the barrel, so that they cannot fire upon occasion; nor can they fire standing, but stretch'd out with their belly on the ground, so resting it upon a thing like a goat's horns, which serve to take aim by.

Tho' cannon had been long found out in *China*, yet it was not well cast, nor proportion'd; for which reason the *Tartar* emperor, at the beginning of his reign, designing to make use of it in his wars against the *Ulbis*, or western *Tartars*, caus'd it to be cast again and brought to perfection by the direction of father *Verbiest*, a *Flemming* of the society of *Jesus*; for which reason he has been ever since a friend to the *Jesuits*. This train is made use of in the field, as I observ'd at *Peking*, for on the walls of the cities there were only a few small fakers.

The *Chinese* soldiery consists of horse, divided under eight standards, each of an hundred thousand men. To every standard belongs a general, who is always a petty king, or great lord, and is call'd, general of the green standard, of the white, &c. as was said elsewhere. There is a much greater number in garrison along the great wall, but most of them are *Chinese* become *Tartars*, the imperial *Tartary* not being able to furnish so great a number of soldiers. Soldiery descends from father to son; for the emperor does not only allow them competent pay, according to their quality, but also rice for the whole family, the horse and provender for him, without sparing, because all comes from the provinces, which pay it as tribute. The petty kings had pay allow'd them to keep twelve thousand men, and maintain themselves with the due grandeur, besides others they keep at their own expences.

Tho' in *China* gold be cheap and very good; as well that which is taken out of rivers at the full moon, from the trenches made in the channels, as that which is brought in from the neighbouring countries; yet they make no money of it, but pass it by weight. The same happens with the silver brought in by strangers, especially that which comes from

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from *America*. For this reason the emperor of *China* calls the king of *Spain*, the king of silver; because there being no good mine of it in his dominions, all they have there is brought in by the *Spaniards* in pieces of eight, and is here reduced into plates one quarter part finer. In this they pay the emperor's taxes, which the *Mandarines* are to gather of the subjects within their several districts. All this silver remains bury'd for ever in the emperor's treasury at *Peking*, and those of the rich men of the empire, for the *Chinese* stand in need of nothing from abroad. The way of receiving and paying is by cutting little bits of silver, and weighing them in a little scale call'd *Teng-ciu*. They count by *Leans*, or *Tayes*, as the *Portuguese* call them, which is worth fifteen *Carlines* of *Naples*, or a noble; by *Ciers* (or *Mas*

in *Portuguese*) which is the tenth part of GENEVE 1696. the *Tayes*; and by *Fuens*, or *Condorins* the tenth part of the *Mas*. The small brass coin is call'd *Zien* (or *Chappas*) of which fourteen make a *Fuen*. These *Chappas* have been brought up within these ten years last past; the *Chinese* being sensible of the loss there was in cutting a bit of silver to buy fruit, or any thing of small value. They have a small hole in the middle to string them. They give a thousand, or eleven hundred of them for a piece of eight, according as they are bigger or lesser in several provinces of the empire. They are made of *Tuntunaga*, a metal peculiar to *China*, like brads, with four *Chinese* characters on the one side, which compose the emperor's name, and two on the other, expressing the name of the city, or court, where they are coin'd.

CHAP. IV.

Funerals of the Chinese.

buried in the living
AMong the *Chinese*, the being well bury'd is a thing on which the happiness of the dead, and their posterity seem to depend. Hence it is, that not trusting ever to their own children, every man whilst living, and in health, provides himself with two things more particularly; that is, a coffin to be put into when dead; and a lucky place to lay it in. An old man would live in pain, and any other dies almost in despair, if he had not his coffin in the house; and the son would be much afflicted, if after his father's death he were to seek for the stuff to make it, for it being generally six or eight inches thick, and of such wood as if not incorruptible, is at least very lasting, it is therefore hard to be met with. Besides, it must not be narrow, so as only to hold the body; but large and stately, and all the out side of it varnish'd, carv'd, and adorn'd with gold, (if they are able) and they think it no extravagancy to spend some hundreds of crowns upon it, which in *Europe* would cost ten times as much, they that sell it persuading them the wood is brought from parts very remote, and that it is the most lasting in the world. The dearer it costs the more they value it, placing it in their bed-chamber that it may be always in sight.

As for the fortunate place, it is appointed by the cunning and superstitious fortune-tellers; for the most part on the bottom of mountains, or in places hemm'd in with cypress-trees,

if there are no mountains near, for no man may be bury'd within the city. When they have dug the grave under ground arch'd, and lin'd with plaister of *Paris*, that the rain water may not sink through they place about it statues of men in a mournful posture; of beasts of several kinds, and other lasting ornaments, besides the large stones, on which is carv'd in excellent language all that can be said in honour of the dead person. The coffins of great men are placed in large vaults, placing before them an altar of white marble, with a great marble, iron or latten candlestick, and about it other small ones of the same stuff.

As soon as the father is dead, the Ceremonies just after death. son in a raging manner tears down the curtains of the bed, and with them covers the body; then he falls down with his hair loose; and soon after sends his servants to the kindred and friends, giving them notice in writing that he has lost his father. And because the kindred and friends so notify'd, are bound to come to pay the usual ceremonies in honour of the dead man, the greatest room is put into mourning, that is, with mats, or white hempen-cloth, for that is the colour of the *Chinese* mourning. The body in the mean while being wrap'd up close in two or three pieces of extraordinary fine thin silk, as infants are swath'd, they then put on its richest garment proper for the season, with the mark of

of his degree, if he had any; then they put it into the great chest or coffin; and having cover'd the bottom with a layer of *Tinzaö*, and then of other sweet herbs over it, they cover the coffin and nail it down close; and that no ill scent may come through, they stop up all the chinks with pitch, the coffin being also all pitch'd within. Being thus clos'd they adorn it with stars of gold, and placing it at the upper end of the great hall, place on it the picture of the dead person done by the life, and near it a table with perfumes and lights. Then it is lawful for the kindred and friends that were invited, to come in and pay the usual honours to the party deceas'd, and an inscription over the door invites all that pass by to come in. The son in the mean while stands in most doleful manner by the coffin. He is habited in plain hempen cloth, and has a cap of the same on his head, his feet wrap'd in straw, coarse cotton cloths about his ears, and two rings of thick rope on his sides, the ends hanging down to the ground; and every part of this mournful equipage has its peculiar form, according to the unalterable practice observ'd. There is a printed ritual which I have by me, where all the formalities are mention'd, which are proper to every degree of kindred, with the several qualities of persons subjoin'd. As for the son, all the expressing of his sorrow is not comprehended in this doleful appearance. The first night he lies close by the coffin, nor does he for a long time after lie upon any other than a plain straw bed: All dainties are banish'd his table, and particularly all flesh. Instead of great rich chairs, he makes use of poor mean ones, and does other such like pennances, which after a month, begin by degrees to grow easier and easier.

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remonies.

The ceremonies the persons invited are to perform in honour of the person deceas'd, are four profound bows, and as many genuflexions, and stooping till the forehead touches the ground, burning of candles, perfumes, and some gilt and silver paper. This is done, because they believe the soul in the other world will have as much real gold to pay its debts, and gain the favour of the guards that keep the doors of the prisons under ground; so that returning thence, she may come again into this world, and taking a new body be born again; and if good luck attends it, become a learned man, which in *China* is the highest pitch of humane felicity. The kindred and friends use to meet three

or four times together to pay this honour to the dead, after which the funeral does not follow presently, but is put off for some months, and even to three years; for so long, and never less, does the mourning last for a father, in acknowledgment for so many years he carry'd his son a child in his arms. In the mean while the body is kept in a room, plac'd in honourable manner. Till it is bury'd there passes not a day but the son visits, and bows to it, keeping some perfume before it, and offering it meat, which are afterwards given in charity to the priests of the idols, who are often call'd to pray over the body.

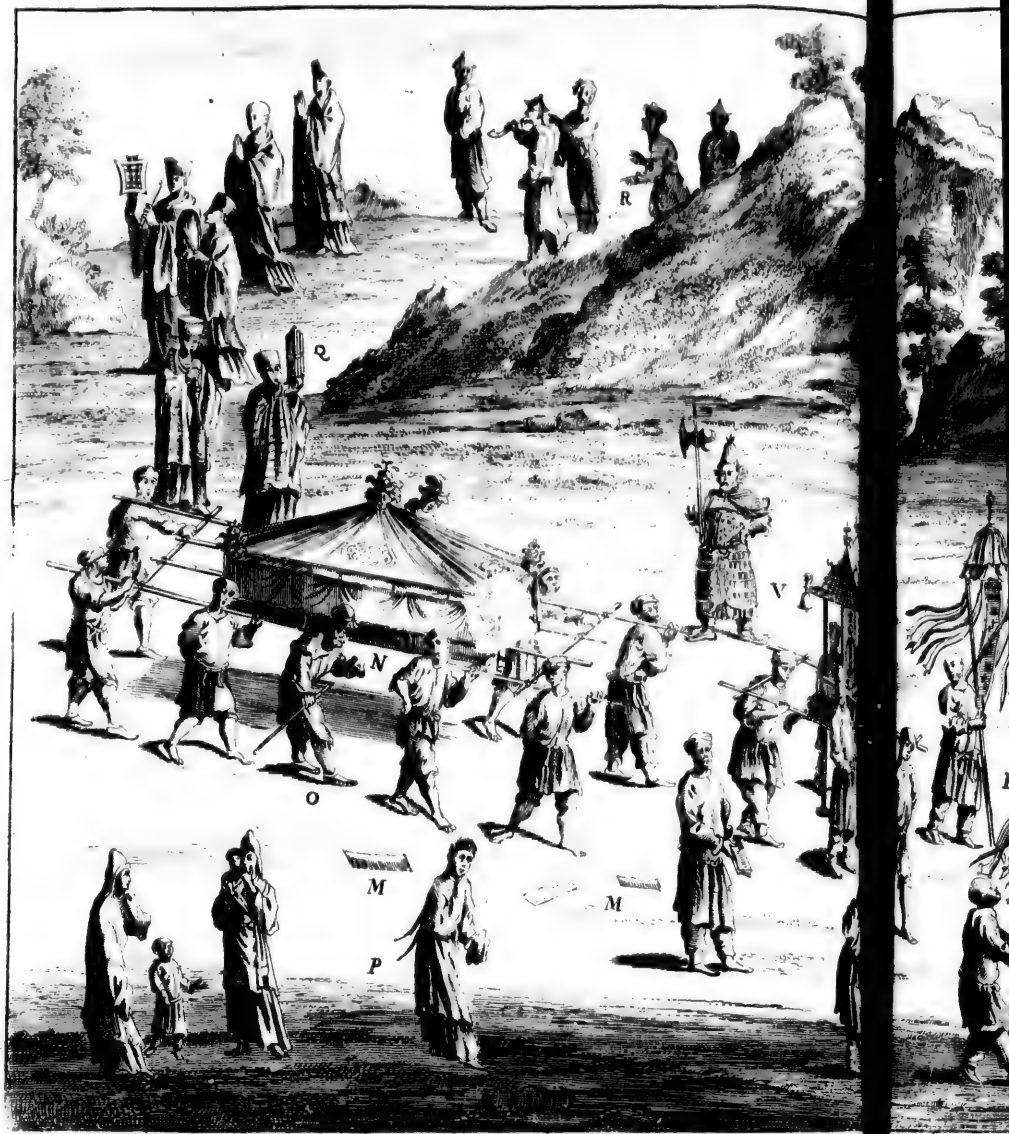
To conclude, when the body is to be bury'd, is a matter that must be strictly calculated, and judiciously found out by the masters of that science, who according to the rules of art, chuse out the most fortunate and happy day and hour heaven can point out. When that is fix'd, the son again makes a solemn invitation of as many as possible he can, to attend and honour his father and him; and then they repeat those four bowings, which the *Chinese* are never tir'd with, nor have enough of. Then they set out in procession. First goes a company of drums, pipes, and such like instruments; then follow the figures of elephants, and tygers, and the images of men and women famous in their history; then sightly pageants, as triumphal chariots, castles, pyramids and banners, then tablets, some with rich perfumes on them, others cover'd with meat. Next comes a gang of priests in their solemn vestments, reciting their prayers in a tone like singing. Then all the kindred and friends in silence and long mourning robes; lastly, the coffin on a bier carry'd by twenty, thirty, or more men. Behind it the sons looking ghastly and poor after their late pennance, as if they would fall down dead at every step. The whole funeral pomp is clos'd by the women carry'd in chairs, and tho' not seen, sufficiently heard, they howl so desperately. They go extremely slow for the more state, and a great way, because the burying places are remote from the cities. Being arriv'd at it, the ceremonies are all repeated; sweets, burnt paper, and lastly, the funeral pageants are burnt, and then the body is put into the grott or cave, which is clos'd up with a little wall. Afterwards they go now and then to burn gilt paper, horses and other creatures made of paper or silk, before the tomb: fondly believing the paper is converted into money, and the counterfeit beasts into live ones,

to

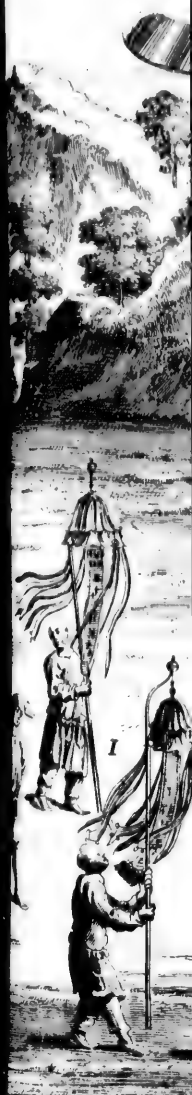
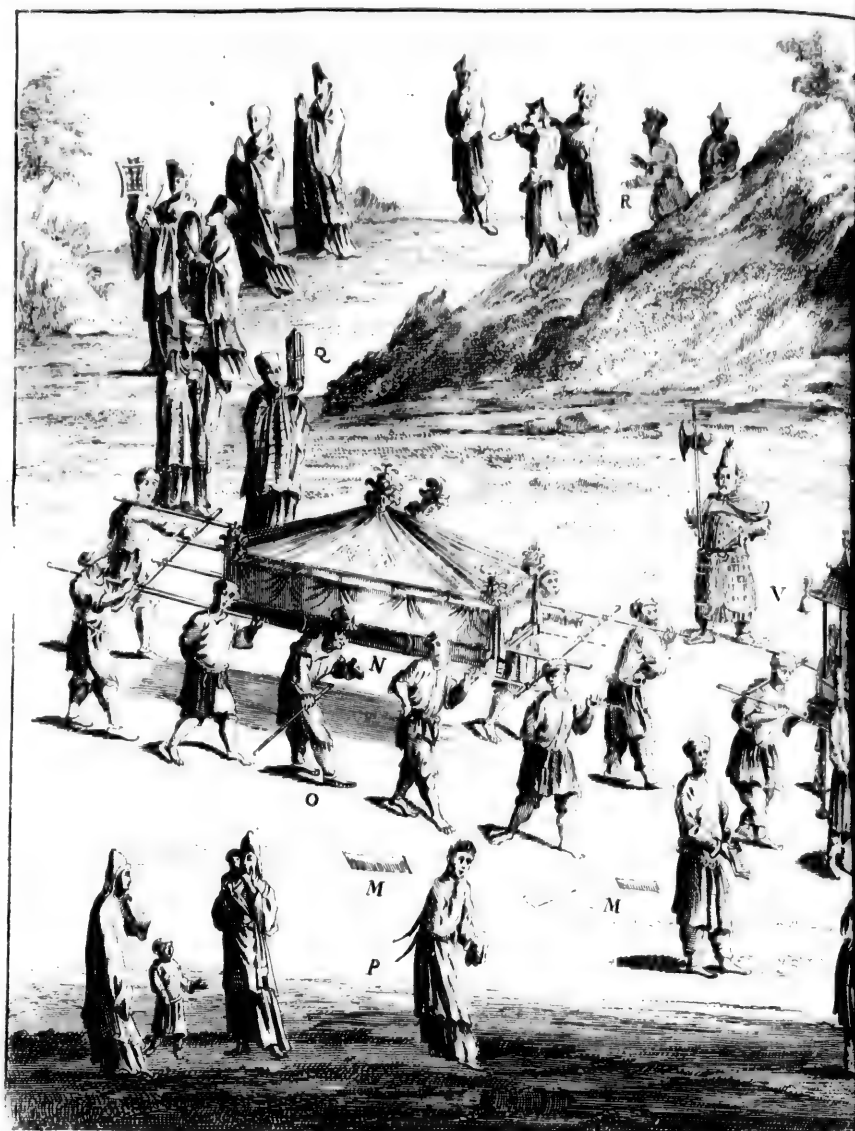
Book III.

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VOL. IV

to serve the dead person; and therefore the friends present the son with money (as is us'd in weddings) to defray this expence.

Mourning.

As the sons are to wear mourning three years for a father's death, so are the wives for their husband; but if the wife dies the mourning is but for three months. No person of any condition whatsoever is exempt from this duty; in so much that when the parents of *Mandarines* die, they are oblig'd to quit their employments, as was said before.

Respect to the tomb.

This is the main cause why strangers are undervalu'd by the *Chinese*; as also for not propagating their father's race. For this reason upon disputes of religion, they have upbraided our missionaries with ingratitude to their predecessors, in forsaking their tombs, and omitting to perform the due acts of piety to them yearly, by going into such remote parts. In *China* it is not allow'd to go out of the empire, and the son is accounted infamous, and call'd *Puxyao*, who goes away and leaves his father's tomb. The fathers missionaries found a good answer to stop their mouths for ever; saying, *They went thither by Command to serve God; and that as the Tartars were not undutiful in leaving their Parents to come into China, so neither were they who came to propagate Religion.* This being spoken in the presence of a *Tartar Mandarin*, the fathers were applauded and said to be in the right. To the end the emperor's service might not be obstructed by his *Tartar* soldiers taking a fancy to stay by their parents tombs, he order'd the bodies to be burnt, and their ashes to be brought to *Peking*, that their ceremonies might be there perform'd.

Honours after the funeral.

From this respect children pay to their parents after death, proceeds another duty, which is of keeping a tablet in the house, on which are writ the names of the father, grand-father, and great grand-father, before which they burn several perfumes, and some of those ropes made of the barks of trees pounded, before-mention'd. When the father dies the great grand-father is taken away, the father succeeding in his place, and so from generation to generation. This custom the *Chinese* christians cannot be broke of, which has produced a hot contest between the fathers of the society of *Jesus*, who maintain this may be tolerated among catholics, as a mere act of civil worship to their ancestors; and the *French* missionaries of the clergy, the *Dominicans* and others, who say it is idolatry, and not to be al-

Vol. IV.

low'd to christians; a difference not yet decided by the holy congregation to which it has been refer'd.

Genelli 1696.

It is also the custom in *China* to erect Temples for the whole family; but this can only be done by some person of note, as a *Mandarin* of the family. Those that have such a *Pagod*, place the tablet with the dead man's name there, to pay him their veneration. The yearly sacrifice all persons are oblig'd to offer to their ancestors, is differently us'd, according to the quality of the persons; for the emperor sacrifices to seven of his predecessors, the petty kings to five, *Mandarines* to three, and private persons only to father and grand-father. The emperor uses to honour persons of quality at the death of their parents, writing two letters, which comprehend the virtues of the party deceas'd, and these are placed in the tomb; an honour he bestow'd at the death of the fathers *Adamus* and *Verbieß*, of the society of *Jesus*, and presidents of the court of mathematicks in *Peking*.

In these sacrifices they slaughter cows, swine, goats, fowl, and other things, which are eaten by the kindred and friends, on the same mountain where the tomb is. But if it be a family that has a *Pagod* of its own, the steward of the revenue belonging to it, is at all the charge. There are always people in the *Pagods*, casting lots after a superstitious manner, with certain sticks made for that purpose; and if the lot comes not up the first or second time to their mind, they endeavour to appease the idol with prayers, and sacrifices of meat ready dress'd, fowl, bread, wine and other things. At length they cast so long till they hit a lot to please them, and then thinking they are in favour with the idol, they burn, by way of thanksgiving, gilt paper, and go home well pleas'd, eating the aforesaid things merrily with their kindred and friends.

For the better understanding of this chapter, I have thought fit to insert the cut representing the funeral pomp of a poor *Chinese*, which I saw at *Canton*.

See Cut Number II. Pag. 361.

- A. Ensigns of mourning.
- B. Banners of silk, or paper of several colours.
- C. *Chinese* drums of two round brass plates.
- D. A censor to burn perfumes.
- E. Offerings of eatables, which are afterwards given in alms to the *Bonzes* that attend the dead body.

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1696.

F. Chinese trumpets.

G. An instrument of nine little pieces of latten, which they play upon harmoniously with a little hammer.

H. Other instruments.

I. Several sorts of banners.

L. A tabernacle in which they carry the tablet, on which are written the names of the father, grand-father, and great grand-father.

M. Paper to be burnt upon the fond belief, that those which are gilt turn to gold, and the silver'd into silver, to serve the dead person in the other world.

N. The bier with the coffin in which is the dead body.

O. The dead persons nearest relations, clad in sackcloth, and girt with a

thick rope, with straw wrap'd about their feet, and coarse rags about their ears.

P. Country-women related to the dead person, who ought to be carry'd cover'd between curtains on men's shoulders, according to the custom; but are here represented uncover'd to shew their habit.

Q. Bonzes attending the dead body, playing on several instruments, and among the rest one like a little organ.

R. Friends clad in white, that is, in mourning.

S. The tomb on the mountain, whither the body is carry'd to be bury'd.

T. The antient Chinese habit.

U. Extravagant garment of the guardian of the house, who is painted on all the doors of the Chinese.

CHAP. V.

Of the great plenty of all Things, and Temperament of the Air in China.

Plenty of
gold and
silver.

Navigation and the plenty of all sorts of commodities found in a kingdom, are certainly the two sources of trade. *China* has these two in such a degree, that no kingdom can equal, much less exceed it. The quantity of gold is so great in all its provinces, that instead of being converted into coin, it is made a commodity. Hence came the proverb much us'd at *Macao*. *Silver is the Blood, and Gold is a Commodity.* As for silver, their avarice and industry in gathering of it, are as antient as the empire, and therefore the quantity the *Chinese* have gather'd must needs be prodigious; for all that once comes into the country can never go out again, the laws that prohibit it are so severe. It is rare in *Europe* to make presents of five hundred or one thousand crowns, but in *China* it is common to make them of one thousand, ten, twenty, thirty, and forty thousand, particularly at court many millions are spent in gifts. This happens because there is no presidentship of any city, but costs several thousand crowns, and sometimes twenty, or thirty thousand and other inferior employments proportionably. He that will be vice-roy of a province, must, before he is put in possession, pay thirty or forty thousand and sometimes sixty or seventy thousand; not that the emperor receives the money, or knows any thing of it; but because the governours of the empire, the *Kolaoi*, or counsellors of state, and the six sovereign courts in *Peking*, sell all employments under-hand. They who by these

Bribery.

means come to be vice-roys, or *Mandarines* of provinces, to reimburse themselves, receive presents from the presidents of their cities, these from presidents of towns and boroughs; and all of them grow rich upon the spoils of the poor people. Hence comes the common proverb in *China*, *That the King, without knowing any thing of it, exposes his People to as many Butchers, Murderers, Dogs, and hungry Wolves, as he creates new Mandarines to govern them.* There is certainly no vice-roy, or visitor of provinces, who after he has been three years in his employment, does not carry home six or seven hundred thousand, and sometimes a million of crowns. By this it appears, that tho' in regard of the natural inclination, and insatiable avarice of that nation, there be but little silver in *China*; yet considering its wealth in it self, there is no kingdom can cope with it.

There are in *China* abundance of copper, iron, and tin mines, and of all other metals; but most of the copper, and therefore they cast so many guns, such abundance of statues, and vessels of several sorts. There is no memory that ever paper money was us'd there, as *Marcus Polus* writ; but only several ages since, the emperor paid his soldiers half in money, and half in notes, call'd *Cbao*, which afterwards return'd to the emperor.

The silk and white wax of *China* are two things that deserve to be taken notice of. The first of them is the best in the world, and there is such plenty of it,

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it, that the antients call'd *China* the king-
dom of silk. The moderns find this by
experience, because several nations of
Europe, *Asia* and *America*, carry thence
a vast quantity every year both wrought
and raw, in such a multitude of caravans
and ships that it is wonderful. Besides
it is an incredible quantity of plain silks
and others wrought with gold and silver,
that is consum'd within the country it
self. The emperor, petty kings, princes,
and great men, with all their servants
even to footmen; the *Mandarines*, eu-
nuchs, learned men, citizens, almost all
the women, and the fourth part of the
rest of mankind, wear silk upper and un-
der garments. In fine, the great plenty
may be conceiv'd by the three hundred
and seventy five boats, sent by only the
two provinces of *Nanking* and *Cheking*
every year to court loaded with all sorts
of wrought silk; besides the rich and costly
garments for the emperor, empress, the
princes their children, and all the court
ladies. To which must be added the
great quantity the provinces pay the em-
peror every year as well wrought as raw,
by way of tribute. This silk is of two
sorts, the natural, which is call'd *Kien*,
and the artificial. The natural is made
by worms in the fields and upon trees,
which they gather and spin, but it is not
so good. The artificial is made after the
same manner as in *Europe*; feeding the
worms with mulberry leaves for forty
days. The best is that of *Nanking* and
Cheking. I have of both sorts.

As for the wax it is the finest and
whitest that may be, tho' of bees; and
there is such plenty as serves the whole
empire. Several provinces produce it,
but that of *Huquam* exceeds all the
others, as well in quantity, as whiteness.
It is gather'd in the province of *Xan-
tung* upon little trees; but in that of
Huquam upon large ones, as big as those
of the *Indian Pagods*, or chestnut-trees
in *Europe*. The way nature has found
to produce it, to us appears strange
enough. There is in this province a
creature, or insect of the bigness of a
flea, so sharp at stinging, that it not on-
ly pierces the skins of men and beasts,
but the boughs and bodies of trees.
Those of the province of *Xantung* are
much valu'd; where the inhabitants ga-
ther their eggs from the trees, and carry
them to sell in the province of *Huquam*.
In the spring, there come from these eggs
certain worms, which about the begin-
ning of the summer they place at the
foot of the tree, whence they creep
up, spreading themselves wonderfully
over all the branches. Having placed

themselves there, they gnaw, pierce, and
bore to the very pith, and their nour-
ishment they convert into wax as white
as snow, which they drive out to the
mouth of the hole they have made,
where it remains congeal'd in drops by
the wind, and cold. Then the owners
of the trees gather it, and make it into
cakes as we do, which are sold all about
China.

The *Chinese* use some little wool, on-
ly in blankets for beds; for in their
cloaths, the commonalty wear cotton
quilted with the fume; and the nobility
in winter line theirs with several sorts
of furs of great value, which is also
us'd by the women, especially in the
northern provinces and court of *Peking*.
When the emperor appears in publick,
in the royal hall (which is done four
times a month) the four thousand *Man-
darines*, who come to pay their respects
to him, are all cover'd from head to
foot with costly fables. Generally all
the *Chinese* do not only line their boots,
and caps, but even their saddles, their
benches, chairs and tents.

The common sort that are able, cloath
themselves in lamb-skins, and the poorer
sort in sheep-skins, so that there is no
body in *Peking* in winter, but what then
is clad in skins, and some of them are
so rich that they cost two, three, or four
hundred crowns.

As for flesh, fish, fruit, and other Provi-
sions, it is enough to say they have
all those sorts we have in *Europe*, and
many more that we have not; and the
plenty appears by the small price they
bear. The *Chinese* language, as also
their writing being very *Laconick*; they
express almost all these things with six
letters, or syllables. The two first are
U-co, signifying the five principal sorts
of grain, that is, rice, wheat, oats,
millet, pease and beans; to which may
be added several sorts of pulse; as kid-
ney-beans, fitches, and tares. Two
others are *Lo-bio*, expressing six sorts of
flesh of tame cattle, which are the horse,
the ox, the hog (which is wonderful
good), the dog, the mule, and the goat.
The two last are *Pi-quo*, signifying an
hundred sorts of fruit; as pears (and
among the rest one particular sort call'd
Gogavar) apples, medlars, a sort of soft
apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, wal-
nuts, chestnuts, pomegranates, citrons,
lemmons, another sort of apples they
have in *Italy*, but the author says those
in *China* are not so good, pine-apples,
pistachoes, and others.

There are several sorts peculiar to
the country, as *Indian figs*, *Ananas*,
and

GEMELLI
1696.

GEMELLI
1696.
and others common to *Asia* elsewhere describ'd. One they call *Vinas*, is altogether peculiar to *China*; when ripe it is yellow as to colour, as to taste sweet and sower; but only the juice of it is swallow'd. There are also three other fruits of a most excellent taste. One call'd *Naichi*, or *Lichie* (by the *Portuguese* *Licbias*) shap'd like, and as big as a walnut, with a thin rind like the scale of a fish. Before it is ripe it is green, and when ripe draws towards a carnation, the taste delicious, and so much priz'd by the *Chinese*, that they keep it dry. The tree is as high as a pear-tree. The second (by the *Portuguese* call'd *Lungans*) is sweet and round like the *Lichia*, but of a greenish colour. The tree is very thick of leaves, and bears the fruit like bunches of grapes; but fresh gather'd and dry it is admirable pleasant. The third, call'd *Seyzu*, is a fruit in shape and colour like an orange, but with a thin smooth rind; its taste most luscious, and has little kernels within it like pistachoes. It is eaten green, and dry candy'd; but care must be taken not to eat any crabs after it, for that would cause most dangerous fluxes. The *Spaniards*, when they return from *Manila* to *New-Spain*, carry considerable quantities of them candy'd. The tree and its leaves are like our cherry-tree. They will all three be better conceiv'd by the figures here annex'd.

Tea, or
Chia.

The herb *Tea*, or *Chia*, being the most valu'd drink among the *Chinese*, as chocolate is among the *Spaniards*; because there is no visit where they do not use a great quantity of it, we will therefore say something of it. Tho' it has the name of an herb, yet the leaves are gather'd from little trees, which are not of equal value in every province, but that is best which grows in the province of *Cheking*, in the territory of the city *Hochiken*. In summer they bear a flower, that has a pretty scent, but the leaves must be carefully gather'd in winter. First they are a little heated in a caldron over a gentle fire; then they are laid upon a fine mat, and turn'd with the hands; then they are set over the fire again till they are thorough dry, and lastly they are put into wooden, or tin vessels, that they may not evaporate, and be preserv'd from moisture. When they would make use of it, they put it into a pot, and pour boiling water over it, which extends, and makes them green as they were at first, and the water takes a pleasant scent, and a taste that is not disagreeable, especially

when the leaves turn it green. There is such variety, and so many sorts of this herb, and the difference of its virtue, that there is some of it sold for about ten pence a pound, and some for ten shillings. One sort makes the water of a gold colour, another green; and as for the taste, some make it bitter. The best of it is very dear. The *Chinese* attribute it to this herb, that neither the gout, nor stone are known in their empire. They say, that taken after dinner, it prevents indigestion, and takes away all crudities from the stomach; it helps concoction, prevents drunkenness, hindering the fumes of wine to fly up to the head; takes away all the uneasiness of a surfeit, drying up, and expelling all superfluous humours; and helps studious persons that desire to watch. The plant and leaf may be seen in the cut.

There is also rhubarb in *China*, especially in the provinces of *Suebuen*, *Xenfy*, and in the country about *Socbuen*, a city not far distant from the great wall. This plant grows in moist places, and upon a sort of reddish ground. The leaves are generally two spans long, downy, and narrow at bottom. The stem rises a foot, and bears flowers like large violets, which press'd, yield a whitish juice, of a noisome unpleasant scent. The root is sometimes three foot long, and as thick as a man's arm; within it is yellow, with some reddish veins, from which flows a viscous juice, of a yellow, inclining to red. The time of gathering it is all winter till *May*, before the leaves bud out; because in summer it is light, and porous, and without that viscous juice, wherein its virtue consists. When gather'd they take away the beards, and cut it into bits, which they lay on a board, and turn three or four times a day, that they may not lose, but suck in their juice. Four or five days after they string them, to dry in the wind, in a place where they may not be expos'd to the sun, because experience has shewn, that makes them lose their virtue. This root when fresh is bitter in the highest degree. The *Chinese* call it *Tay-buam*, that is, yellow enough.

In *China*, the melons of all sorts are extraordinary good, as are the pumpkins, cucumbers, turnips, and radishes; there is no want of good coleworts, fennel, onions, garlicks, smallage, borage, and other herbs we have in *Europe*; but those that are peculiar to them are more plentiful and better. One is call'd *Lincbio*, which grows near the water

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Flowers.

Game of
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water, and produces a sort of fruit with two horns, tender enough, and tastes like an almond. An herb they call *Pez-zay*, is very savoury boiled. There are also *Potatoes*, and other nourishing roots.

As for flowers there are abundance, and very beautiful, especially *Tuberoses*. Of our sorts they have gilliflowers, roses, jasmín, and others. Those peculiar to the country are more for show than scent, and they set them between the rows of bricks in their courts, to make fine walks. They plant them in spring; in two months they grow a yard high, and last four or five months. They are of several sorts, but the best call'd *Ki-quon*, and *Laushiaz*. The first is like a velvet in several shapes and colours; the second is not properly a flower, but the last leaves on the top of the plant are so variously and beautifully colour'd, that they are valu'd beyond any flower.

All sorts of game is plentiful enough, especially about the court in the three winter-months; and accordingly in several markets design'd for this purpose, there are rows, two musket shots in length, of several sorts of four-footed and winged creatures standing upon their feet so hard frozen, that it preserves them from corruption. There are three species of bears; the first call'd by the Chinese *Gin-Hium*, that is, man-bear; the second *Keu-Hium*, dog-bear; and the third *Chu-Hium*, or hog-bear, because of some such resemblance in the head and paws. Bears feet well dress'd, are much valu'd in the Chinese feasts; and their fat is a great dainty among the *Tartars*, who eat it raw, mix'd with honey. There is also great plenty of all other sorts of wild beasts; as several species of deer, red and fallow, tygers, wild boars, elks, leopards, rabbits, wild cats, and rats, and others.

As for wild-fowl, there is a prodigious quantity of pheasants (as there is also in *Tartary*) they being sold for five grains of *Naples* money a-piece, partridges, quails, geese, cranes, and ducks. There are daws very remarkable for their feathers; for whereas all others are black, those in *China* have white breasts and necks. But they are not good to eat. In singing, the Chinese nightingale out-does ours in *Europe*, and the *Canary* birds; its note is so harmonious, sweet, and loud, and it runs such divisions, as if it had learnt to sing. It is three times as big as ours, but of the same colour; they call it *Sayu*. An other bird call'd *Saxxo* sings well enough. It has two white round spots under the eyes,

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and all the rest of the body black. The *GEMELLI* *Martinbo*, as the Portuguese call him, is another bird to be kept in a cage, of which we have spoke in the third volume.

All that vast tract of land (as lies under so many degrees, we said in another place *Cbina* extended to) for the pleasantness of the soil, the plenty of fruit, and excellent improvement, looks like one continu'd garden. This falls out so because none of it lies under the torrid zone, except the extreme parts of the province of *Canton* and *Yuanji*, which reach beyond the tropick. The rest is all within the lower half of the temperate zone; yet so as in the provinces of *Peking* and *Sianji* they enjoy all those advantages the most northern countries abound in; for the winter lasts much longer than is usual in bare forty degrees of latitude. What by the extremity of the cold, and the nature of the water, from the middle of *November*, the ice is so thick and strong, on the rivers and lakes, that it bears horses and carts, and does not thaw till after *February*. Thus *Cbina* as far as may be advantageous to it, enjoys all the several climates, without the barbarity of the one extreme, or the too much luxury of the other. It is not all plain, nor all mountainous; but part one, part the other, in such proportion as is no less beautiful than profitable. For the most part there are most delightful small hills, every where till'd; there are *Appennines*, or vast mountains in every province; and groves of excellent trees, for the finest carving, and for the common use of building. Yet the best part of the mountains is till'd; for the Chinese being all intent upon tillage, level the steep parts, and make fields to sow; nor do they want for inventions and engines to convey the water up to the tops of mountains, or other places that want it with ease. These mountains are most delightful to behold at a distance, being all cut as it were in steps from the bottom to the top. As for plains, there are some so large, that to show their extent it is enough to say, there is one that reaches from *Nanking* to *Peking*, for several hundred miles, without one foot of land either barren by nature, or for want of improvement. The innumerable multitude of people forwards this work; to maintain whom, all the product of so vast a country so well improv'd is little enough. And it is so fruitful naturally, that there are two harvests in a year; and whilst they reap they sow again. Yet the land does not wear out,

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but grows more fruitful, and yields plentiful crops; infomuch, that among the rest it is said of the province of *Sci-antung*. That one year's good harvest will keep it ten years, and longer. This makes it seem very strange to the *Chinese*, to hear that our land producing but once a year grows barren; and much more, that we must let it lie fallow a year to recover it self.

Whole-
some air.

Tho' *China* be water'd by abundance of rivers, and canals, and supply'd with many lakes and pools; yet the air is generally very healthy, and their seasons are as regular as in *Europe*. The northern provinces are extream cold, the southern hot, the others temperate. 'Tis true, that in the southern parts at some

times there blows such a pestilential wind, that it destroys very many; but they have a powerful antidote to secure themselves against it; which is, certain rings of *Tumbaga*, worn by the *Portuguese* of *Macao*; because that city is subject to those winds, as is *Manila*, and *Vera-cruz*, in *New-Spain*, and therefore the *Spaniards* value these rings, and buy them very dear. This *Tumbaga* is made of many metals run together, that is, gold the 16th part of an ounce, copper, *Tutunaga* found in *China*, the same quantity; and filings of steel, the sixth part, of the eighth part of an ounce. Great care must be taken in making the ring, because it is very apt to break.

CHAP. VI.

The Original of the Eastern Tartars, their Settlement in the Throne of China, and the Wars that ensu'd thereupon in the Empire.

The em-
peror's
pedigree.

THE original of these princes is so obscure, that whosoever has undertaken to give an account of it, has run into fables. They had their beginning in this age, from a small head of a hord, or captain of out-laws, or wandering *Tartars*, whose name was *Tien-mim*; on whom, as historians write, the emperor *Van-lie* bestow'd the government of the valley of *Moncheu*, and the adjacent parts, upon condition he should defend it against the eastern *Tartars*, who were divided into seven small principalities. *Tien-mim* dying, in the year 1628, his son *Tien-cum*, continu'd the war till his death, which was in 1634. *Cum-te* son to *Tien-cum*, being call'd in by the *Chinese* to their assistance, almost compleated the conquest of *China*; but dy'd in 1644 before he was settled in the possession. His son *Xun-chi*, at six years of age, was receiv'd as emperor at *Peking*, and dy'd in 1662, leaving for his successor, his son *Cam-bi*, who now reigns.

Tartary.

Before we give an account how these princes obtain'd the crown of *China*, it is to be observ'd, that *Tartary* (which contains all the north part of *Asia*) is by the *Chinese* divided into the eastern and western. The inhabitants of them both, for the most part, live wandering up and down with their cattle, and in tents; but the western are without all comparison the most powerful, possessing all the country lying between the furthest part of the province of *Peking*, and the frontiers of the *Mogul*, *Persia*, and *Muscovy*. The eastern *Tartary* reaches from the province of *Leaatung* east-

ward, beyond *Japan*, and contains the countries of *Niu-che*, west of *Corea*; *Niulban*, north of *Niu-che*; *Yupy*, east of *Niu-che*; the country of *Teso*, north east of *Japan*, and east of *Yupy*. These countries are poor, and ill peopled; there being in them, only two or three little cities, and all the rest wild, either woods, or mountains. Yet these *Tartars* are fear'd when they are united, because they are hardy, as being born in a sharp climate, and us'd to be always on horse-back, either for hunting, or war. They made themselves known by their incursions into *China*, above two hundred years before the birth of Christ, but in the twelfth century, they possess'd themselves of the provinces of *Leaatung*, *Peking*, *Xensi*, and *Xantung*. The predecessors of the *Tartar* prince now reigning in *China*, were so far from ever being masters of the eastern *Tartary*, that they were never lords of the country of *Niu-che*; for as has been said, there were seven several princes. And father *Adamus* writes, that *Tien-cum*, great grandfather to the emperor now reigning, when he entred *China*, had but eight thousand soldiers; which afterwards suddenly increas'd, the rest of the eastern *Tartars* running in to him, and an innumerable multitude of the western; being all allur'd, rather by the store of booty, than the fame of his victories.

Having promis'd thus much, it remains now to shew how the eastern *Tartars* possess'd themselves of the empire of *China*, which was thus. During the reign of the family *Mim*, the strength of

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of the empire being employ'd, upon se-
curing the frontiers next to *Tartary*;
eight captains of robbers, took the
field, and in a short time rais'd eight
armies. These contending among them-
selves for the sovereignty, reduc'd them-
selves to two, the one's name was *Li*,
the others *Cham*; who separating, *Cham*
took the way of the western provin-
ces of *Suebuen* and *Huquam*, and *Li* of
the northern. He having secur'd the
province of *Xenji*, laid siege to the
metropolis of the province of *Honan*;
and having rais'd it the first time with
loss, return'd to it the second, with a
greater power; and yet the besieg'd held
out bravely six months, being brought,
for want of provisions, to eat man's flesh.
At length the emperor's army came to
their relief, and cutting the banks of the
river, to drown the rebels, instead of
them drowned the city, and in it three
hundred thousand souls, at the latter end
of *October* 1642. In the mean time,
Li having possess'd himself of all this
province, and that of *Xenji*, first put to
death the governors of them, and then
dealt graciously with the people, easing
them so generously from taxes, that ma-
ny of the emperor's soldiers came to
serve under him. Then *Li* from a cap-
tain of robbers, took upon him the title
of emperor, and entering the province of
Peking, march'd directly to the court,
whither he had before sent several tra-
itors his confidents, to debauch the peo-
ple, and draw them to his party, and
was therefore sure of admittance; as well
on account of the considerable party he
had within, as because of the discord
between the ministers and eunuchs. In
Peking was a garrison of seventy thousand
men, and yet three days after *Li* came
before it, the rebels opening the gates,
he march'd in with three hundred thou-
sand men, and took his way directly
to the emperor's palace; who without
knowing any thing of what had hap-
pened, was mortifying himself with fast-
ing, among his *Bonzes*. Perceiving by
the sudden approach of the enemy, that
he was betray'd on all hands, he attempt-
ed with six hundred armed men to rush
out at the gates, and die honourably;
but being forsaken by them all, who
lik'd not the resolution of dying, he re-
turn'd to the palace, and retiring into
the garden, writ these words on the
hem of his garment. *My own Subjects*
have betray'd me; do with me as you think
fit, provided you do not hurt my People.
Then taking a dagger, he endeavour'd
to kill a daughter he had at woman's
estate, that she might not fall into the

Emperor
was
killed.

hands of the robbers; but she avoiding ^{GENELLI}
the blow, and being hurt in the arm, ^{1696.}
fell down in a swoon. At length the em-
peror throwing a scarf about his neck,
hang'd himself, at the age of thirty six,
and with him the empire, and all the fa-
mily to the number of eighty thousand,
all perish'd by degrees. The chief *Kolao*
following his example hang'd himself,
as did the empress and the faithful eu-
nuchs. The emperor's body being fought
after the next day, was found acciden-
tally; and being carry'd before the
usurper sitting on the throne, was con-
temptibly us'd. The emperor's eldest
son being fled, he caus'd the two youn-
ger to be beheaded, and having slain all
the ministers, abandon'd the city to the
fury and lust of his army.

Considering the miserable end of this <sup>Last Chi-
nese fami-
ly.</sup>
family, it seems to have made good the
saying in the book of wisdom, *In the
same that be Sins, in the same shall be be*
Punish'd. Because from the common sort
it rais'd itself to the throne, through the
industry of one of his fore-fathers, who
from a mean servant to the *Bonzes*, be-
coming a captain of robbers, put down
the family *Tuen* of the western *Tartars*,
which had rul'd eighty nine years, and
set up the family *Mim*, which continu'd
in the throne, during the reigns of twenty
one emperors, for the space of two hun-
dred seventy six years, till another cap-
tain of robbers utterly destroy'd it.

In the mean while *Li*, leaving a suffi- <sup>Bravery of
cient garrison in *Peking*, prepar'd to give a *Chinese*
battle to the general *Ufan-quey*, who had general.
the supreme command of the *Chinese* ar-
my, consisting of sixty thousand men;
and was employ'd in the province of *Le-
aoitung*, against the *Tartars*. He advan-
ced to attack the city, where finding
Ufan-quey, who defended it bravely, he
caus'd his father to be brought before
the wall, threatening to put him to a
most cruel death, if he did not surren-
der the city. *Ufan-quey* being on the
wall in that condition, knelt down and
begg'd his father's pardon, telling him,
He ow'd a greater Duty to his King and
Country than to him, and that it was bet-
ter to die, than to live subject to robbers.
The father commended his son's gene-
rous resolution; and willingly bowing
his neck was put to death.</sup>

Ufan-quey to revenge the emperor's <sup>Tartars
call'd in.</sup>
and his father's death, sent a solemn em-
bassy to the *Tartar Cum-te*, with confi-
derable presents, inviting him to march
with his army against the usurper; upon con-
dition concerted between them. He flew,
rather than march'd with sixty thousand
men into *China*, and soon caus'd the
siege

GEMELLI siege to be rais'd with loss to the besiegers. *Li* hereupon return'd to court; where not thinking himself safe, seizing the treasures, and firing the city, and palace, he fled with his army into the province of *Xenfi*, always pursu'd by the enemy.

Van-fuy
young
Tartar
emperor.

In the mean while, the Tartar king *Cum-te* dy'd, after having conquer'd the greatest part of *China*; leaving a son under age his heir, and the government of the empire to *Amavam* a petty king his brother. The *Chinese* were in hopes that the *Tartars* loaded with booty, would return home, but were soon undeceiv'd, for they coming to *Peking*, refus'd to go any further, saying the empire was due to their valour. Thus the infant but six years of age, yet wiser than could be expected at that age, entered the city in triumph, being receiv'd with the applause of the people, who placing him on the throne, saluted him emperor, crying, *Long live Vanfuy*, *Vanfuy* (that is ten and ten thousand years) which is the usual cry upon conferring the empire. *Xun-cbi* was the founder of this new imperial family, which in the *Tartar* and *Chinese* languages, is call'd *Tai-chim*, that is, of great purity, and began to reign in 1644.

Ufan-quey (who is thought to have slain the usurper *Li* in battle) perceiving too late, that to drive away the dog, he had brought the lion into the empire, receiv'd of the *Tartar*, the dignity of a petty king, and the title of *Pimfi*, that is, of pacifier of the west, and had the city of *Singan*, metropolis of the province of *Xenfi*, assign'd him for his residence.

Tartar
takes *Nan-*
king.

The *Tartar* having subdu'd the northern provinces, bent his thoughts and his power against the southern; laying siege to the metropolis of *Nanking*, where *Hu-quam*, nephew to *Van-lie*, had caus'd himself to be proclaim'd emperor. This unhappy man was taken, and carry'd to *Peking*, where he was strangled, together with *Cum-chim* the late emperor's eldest son. *Nanking* taken, the *Tartars* proceeded to the siege of the metropolis of *Ceking*; where *Lovam* a petty king had refus'd the title of emperor. He seeing the city attack'd by the *Tartar*, to prevent the slaughter of his people, kneeling on the wall, spoke these words to his enemies. *Do with me as you please; I offer my self a Sacrifice for my People.* Having spoke these words, he went out and deliver'd himself to the *Tartars*, which act of compassion, tho' it sav'd not his life, yet it sav'd the city and inhabitants. The suc-

cess was various in the provinces of *Fokien*, *Quantung*, and *Quamsi*; in the northern, they happily reduc'd the two *Chinese* generals, *Ho* and *Hiam*, by sowing discord among them.

In the western parts and province of *Suebuem*, another famous captain of robbers made most dismal havock. His name was *Cham-bien-chum*, by another name the *Nero* of *China*, and a devil incarnate. He after ruining the provinces of *Honan*, *Nanking*, and *Kiamsi* by his barbarity; bent all his rage against that of *Suebuem*. The first he slew, was the petty king of the precedent family, with many more; and very often for the sake of one that had offended him, he would butcher all the inhabitants of a street; for one soldier a body of two thousand, and for the mistake of one physician, an hundred or more of them. Of six hundred ministers he had under him, when their three years government was expir'd, he scarce sav'd twenty, all the rest being put to several sorts of deaths, upon light occasions. He slaughter'd five thousand eunuchs at once, because one among them, did not call him king, but by his own name *Cham-bien-chum*, and so for the fault of one *Bonze* twenty thousand of them. He call'd together all the students out of the neighbouring provinces to be examin'd, and they being come to the number of eighteen thousand into the city, he put them all to death, under pretence that they with their sophisticated notions stirr'd up the people to rebellion. He four times condemn'd the fathers *Buggio* and *Magalbaens* to death; but afterwards pardon'd them, being well inclin'd to the christian religion.

In the year 1646, being the 3d of the emperor *Xun-cbi*, being to set out for the province of *Xenfi*, against the *Tartars*, he caus'd all the inhabitants of the metropolis of *Cchim-tu* to be led without the walls bound, and he riding through the midst of them, as they knelt, begging mercy, stood doubtful what he was to do; and at last order'd them to be cut in pieces as rebels, and accordingly they were all butcher'd in his sight, to the number of six hundred thousand, of which number many infants were baptiz'd by the fathers of the society. This done, he order'd his soldiers that every one of them, following his example, should kill his wife, as being a hindrance to their martial profession. He of three hundred he had, kept only twenty maids to serve three queens, and according to his orders, all the women throughout the army, were put to death. At last having burnt that famous metropolis, he entered the

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the province of *Xenfi*; but being there told the third time, that five scouts of the *Tartar* army appear'd; coming out into the field without his armour, to know the truth, a fatal arrow from the enemy, struck him through the heart. His army being then beaten and dispers'd, the people of *Sueben* receiv'd the *Tartars* joyfully as their deliverers.

Eleven provinces being almost subdu'd, there remain'd the four southernmost, which own'd the emperor *Yum-lie*. Three petty kings were sent from court with three armies, who soon laid siege to the metropolis of the province of *Quam-tung*, which having held out a year with considerable loss on both sides, was at last taken on the 24th of November 1650. The soldiers exercised their rage upon it for ten days, killing two hundred thousand citizens. Thence the *Tartar* army remov'd to the capital city of *Sbiakokin*, where the emperor *Yum-lie* not being able to resist with his small forces, fled to the province of *Quamfi*, and then to that of *Tunan*.

The following year dy'd *Amavam*, tutor and uncle to the emperor, a wife man, belov'd by the *Chinese*, and to whom his nephew ow'd the empire. His brother a petty king aspir'd at the protectorship, but all the great ones oppos'd him, alledging, *That Xun-chi was fourteen Years of Age, and marry'd to the Daughter of Tan-yu, King of the Western Tartary; for which reason he might govern himself.* The *Chinese* were so positive in this matter, that hanging on the ensigns of their employments at the palace gate, they declar'd they would receive them from no other hand but the emperor's, whereupon the petty king desisted.

Xun-chi who was excellently qualify'd, to gain the love of the *Chinese* shew'd himself familiarly to them, contrary to the custom of the antient emperors. He maintain'd the laws, statutes, and politicks of the *Chinese*, altering but very little. He kept up the six sovereign courts instituted above four thousand years before, but would have them be compos'd of half *Tartars* and half *Chinese*; suppressing the other six set up by the late family, in the city of *Nanking*. He united the sword and the pen, allowing *Chinese* philosophers to be governours of the city. This wise emperor being sensible, that the safety or ruin of the state depended upon the sincere and uncorrupt examination of the learned; and being inform'd that some had bought the examiners votes with gold, he put thirty six of them to death; and order'd those that had been examin'd to go

through it again, and those that were approv'd of again he pardon'd, allowing them their degree; those that were rejected and could not stand the test, he banish'd with their whole families into *Tartary*. The same sentence he pass'd upon other criminals, to people the deserts of that country, being satisfy'd their children and grand-children would there become *Tartars*.

In the year 1659, *Quefim* the admiral, A great son to *Nicholas*, who had continually in-pyrate. fested all the coast, committing rapine and slaughter, tho' the year before he lost five hundred ships in sight of *Nanking*, came now again with three thousand to besiege that place, possessing himself by the way of several cities and fortresses: *Lam*, a young *Chinese* being governour of the province. In a council of war, the *Tartar* general was of opinion that the city could not be defended, as long as they were not secure of the multitude of citizens, and that therefore they ought all to be put to the sword. *Lam* oppos'd that inhuman method, and said, *If there be no other way to provide for the Safety of the City, kill me first*; which expression mollify'd the hearts of those barbarians. The siege had scarce lasted twenty days before *Quefim's* birth-day came on, which all his army celebrated with feasting and sports. The *Tartars* laying hold of this opportunity, when the enemies army was bury'd in sleep and drunkenness, in the dead of the night attack'd it with such courage and conduct, that scarce three thousand of them escap'd to their ships, leaving all the booty to the victors. *Quefim* resolving to revenge that mighty slaughter, and the death of his father *Nicholas* and brethren, treacherously put to death by the *Tartars*, soon after fought their fleet, and after an obstinate fight defeated it, taking, sinking, and burning, a great part of it. Particularly he put to death four thousand *Tartars*, and having cut off their ears, noses and heads, threw the trunks ashore. The emperor not able to put up this affront, order'd all the rest that had been in the fleet to be put to death, because they ought to have conquer'd or dy'd for their country. In the year 1661. the same *Quefim* attack'd the city and castle of the island *Formosa*, then well garrison'd by the *Dutch* who had taken it from the *Spaniards* both by sea and land. After a siege of four months, the besieg'd oppress'd by famine, and disappointed of all relief, surrendred all the island to *Quefim*, who fixt there the seat of his empire. This conquest made him so

B b b b b haughty

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GEMELLI 1696. haughty and bold, that he had the confidence to send father *Vittorio Riccio*, a Dominican missionary, his ambassador to the governor of *Manila*, to demand of him a yearly tribute, or else he would lay a bridge of boats from the island *Formosa* to *Manila* to subdue it. This struck such a terror into the governor and all the city, that holding a council to consider what answer to return, the archbishop was of opinion the blessed sacrament should be expos'd. This being devoutly performed, the father was sent back with a resolute answer; who no sooner arriv'd at the island *Formosa*, but he found the tyrant, through the just judgments of God, had dy'd with rage, having first gnaw'd off his fingers with his teeth, upon hearing of the league concluded against him between the *Tartars* and the *Dutch*; and that the governour had discover'd his conspiracy in the *Philippine* islands, and put to death several thousands of *Chinese*; as also that his son had committed incest with one of his wives.

To conclude the history of this famous family of pyrates, the reader must understand that it began in a captain of rovers, call'd *Cbin-chilum*, of the province of *Fokien*. This man first serv'd the *Portuguese* at *Macao*, by whom being baptiz'd, he had the name of *Nicholas* given him. From this beginning he grew up to be famous by contracting friendship with the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*, and put himself first under the emperor *Lum-ou*, and next under the *Tartar*, but both times deceitfully on both sides, so that being created a petty king, he was sent for to court upon false promises. His son *Quefim* succeeded him in the command of his navy; which the *Tartar* being jealous of, he oblig'd him by letters to call his son to him. *Nicholas* writ a letter, which he deliver'd to the emperor; and gave another, wherein he advis'd his son not to come to a barber his confident, who betray'd him, putting it into the emperor's hands. Hereupon *Nicholas* was put to death; and *Quefim*, tho' he had not suffer'd himself to be overcome by his father's letter, or the *Tartars* promises, yet came to the miserable end we have mention'd. *Quefim's* son continu'd the war against the emperor, who with the assistance of the *Dutch* who sent twenty five sail, drove him out of the maritime places of *Fokien* and all *China*. In 1683 he took from him the island *Formosa*, sending thither a powerful fleet, and corrupting the *Mandarines* and great men of the country. What kindred of his remain'd, the emperor caus'd to be convey'd to *Peking*, where I saw one of them, whose name

was *Cbin-chilum*, whom out of a jealous policy he honour'd with the title of a count.

Whilst the empire of *China* was thus consum'd with intestine wars, and labour'd under the fortunate successes of the *Tartar* arms; the unfortunate emperor *Yum-lie* withdrew into the kingdom of *Mien-que*, commonly call'd *Pegu*. The *Tartar* demanded him with threatening letters of that king, and having got him into his hands, immediately strangled him and all his family in the metropolis. His two queens being convey'd to *Peking*, were civilly treated, and it is believ'd they still continue in the catholick faith. It was in the year 1661 that the last of the late family of *Mim* were put to death.

This same year, for fortune is not always favourable, was fatal to the emperor *Xun-chi*. He fell in love with a most beautiful woman, and that he might enjoy her at his full liberty, sent for her husband, whom reproving for having behav'd himself ill in his office, he struck him over the face, and the poor man for grief dy'd within three days. Then he sent for the lady to court, and contrary to custom, made her second queen whilst the first was still living. The new wife was deliver'd of a son, for whose birth there was extraordinary rejoicing; but within three months the infant dy'd, and soon after his mother. The emperor was so concern'd at this loss, that growing outrageous, he would have killed himself with a poniard, had not the queen mother and the eunuchs prevented him; however he brought up an accursed practice, afterwards imitated by his successor, which was, that thirty men by a voluntary death, should appease the soul of his concubine, whom he thought he saw in a dreadful shape. He enjoyn'd all the great men and ministers of the empire, and all the commonalty to wear three months mourning for the empress, for so he call'd her after death. The funeral pomp was much greater than belong'd to her. The emperor himself, weeping like a child, put the ashes into a silver urn, as he had desir'd at her death. The urn was placed in a rich tomb, after the *Tartar* manner; and abundance of rich silks wrought with gold and silver, were burnt in the same fire. Two hundred thousand crowns were distributed among the poor; and two thousand *Bonzes* sang for several hours with loathsome superstition. The emperor in the mean while was so mad, that he perswaded the eunuchs and maidens to take upon them the

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habit of *Bonzes*. He himself forgetting his dignity, cloathing himself like one of them, shav'd his head, and erected within the palace, three temples in honour of the idols he had before deip'd; besides going about the city to worship, sometimes one, and sometimes another. Father *Adamus* the Jesuit did not fail to wait on him, but his advice avail'd nothing, because the emperor being besides himself, after hearing of him, without making any answer, caus'd him to be dismiss'd with *Tea*, as has been said before to be the custom of visits. At length, finding his strength fail him, he caus'd four great men to be call'd, in whose presence he made a sort of confession of his sins; saying, *He had ill govern'd the Empire; that he had not paid the Respect he ought to his Father and Grandfather, most excellent Princes; that he had moreover slighted his mother's advice; that through covetousness of Gold he had defrauded the great Men of Pensions, and then spent it idly; that he had favour'd the Eunuchs too much; and that he had lov'd the late Empress so inordinately, that he had been troublesome to himself and his subjects in bemoaning her.* To conclude, he left his son but eight years of age under their tuition; and then having cloath'd himself, and compos'd his arms; saying, *I go*, about midnight he gave up the ghost in the 24th year of his age.

The *Bonzes* being all turn'd out of the palace, about noon the body was lock'd up, because he dy'd of the small pox, to be afterwards burnt when the hundred days were expir'd. After three days *Cam-bi*, then eight years of age, tho' he was the second son, was saluted emperor in pursuance of his father's will; it being a custom among the *Tartars* to fulfil the father's will, as dictated by heaven. At first the empire was peaceably govern'd by four great men. They caus'd the chief of the eunuchs to be beheaded, as the cause of all the mischief that had happened; four thousand of them were banish'd, and one thousand put to mean employments. It was order'd on account of the many pyrats, that the inhabitants of all the maritime cities of six provinces, should change their Habitations, and retire nine miles into the country; so that the gardens, castles, and cities, along the sea-coast, were actually level'd with the ground, and all trade by sea absolutely forbid. Many thousands hereupon were starv'd to death, who liv'd by fishing. In the year 1664 an edict was publish'd against the christian religion, as teaching wicked do-

ctrine and rebellion. Father *Adamus*, as GEMELLI 1696. head of it, was put into prison, with three of his companions, and declar'd guilty by several courts. All the European priests were summon'd to court, and the christian books condemn'd to the flames. In 1665, in a full council of all the great ministers, father *Adamus* was condemn'd to be hang'd, and then to be cut in pieces; but several shakes of an earthquake being on a sudden felt through the city, according to the custom of the *Chinese*, all were pardon'd but father *Adamus* aforesaid. However a month after, it being the king's birth day, he was discharg'd, and dy'd afterwards a natural death in *August* at *Canton*. In 1666, *Sony* the eldest of the four *Tartar* dy'd; whereupon *Cam-bi* solemnly took upon him the government of the empire.

Another storm disturb'd the empire *Ujan-quey* in 1673; for *Ujan-quey*, a most powerful petty king in the province of *Yunnan*, before spoken of, who indiscreetly brought the *Tartars* into *China*, being sent for by the emperor, refus'd to go, unless attended by eighty thousand men. Then dismissing the messengers, he shook off the *Tartar* yoke; and made the *Chinese* kalendar, which he sent to the neighbouring kings his allies, but he of *Tun-chin* refus'd, and sent it to the emperor. In the mean while *Ujan-quey* subdu'd the three provinces of *Yunnan*, *Suebuen*, *Quei-chen*, and almost half that of *Hu-quam*; for which reason the emperor beheaded his eldest son, and cut in pieces all the rebels, having discover'd their conspiracy.

Two years after, the petty kings of *Fokien* and *Quantung* rebell'd, for their fathers dying, they put on the *Chinese* cap: To which was added the new power of the petty king of the island *Formosa*, settled there after expelling the *Dutch*, as was said before. It must have gone hard with the *Tartar*, had all these been unanimous, and join'd their forces to fight for the liberty of their country; but the petty king seeing himself contain'd by him of *Fokien*, mov'd against him, and got the better in several encounters. In the mean while armies were sent from court under the command of *Tartar* petty kings. An uncle of the emperor's march'd to *Hu-quam*; one to *Cheking* and *Fokien*; and another to *Quantung* and *Quamfi*. The king of *Fokien* being worsted in several encounters, and not daring to trust his people any longer, shav'd his head, and deliver'd himself up to the *Tartar*, by whom he was receiv'd to mercy. The petty

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petty king of *Quantung*, having a less title given him by *Usan-quey*, than belong'd to his dignity, fell off from him, and deliver'd himself and the province to the *Tartars*. The emperor overjoy'd at so much success on the 13th of July 1675, went to their house to visit the *Jesuits* of *Peking*, and there with the imperial pencil writ these two characters *Kim-tien*, that is, to adore heaven, which signifies the lord of heaven, and putting the imperial seal to it, gave it the fathers. The copies of these characters, set up by the three orders of religious men in their churches, are look'd upon as a tacit approbation of the christian religion.

Usan-quey
dies, his
son pro-
claim'd
emperor.

Usan-quey dy'd in the year 1679, and his son *Hum-boa* was proclaim'd emperor. The same year, on the 2d of September, about ten in the morning, a terrible earthquake shook all the city of *Peking*, and parts adjacent, overturning several palaces and temples, with the slaughter of near thirty thousand people; and being repeated, oblig'd the emperor and great men to live in tents.

Imperial
palace
burnt.

Petty king
of *Quan-
tung* his
punish-
ment.

In January 1680, the imperial palace was in a few hours burnt down, which damage amounted to two millions and a half of *Tayes*. The same year the petty king of the province of *Quantung*, tho' subject to the *Tartar*, being suspected, because he was of a turbulent spirit, and for holding correspondence with the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*, contrary to the imperial prohibition, besides that being supported by forty thousand soldiers, he was become powerful, and seem'd to design to destroy *Macao*; he was therefore order'd by the emperor, with a design to ruin him, to march with his forces against the rebels, in the province of *Quansi*; where a great part of his men deserting, he was forced to retire to his province. There he ended his days on the 9th of October, the same year; just at the time, when two messengers were come from the emperor to bring him, as an honour, a haltar to hang, or strangle himself with. Yet they omitted not to cut off the heads of a hundred and twelve of his faction, and among them three of his brothers. This prince deserv'd a better fortune, being very well inclin'd to the evangelical law, and favouring the missionaries, as has been said elsewhere. Whilst they consulted about confiscating his vast wealth, the *Tartar* thought fit to cause the coffin of this petty king's father, who was not yet bury'd, to be open'd, to see whether the body was clad after the *Chinese* man-

ner, but finding it in the *Tartar* habit, he left his goods to his brothers, among whom was the emperor's son-in-law. That same year the *Spanish* fathers of the order of *St. Augustin* entered *China*, by the way of the *Philippine* islands, and *Macao*.

The following year the petty king of *Fokien*, who had voluntarily surrendered himself to the *Tartars*, was at *Peking*, in the presence of all the people quarter'd, and his flesh thrown to the dogs, for the cruelty he had us'd towards several ministers he suspected, at the time when he rebell'd. His brothers, tho' innocent, had their heads cut off; and thus the *Tartar* without any opposition, made himself master of *Yun-nan*, the metropolis of the province. The emperor *Hum-boa* hanging himself of his own accord, prevented the enemies cruelty; who causing the bones of *Usan-quey* to be taken out of the grave, carry'd them to *Peking*, and part of them, for a terror to others, to be set up in several places; the rest reduced to ashes to be scatter'd in the wind. The year 1681, is counted the hundredth from the beginning of the mission of the fathers of the society in *China*.

At length, by the shedding of so much blood, and exercising of so many cruelties, the *Tartar* in the year 1682, remain'd peacefully possess'd of all the fifteen provinces of that vast empire; which, through intestine discord, had been by a handful of barbarous men taken from an innumerable, wise, and politick nation. Then *Cham-bi* resolving to see the country of his progenitors, and tombs of his ancestors, set out towards the eastern *Tartary*, on the 27th of March, with the prince whom he had declar'd his heir, three queens, some noblemen, and ministers belonging to the courts, and about seventy thousand soldiers. He also took along with him father *Ferdinand Verbiest*, a *Flemish Jesuit*. After this he went with a greater retinue into the western *Tartary* in the year 1683, being the 22d of his reign, carrying with him no less than seventy thousand horse, that stoath, and the delights of *China* might not debauch them, but they might be enur'd to hardships and warlike exercises, with frequent hunting, and killing of wild beasts. Thus, partly by this terrible demonstration of his power, and partly by his clemency, bounty, and bestowing of titles, he brought forty provinces in *Tartary* to pay him tribute. In this second expedition he took along with him father *Philip Grimaldi*.

CHAP. VII.

Noble Endowments of the Mind in Cam-hi, Emperor of China.

Cam-bi, the present emperor of *Cbina*, is of a pregnant and piercing wit, has an excellent memory, and a mind so unshaken, that no misfortune can move him. All his inclinations are noble, and worthy a mighty king; for he is a great lover of justice and virtue. He applies himself equally to learning, and gentleman-like exercises, to the attainment of the *Tartars*, who put a greater value upon his skill, than strength; for there is no great man that can bend the bow he makes use of, or manage it with such ease as he does; as well on the right as left; a horseback, or a foot; standing, or riding a full speed. He also manages fire-arms better than any *European*.

Martial exercises do not take from him an affection for musick, especially that of *Europe*, which pleases him in its instruments, grounds, and method; and had the great affairs of the empire allow'd him leisure to apply himself to learn to play, he would have been as successful in it, as in that of *China*. But the art of governing being the chief quality of a sovereign, he employs himself every morning at sun-rising, in giving audience to all the courts of *Peking*; the prime ministers whereof come to present him their memorials. When the matter is of consequence he refers it to the council of the *Kalaos*, who are properly the ministers of the empire, and having heard their resolution, he afterwards alone decrees as he thinks fit; the ordinances of none of the courts or ministers, or of the imperial council being of no force without his approbation. This is, because the government of *Cbina* is so absolute, that the emperor has the name of *Tienzu* given him, signifying, the son of heaven; and *Hoanti*, that is, sovereign monarch. This title would not misbecome him, were that true which father *Bartoli* writes, viz. that formerly the emperors of *China*, subdu'd and made tributary an hundred and fourteen kingdoms in *India*, extending their conquests over many great islands eastward, and southward in the archipelago, and as far as *Bengala*.

When *Cam-bi* goes out a hunting, or elsewhere, whosoever finds himself wrong'd by any *Mandarine*, waits for him on the way, and kneels down with his petition in his hand open, and he never fails to do speedy justice. He never had any fa-

vourite about him, but always govern'd alone; and therefore no man dares speak to him about any business that does not belong to him, or which he is not ask'd about. His custom is to inform himself several times in private by several people, when the affair deserves it; whilst the courts make publick search into the matter. Besides, he has an excellent memory to remember any thing that is past; so that it is very hard to impose upon him, but he will find it out.

Tho' the *Chinese* emperors in all ages depriv'd all foreign nations, not thinking them worthy to have any communication with them; yet *Cam-bi* treats the ambassadors of other princes generously, and with affection, throughout all his empire, furnishing them with all necessaries; as the *Portuguese*, *Muscovites* and *Dutch* can testify. In like manner, contrary to the custom of *Cbina*, he sent two embassies to the *Muscovites* to conclude a peace. This has certainly been brought about by the *Jesuits*, who by the many rarities they have presented him, have brought him to have some opinion of the kingdoms of *Europe*; 't much more by instructing him in our arts, and sciences, convincing him that there are learned and able men out of *Cbina*.

He has a watchful eye over his ministers for the impartial administration of justice; for after choosing them by the advice of his council, he punishes them severely if they do not perform their duty, and puts others in their places. His compassion for the calamities of his subjects is so great, that if there happens any dearth, he not only remits thirty or forty millions of taxes, but sometimes opens his granaries to relieve them.

He is attended by a vast multitude of courtiers and officers, who live upon him, wherein he far exceeds the best courts in *Europe*. As for his table he is serv'd in basons of gold and silver, according to the custom of the country; but even in this he gives a testimony of his modesty; for he abhors all extravagant expence in eating, (as in cloathing) strictly observing a fundamental law of the monarchy, which is, that the great ones and sovereigns be free from all luxury and sumptuousness. His apartments partake of the same modesty, for there is nothing in them answerable to the grandeur of such

GEMELLI 1696.

Love to strangers.

To his subjects.

His modesty.

GEMELLI such a prince, besides some painting, 1696.
gilding, and plain silk hangings.
His habit.

To particularize his royal garments it is to be observ'd, that in winter he wears plain silks lin'd with fables, or ermine; upon rainy days he sometimes puts on a woollen doublet; at other times in summer, he has a plain garment of stuff made of nettles, without any other garniture, besides a great pearl in his cap, as is the *Tartar* fashion. The chair he is carry'd in, either within or without the palace is only like a plain bier of varnish'd wood with some little latten plates, and wooden carv'd-work gilt. All the rich furniture of the horses he rides, consists of iron stirrups gilt, and reins of yellow silk. This modesty has not the least mixture of avarice; for when the publick is concern'd, he generously spends millions, scouring canals, building bridges, and bountifully relieving his distress'd subjects and soldiers.

Hunting.

He is such a lover of hunting, that he spends not only days but months in it every year, going once or twice into the mountains of *Tartary*. Thus he not only diverts himself, but prevents his soldiers using themselves to the *Chinese* course of life; being sensible that with a handful of hardy men he has subdu'd an infinite multitude of effeminate *Chinese*; and that it is absolutely impossible to maintain what he has got, if his men are debauch'd by the same vice. Therefore he himself (to give a good example to an infinite number of soldiers he takes with him a hunting) rides a whole day after a wild boar, always shooting, till he has tir'd six or seven horses. Sometimes he will go a great way a-foot, and holds on his sport, cover'd with dust and sweat, to the place design'd, without changing cloaths; exposing himself several hours to a violent hot sun, without making use of an umbrella. Amidst these fatigues he has nothing of dainty fare, and when reduced has nothing but beef, or mutton, whereof there is great plenty in *Tartary*. This makes his followers signalize themselves; perceiving their prince bears a great affection to those that imitate him, and hates those that love their own will.

Left the sons of the prime *Tartar* and *Chinese*, great men and *Mandarines* who serve under the *Tartar* colours, should give themselves up to sloath, and luxury, he puts them to the most painful and laborious employments. Some he appoints to look after his dogs, to hunt with them; others to his hawks and birds of prey, which they carry on their fist; others to get ready his meat, or *Tea*;

others to wait at table; others to make bows and arrows, and carry those that are for his use, and for the princes his sons; and lastly the most favour'd are in his guards with the *Mandarines*.

These virtues would suffice in other nations to make this prince be look'd upon as a hero; but among the *Chinese*, where employments and honours are bestow'd on account of learning, he would not be accounted a great emperor, if he had not signaliz'd himself in this particular, to suit with the genius of his people. Having apply'd himself to the *Chinese* literature, there are few books of theirs, which he has not read. He has a good part of *Confucius's* works by heart. He caus'd them to be translated into the *Tartar* tongue, writing the prefaces to them himself; as also the general history of *China*. He is skill'd in the poetry of both languages, and writes them both one as well as the other. As for the *European* sciences, father *Verbiest*, has taught him the use of the chief mathematical instruments; father *Pereira* the grounds of musick; and father *Gribillon*, *Euclid's* elements translated into the *Tartar* language. To this purpose these and other fathers were oblig'd to go every morning to the palace to teach him; he sending the horses out of his own stable in the morning early. Several months continual application made him familiar with all the necessary, and useful propositions of *Euclid*, and *Archimedes*, and their demonstrations. After learning the elements he would have father *Thomas* teach him arithmetick, and all that belongs to *Geometry*. He declares a great esteem for our *European* practice of physick; and the more, because he was cur'd of an indisposition by the *Jesuits* powder administr'd to him by father *Fontaney*. The same curiosity that mov'd him to study the *European* sciences, inclin'd him to be instructed in our religion, by the same fathers; and he conceiv'd so good an opinion of it, that he has often said, it will in time be the prevailing religion.

Tho' it be a custom among the *Tartars*, and they look upon it as a point of religion, to present their eldest daughter to the emperor, who may accept of her, and keep those he likes; yet *Cambis*, knowing this custom had made his predecessors too effeminate, is so far from any inordinate appetite, that being employ'd three or four months in hunting and fishing, he never carries any women along with him, and has sometimes refus'd very beautiful ones that have been offer'd him. He is sensible that a dis-

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lute life dissolves the heart, and impairs health; and that rebellions are frequent, where he that should be at helm is shut up with a crowd of women, neglecting the affairs of state.

At some times of the year, besides the hunting season, he causes the soldiery to be employ'd in martial exercises; and generously rewards those that perform best, to encourage others to improve. Amidst his other excellent qualities, he has a most unparallel'd temper of mind in all affairs, so that he is never in a passion. When he was shewn the way how they found cannons and mortars in *Europe*, he had a great number cast for the use of his armies, and made some of his bombardiers learn to throw bombs. He is so great a lover of art, that it is now six years since within his own palace he erected an academy for painters, carvers, and watch-makers, rewarding the best masters. When I was there he had fourteen sons, and several daughters, all whom he edu-

cated under a strict discipline, obliging them to study all sciences, and practise all noble exercises; and tho' it be the custom to give the emperor's sons the title of kings, when they come to sixteen years of age, and to assign them a particular apartment, and suitable court; yet tho' his eldest son be twenty four years of age, he has not granted him this privilege; notwithstanding the court of princes, and the crown officers have mov'd him upon it several times. His second son is educated with a more particular care above the others; he having declar'd him *Hoang-tay-tse*, that is, heir apparent to the empire; because this is the first he had by the empress his first wife; the sons of that princess who has the title of empress, taking place always of the others. This second son is almost in his twenty fourth year, well qualify'd, virtuously inclin'd, and above all well affected to the catholick religion and the missionaries.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the great Wealth of the Emperor of China.

NO man of sense will doubt, but that the emperor of *China* is the richest monarch in the world; not only because of the extent of his empire, but because his subjects do not only blindly obey, but adore him. It is not without reason I say they adore him; because at present the emperors of *China* have the power of deifying whom they please, as formerly the *Roman* senate did. At the time when father *Mathea Riccus* entered *China*, he saw this impious act committed by the emperor *Van-Lie* then reigning. He had put to death a *Kolao*, whose name was *Cham-Kiu-Cham*, for some familiarity with his mother. The lady concern'd at the death of the *Kolao*, and fearing a like end, fell sick, and dy'd a few days after. Then the emperor to restore his mother's reputation by some extraordinary honour, solemnly declar'd her *Kieu-Lien-pusa*, that is, goddess of nine flowers; so that there are at present temples to be seen erected in honour of her, where she is ador'd under this title, as *Flora*, a strumpet, was honour'd by the *Romans*, as goddess of flowers. After the same manner a *Bonze* of those of the sect of *Tauju* (who marry, and do not shave their heads) above four hundred years since, insinuated himself so far into the emperor's favour by the means of chymistry and magick; that he, not

satisfy'd with having honour'd him more than as man whilst living, when he dy'd, would declare him God and Lord of heaven, the sun, the moon, and stars. By these two examples we may perceive how blindly the subjects obey, since they believe the emperor of a poor wretched man can make a most powerful God; and the learned are such great flatterers, that they not only approve hereof, but persuade the emperor to such actions so contrary to reason.

To give a small specimen of the emperor of *China's* immense treasures, will give a short account of his revenues taken out of a writer in great repute among the *Chinese*, whose books are call'd *U-bio-pien*.

In the first place there comes into the imperial treasury every year eighteen millions and six hundred thousand crowns in silver; wherein are not comprehended the duties paid out of all things bought and sold throughout the empire; nor the revenues of the crown lands, woods, and gardens, which are very many; nor the product of fines and confiscations, which sometimes amounts to several millions; nor to conclude, the revenues of estates real taken from rebels, such as seize the king's revenues, or being in employments, wrong private persons to the value of a thousand crowns; or who have

GEMELLI committed other heinous crimes.

1696.

There is also brought into the treasury, under the denomination of the queen's revenue one million eight hundred twenty three thousand nine hundred and sixty two crowns. And into the emperor's stores forty three millions three hundred twenty eight thousand, eight hundred and thirty four sacks of rice and corn.

Rice and corn.

2dly, One million three hundred and fifteen thousand nine hundred and thirty seven loads of salt of fifty eight pounds each.

3dly, Two hundred and fifty eight pounds of superfine vermillion.

4thly, Ninety four thousand seven hundred and thirty seven pounds of varnish.

5thly, Thirty eight thousand five hundred and fifty pounds of dry fruit, viz. grapes, figs, nuts, and chestnuts.

Into the emperor's wardrobe are brought, 1st, six hundred fifty five thousand four hundred and thirty two pounds of several silk stuffs, of various colours, besides the imperial garments brought by the boats, as has been said.

2dly, Four hundred seventy six thousand two hundred and seventy pieces of slight silks, which the Chinese wear in summer.

3dly, Two hundred seventy two thousand nine hundred and three pounds of raw silk.

4thly, Three hundred ninety six thousand four hundred and eighty pieces of cotton cloth.

5thly, Four hundred sixty four thousand two hundred and seventeen pounds of cotton.

6thly, Fifty six thousand two hundred and eighty pieces of hempen cloth.

7thly, Twenty one thousand four hundred and seventy sacks of beans, to feed the emperor's horses instead of oats.

Lastly, Two million five hundred ninety eight thousand five hundred and eighty three trusses of straw of fifteen pounds each.

These two last particulars were so un-

der the Chinese emperors, but at present three times the quantity, because of the vast number of horses the Tartar emperor keeps.

Besides all these things related by father Magalbaens, there are brought to court oxen, sheep, swine, geese, ducks, pullets, and all other sorts of tame creatures; and abundance of all sorts of fish, and game. All sorts of herbs and fruit, as green in the midst of summer as in spring, so industrious is this nation in preserving their gardens. There is also carry'd in butter, oil, vinegar, and all sorts of spice; wines from all parts; several sorts of meal, bread, and biscuits; and therefore it is impossible to know the quantities of all things that are daily brought to the court.

Hitherto I have transcrib'd what the fathers Magalbaens and Couplet relate; but I will in fewer words make the reader comprehend the vast wealth of this monarch. His subjects (abating an hundred millions of the three hundred father Bartoli allows) are two hundred millions, according to the common computation.

Now the emperor's duty for every head above sixteen years of age, and under sixty, by way of pole-tax a *Tayes*, which as has been often said, is fifteen *Carlines* of *Naples*, or a noble *English*. Now deducting the women, and all persons tax-free, it will be easy to compute from how many millions he receives this pole. Add to this his chief rents; for all the land in *China* is held in fee of him, and consequently there is not a foot of land but yields him an income. Therefore considering the vast extent of the empire, it will be easy to conceive, without being a great arithmetician, how many millions come into the emperor's treasury; to which, adding the customs, and all that has been mention'd before, any man may be convinced, that as there is no monarch in the world, that equals him in the number of subjects and soldiers, so there is none to compare with him for wealth.

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A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part IV.

Containing the most Remarkable Things he saw in
CHINA.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Author's Return to Nanchianfu by Land.

*Inter-
Gemelli.*

THE cold at Peking being too sharp for me, I resolv'd to leave that place, and take up my journal where I left off.

On Saturday the 19th of November, I went to father Grimaldi, to desire him to get me three mules for my journey; which his servant hir'd for five *Leans*, and two *Ziens* of fine silver of *China* each, which amounts to seven pieces of eight and a half; a low rate for a month and four days journey. The same father shew'd me abundance of optick glasses to magnify and multiply objects; geometrical instruments to measure, and arithmetical to cast accounts without the help of a pen, all invented by himself for the emperor, who was a great lover of such things. He told me he was making an engine to throw water a great height in case of fires. He had liv'd thirty years in *China*, and being belov'd by the emperor, had the honour to go with him four times into *Tartary*. He had travell'd many parts of the world, from *Europe* into *China*, and thence back into *Europe*, with several misfortunes. He was a while a slave among the *Malais*, the ship he was in being cast away in the governours streight; in the *Portuguese Indies* he was long besieged by the savages, in danger of losing his life or his liberty; and therefore no man in the world could give a better account of the empires of *China* and *Tartary*, and of all *Asia*; and the more, because he spoke the *Chinese* and *Tartar* languages

Vol. V.

I desir'd him to oblige the publick, in printing some account of what he had seen; but he answer'd, that having read, the last time he was in *Europe*, so many false stories concerning *China*, he had forbore printing, as he design'd, to avoid giving so many authors the lie; and particularly the *Dutch*, who had printed their solemn embassy to the great *Cham* of *Tartary* (to which he himself had been interpreter to the emperor at Peking) in which there were more lies than lines, in what does not relate to the description of cities. That this had happened, because they had brought with them for their interpreters, some *Chinese* of the southern provinces, who had never seen the court, and were little skill'd in the *Portuguese* tongue; wherefore when questions were ask'd them, either they knew nothing of the matter, or if they did, could not explain themselves, and thus the *Dutch* writ at random, putting what sense they would upon the confused speech of their interpreters.

GEMELLI

1696.

False ac-
counts of
China.

Sunday the 20th, I view'd the new ci- Temple of
ty, and then went to the old of the emperors
Tartars, to see the temple call'd *Ti-vam-
miao*, or the Temple of all the past Kings.
This is a large sumptuous palace, with
several apartments and courts. The last
great room, or hall is as fine, large,
and well adorn'd, as that of the royal
palace. There are to be seen in it state-
ly thrones, the statues of all the empe-
rors, good and bad, that have reign'd

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GEMELLI for four thousand five hundred and forty years, from the first call'd *Fo-bi*, to the last, whose name was *Xun-chi*, father to him now reigning. This temple is seated in one of the finest streets in the city; in which on both sides, being the ways into the temple, two triumphal arches are to be seen, with each three noble gates, worthy to be observ'd. All persons that go through this street, of what quality soever they be, when they come to the arches, alight, out of respect, and walk afoot, till they are pass'd all the front of the temple. Here the emperor every year, performs an infinite number of ceremonies in honour of his predecessors; which would be too tedious to particularize.

Monday the 21st, I went to take leave of the fathers of the society, and particularly of father *Grimaldi*, who shew'd me several curiosities, and among them a girdle the emperor had given him. It was yellow, which is the imperial colour, with a sheath made of a very fine fish-skin, hanging to it, in which were the two little sticks and other utensils, the *Chinese* use at table. This is a great gift in *China*, for he who receives it, is respected not only by the common sort, but by all the ministers, and great ones; and every man, at the sight of that colour, is to kneel, and touch the ground with his forehead, till he that has it on covers it, as the same father *Grimaldi*, when he was coming into *Europe*, did at *Canton*, with a *Mandarine*. This man had demanded a watch of father *Xaime*, or *James Tarin* of *Valencia*, a *Franciscan* missionary; and the poor religious man having none, he was so offended, that he durst presume to set up a declaration in his city, where the father was head of the mission, to make known, that the catholick religion was false, and taught a wrong way to eternal salvation. The *Chinese* christians were disturb'd at this proceeding, and acquainting the father with it, he, in his zeal, went to the place, and instead of blotting, tore the *Mandarine's* declaration. This put him into a great rage (their orders being highly respected in *China*) and thereupon he persecuted father *Tarin*, till he oblig'd him to retire to *Canton*. Father *Grimaldi* in the mean while pass'd that way, and by the said *Mandarine's* coming to pay his respects to him, as to one so much esteem'd by the emperor, he receiv'd him, with the end of his yellow girdle in his hand, and reproving him for his unwarrantable proceeding, in the little respect he

Honour
of the yellow
girdle.

shew'd his brethren, and daring to condemn the catholick religion, when the emperor honour'd christians with that gift. The poor *Mandarine* in the mean while gave his forehead to many strokes on the ground that at last the missionaries themselves intreated father *Grimaldi*, not to mortify him any more. Therefore bidding him rise, he charg'd him for the future, to use his brothers well, or the emperor should be acquainted with his misbehaviour, to punish him severely. None but the emperor, and princes of the blood of the male-line, and some others, to whom it is given as a special mark of favour, can wear yellow, and the girdle of that colour, for the princes of the female line have it red. Father *Grimaldi* gave me a pass to the same effect, as *Monsignor Sisare* had one, when he went to *Macao* to be consecrated bishop of *Nanking*; expressing in it, that I going to *Fokien* to fetch books for the emperor's service, none should presume to molest me, on account of the arms, and a black I carry'd, but should be aiding to me upon occasion. The father told me, that tho' I had been no way disturb'd by the governors of cities, in coming to court; yet they might put me to some inconvenience in my return, and therefore I had need of his pass, which was well known, and honour'd by all the ministers of the empire. I have the said pass by me still, in the *Chinese* tongue, it having sav'd me from any molestation on the road. The lion I mention'd in the third volume, was sent from *Goa*, had not yet reach'd the court; but the same father told me, he had notice of its being shipp'd at *Macao*, on the 10th of *September*, and that he expected it with impatience, to present it in his own name to the emperor. Being to depart the next day, I took my leave of the fathers, thanking them for all their favours. Father *Grimaldi* gave me an almanack he had, made for the year 1696, in the *Chinese*, and *Tartar* languages; and father *Ossorio* a *Portuguese*, gave me four other books in the *Tartar* tongue, and provision of sweetmeats.

Having agreed with the muletier, and given him all the hire of the three mules (for in *China*, either by land or water, they will be paid before hand) I expected him on *Tuesday* the 22d till noon and then set forward, attended by father *Grimaldi's* servant, till without the gate, I pass'd through the town of *Lapuxau* (which in coming, I left on the right hand, having mis'd the way) about two

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musket-shot in length, and one and a half in breadth, but has a good wall, and two strong gates plated with iron. Close by it we cross'd the river (which we had forded as we came) on a stately stone bridge, half a mile long, and adorned every two paces with handsome little stone lions on both sides. At night we lay in *Lean-xien-xie*, having travel'd seventy *Ly*. Our supper and beds were very bad; but the first of those evils, I remov'd with an excellent pheasant, bought at *Peking*, for less than six pence. Here I found a *Tartar* attended by a footman and page, and several servants, going the same road, so that afterwards we travel'd together.

On *Wednesday* the 23d, near the town of *Tantien*, I saw a handsome *Pagoda*, call'd *Xien-gben-fu*. It is enclos'd with high walls, in compass about a quarter of a mile, and has monasteries of many *Xobian*, or *Bonzes*. In the first *Miau*, or *Pagoda*, was an idol sitting after the eastern manner, all gilt, with abundance of little idols in the niches, about the wall. In the second, were three women sitting on a lion, and two dragons, all gold colour. Here I found the table cover'd; for the *Bonzes* dine betimes. In the third, was an idol like a *Briareus* (sitting as the first did) for besides the usual hands and feet, he had twenty hands on each side, and two feet held up in the air; and five heads, one above another. There were several courts with apartments for the *Bonzes*, and fine trees. We went to dine at the town of *Lixao*, and at night having travel'd one hundred and thirteen *Ly*, we lay at *Sanchin-xien*.

Thursday the 24th, we rested in the town of *Pecuxo*. Before we got in, I saw several *Bonzes* pass by, who were going to take up a dead body, two and two, in procession with copes on; some of them playing on certain instruments, and others carrying umbrellas with long silk curtains about them, banners, and other ornaments. Next we pass'd through the forsaken town of *Xinn-xyen*, and then through the suburb, which is large and populous, in the midst whereof, under two arches, were several idols, and *Bonzes* sacrificing, in order to go then to eat up an excellent meal provided by the kindred of the dead man. Here we lay at night after travelling eighty miles.

Before sun-rising on *Friday* the 25th, we breakfasted in the town of *Chio-pecuu*, because of the good fish there is in the lakes about it. Near the bridge is a

notable inscription, set up there on account of the emperor's passing that way. We din'd in the suburb of the town of *Gin-chyeu-xien*, which has not such good streets and shops as the suburb of the other town before, but is only remarkable for being wall'd two miles in compass with a wet ditch. After riding one hundred and twenty *Ly*, we set up at *Refelipu*.

Saturday the 26th, we rested in the town of *Sbian-kelin*, and went on to lie at *Fuchian-y*, having rid one hundred and twenty *Ly*. Having travel'd the same way in my journey to *Peking*, I omit to mention the town, or rather cities then spoken of in the way to *Nanchianfu*, and will here only mention those where I stay'd at noon, and night, with the distance of *Ly*, or *Chinese* furlongs.

Sunday the 27th, we din'd at the towns of *Manxo*, and at night having travel'd one hundred and thirty *Ly*, lay at *Liu-chi-miau*. The cold travellers endure this days journey is very great, there being neither wood, nor coal, so that our host at night, burnt dry herbs and straw to dress the supper. *Monday* the 28th, we din'd at *Cushipi*, and lay at *Jau-chiaen*, one hundred and twenty *Ly* journey. *Tuesday* the 29th, we din'd at *Cautan-chou*, lay in the suburb of the little town *Schipin-xien*. *Wednesday* the 30th, din'd at *Tunchen-y* lay at *Cbyen-xien*, one hundred and twenty *Ly*. *Thursday* the 1st of *December*, din'd at *Xuan-gua-biena*, lay at *Sbiagoben*, one hundred and ten *Ly*. It may be said we travel'd all the way through a well-till'd plain, so careful are the *Chinese* at improving. Here we observ'd, that to the plough-share, they added a round iron plate, to break the mould. *Friday* the 2d, rested at *Uvam-shian-xien*, lay at *Cau-sio*, ninety *Ly*. *Saturday* the 3d, din'd in the city of *Jenchifu*, which is well enough inhabited, has good shops, is enclos'd with a handsome wall and wet ditch. There is such plenty of pheasants in *China*, that I bought four here for about two shillings. We lay at *Tantan-tien*, having travel'd sixty *Ly*.

Sunday the 4th, we rode through the town of *Zuxien*, which is small, and has nothing remarkable, and then thro' its suburb, where there is a good *Pagoda*. First we came into a square place, each side of it a musket shot in length, adorn'd with tall cypress trees; thence into another such court, wall'd in, and with such like trees, on the front whereof are three doors, leading into as many

GEMELLI
1696.

A noble
bridge.

A Pagoda.

A noble
tomb.

GEMELLI
1696.

ny courts, all enclos'd with walls. Opposite to that in the middle, there are three doors, near which is a noble epitaph, and tomb of a *Cbinese* lord bury'd there, supported by a great crocodil, the other two courts have but one door each. Going in at the middle door of the three aforementioned, there is a porch, with cypresses, which are never wanting in the *Cbinese* burying places which leads to the chief *Pagod*. In it there are two large idols, one in the main nich, the other on the left; both of them sit looking on something they hold in their hands. From their heads hangs down a diadem after the antient manner, to which before and behind are fastned strings of beads of several colours. Near to this is another *Pagod* little inferior to it, where the idol is a woman sitting, whose ornament on the head is five birds carv'd as if flying, with long tails. Going in at the door on the left, there is a *Pagod* in the porch, where is an idol sitting with a long beard, as time is pictur'd among us. Behind there is another, where they adore the figure of a woman, like the other before-mention'd, but with only three birds, they call her *Mamon*. There are other statues before the door, and at the feet of those here describ'd, all of them frightful and arm'd, as if they were bravoes to guard the entrance. They are all made with clay cover'd with lime, or plaister of *Paris*, the bone-part of wood. At the door on the right: there are two other *Pagods*, and other courts with cypress-trees and epitaphs, and two good cover'd galleries on the sides. We dind at *Cbyay-xoy-te*, after passing through the little town of *Uya*, which tho' enclos'd with mud walls, has an excellent suburb. At night we lay in *Sbiaxotien*, having travell'd one hundred and twenty *Ly*. Before we got into this place we met abundance of mules loaded, with a good guard of soldiers, and then a bier carry'd by thirty men, on which was a coffin with the body of a *Cbinese* lord. To denote what it was, there was ty'd on it a white cock, which is the colour of mourning, according to custom; but this is sometimes transgress'd for want of one of that colour. Behind it came a lady in white, with a white cloth over her head, and carry'd in a white chair by four men. Two maids attended her with white hoods on their heads, as were their cloaths, but their faces cover'd with black veils. They told me that was the dead man's wife. Then follow'd

about twenty litters in which were the dead man's women, attended by many soldiers.

Monday the 5th, We din'd at *Sbiacubian*, and lay at *Ninij*, one hundred and twenty *Ly*. This place has such plenty of hares that they are sold for about three half pence a piece. *Tuesday* the 6th, din'd at *Luyala*, where is a long bridge over the river, and passing the rapid river *Suchen* in a boat, lay at *Sanpu*, one hundred and ten *Ly*. *Wednesday* the 7th, din'd at *Senfun*, and lay at *Nanfuchen*, one hundred and twenty *Ly*. There might be good eating in the inns, but the *Cbinese* refusing to pay more than their usual ordinary at dinner, and for supper and bed, the host gave them the worst fowls and swines flesh; but I made them kill the fowls before my face, and paid more for them, because I cannot eat them stale. *Thursday* the 8th, by reason of the rain, we could go no farther than *Sanbian*, fifty *Ly*. *Friday* the 9th, din'd at *Cuchen*, lay at *Leanchen*, eighty *Ly*. *Saturday* the 10th, leaving the road to *Nanking*, and taking the way on the left to *Nanchianfu*, we cross'd the river *Xuayxo* in a boat, into which we were carry'd on the backs of peasants, who continually wait on both sides for this purpose, with stirrups on them, because the boat came not close to the shore. We din'd at *Cbianchingoy*, a town on the bank of the same river; and lay at the town of *Fumanfu*, ninety *Ly*. This place tho' large has no wall, but good streets. There are also courts in it, with a large hall in the middle, and several rooms one over another all of wood, but well built. At the door of this hall were several prisoners, with chains at their feet, and a great square board about their necks, which weighed about an hundred weight.

Sunday the 11th, We lay still to rest the horses, and therefore taking a chair I went to see the town of *Xuanchen*. Its wall is half a mile square, within which there are none but little thatch'd houses. But it is to be observ'd, that the north side is clos'd by the tops of mountains, and longer than the others. On that side also there are few houses, the rest being plough'd fields. *Monday* the 12th, we din'd in the town of *Hyn-chie-chyen*, and having travell'd all the rest of the day over plains and mountains, lay that night in the town of *Tinganxyen*, ninety *Ly*. The walls are not above a mile in compass, nor is there in it any more than one street, where the market is kept, and there are good shops as are

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in the suburbs. Tuesday the 13th, rest-
ed at *Chianchiau-yen*; and travelling con-
tinually along a plain country, came at
night to *Patein*. For so good a road
the inns are bad; and I was forced to
lie in the same room with a *Tartar*,
who being laid in his bed, made his
page beat his belly like a drum, that
he might fall asleep, and the same mu-
sick was repeated three hours before day.
The day's journey was one hundred *Ly*.
Wednesday the 14th din'd at *Leaux-yen*,
having first pass'd through *Tienpu*, a large
but open town, where the *Tartar* re-
main'd that lov'd to be beaten by boys.
Going out of *Tienpu*, I met a *Manda-
rine* with a great retinue. Before him
went many carriages guarded by sol-
diers; next came a great number of ser-
vants and officers in chairs all in a row,
and pages and other attendants on horse-
back: Next follow'd the *Mandarine*
in a chair carry'd by eight men, and be-
set with abundance of soldiers, carrying
several small banners, and one great
one. After all came many more sol-
diers and servants to the number of about
a thousand. These *Mandarines* we must
own take more state upon them than
any vice-roy in *Europe*. At night after
travelling one hundred and ten *Ly*, I lay
in the city of *Luchifu*, the compass of
whose walls, surrounded with water, is
small, there being but the third part of
a mile from gate to gate. Yet there
are good shops, and the suburbs are
large. Thursday the 15th, I din'd at
Paxoy, having travell'd over plains well
till'd, I came at night to the town of
Tauchen, after a journey of an hundred
Ly. This place, tho' without a wall, is
large, and has good shops. Having
cross'd the river here upon a bridge of
boats, we lay in the suburb. Friday be-
comes we pass'd through the town of
Luchibin-xyen, which tho' wall'd, has
nothing good in it. We rested at *Nan-
zian*, and having travell'd a while among
mountains, came out into a plain, amidst
valleys well inhabited, and lay at *Tacu-
on*, after a journey of an hundred *Ly*.
About these mountains is found a sort
of *Tartufs*, which are no other but *Pig-
nuts*, call'd by the *Chinese* *Mati*; but
small like a little turnip, and tasting like
a new chestnut. Saturday the 17th, ha-
ving travell'd over plains and moun-
tains, we din'd in the town of *Tunchin-
xyen*, seated at the foot of mountains,
well wall'd, inhabited, and has good
shops, tho' the suburbs are much lar-
ger. In the shops here I saw some turnips
hanging up by the small end, in which

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corn was growing, which they did by
putting a little earth into a hole made
in them, and watering it every day. At
night we lay in the town of *Tauchen*,
after a journey of an hundred *Ly*.

Sunday the 18th, riding through groves
of cypress-trees, and coating the moun-
tains on the right, we went to dine at
Siabicheu; whence we went into a plain,
many miles in length, full of little coun-
try houses, gardens, and Farms. At
night we lay at *Zenxyan-xyen*, a town
enclos'd with low walls, broke down in
some places, and with wretched houses
within; the whole days journey ninety
Ly. Monday the 19th, we travell'd
much such a road to dine at *Seaubi-y*.
In the afternoon pass'd through the
town of *Taixu-xyen*, which is two miles
in length from one gate to the other.
In the houses there is nothing to please
the eye, yet there are good shops,
both within and without the suburbs,
which are very populous, by reason of
the trade a small river by it brings thi-
ther. At night we lay at *Fun-xyan-y*,
the last town of the province of *Nan-
king*, which we entred at *Sucbeu*. Tues-
day the 20th, we entred an angle of
the province of *Huquani*, through plains
all cultivated, not far from the moun-
tains. We din'd at *Tinzan*, and lay at
Xuan-may-xien, a town that has an in-
different wall three miles in compass,
and good suburbs. Within it were shops
not at all contemptible. The whole day's
journey an hundred *Ly*. Departing
from the mountains on Wednesday the
21st, and travelling through open plains,
we went to dine at the town of *Cun-
lunga*, on the bank of a small river,
and tho' open has good shops. At night
we lay in *Siauchi-kue*, having travell'd
ninety five *Ly*. This city is on the left
bank of the river *Kian-xo*, which is the
greatest in *China*, and divides the pro-
vince of *Huquani*, from that of *Kiang-fi*.
The city is small, without any enclosure,
but well inhabited, and has good shops.
Thursday the 22d, mules and baggage
were put into a boat and we cross'd over,
paying twenty *Zien*, which is not three
half pence for each beast, but not for
the men, and there is a custom-house,
which takes cognifance, only of packs,
for passengers equipages are not search'd.
The river is about two *Italian* miles
over. Mounting we rode to the city
Kiukyafu, seated on the right hand of the
river. The walls are eight miles in com-
pass, but there are more fields than
streets within them. The suburb is
large, being about three miles in length,

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populous, and full of good shops. Between the city and suburb there is a great lake, from which runs a small river. We din'd at *Tun-Jueny*, a town among the mountains, having travell'd sixty *Ly*. It is incredible what a vast Quantity of fish is taken in the rivers and lakes on this road; and therefore the inn-keepers for ten *Zien* furnish a bed, and a better supper of fish than they would of flesh. Friday the 23d, going on still among mountains, we rest'd at *Ushimen*; and passing through the little city of *Tengan-xyen*, which tho' partly unpeopled, has something good still, came at night to *Tnan-pu*, having travell'd ninety *Ly*. Saturday the 24th, we rode through fruitful plains, and over pleasant hills to the town of *Sinkyen-xien*, which tho' large in circumference, is partly disinhabited, and has nothing in it observable. We pass'd over the river, which is a mile off, in a boat, and din'd at the town of *Saniaru*, where we again cross'd the same river in a boat, without paying any thing for it, the watermen being paid by the country. That day we travell'd a hundred *Ly*, and lay

that night at *Coxoa*. Sunday the 25th, having rode thirty *Ly*, we came to *Nanchianfu*, after travelling thirty four days, and three thousand two hundred and thirteen *Ly* from *Peking*; and the city being all encompass'd by the river, I went over in a boat, leaving the mules on the other side. I took up my quarters in the house of the *Jesuits*, whose superior was not yet return'd from *Canton*; so that I spent so great a day as the nativity of our Saviour alone and melancholy, without so much as hearing mass, for want of a priest. In the afternoon I went to a great palace, call'd the school, or academy of *Confucius*. When I went into the hall, one of my servants who was a christian, knelt down, worshipping the picture of the philosopher which was there; and I having severely reprimanded him for such an action of abominable idolatry; the wretch told me, *That the Missioners of the Society allow'd that to be done; as an outward Act of Worship*; which silenced me, calling to mind the controversy there is on this account, between them and the *French* vicars apostolick.

CHAP. II.

The Continuation of the Author's Journey to Kuan-cheu or Canton.

HAVING hir'd a boat to continue my journey, for two *Lean* and seven *Zien*, which amounts to four ducats, and a very small matter over, articles being formally drawn in the presence of such persons as have power over the boats, and having provided all necessities, I set out before noon. All that day we advanced but thirty *Ly*, and lay that night at *Serimi*. Tuesday the 27th, having run fifty leagues we came to *Cbiangutu*, a town of few houses; but on Wednesday the 8th, after sailing eighty *Ly*, lay on an open shore. Thursday the 29th, came to the town of *Xopu*, eighty *Ly*. Friday the 30th, lay at *Sbiakian-Xien*, a wall'd town, tho' seated on the tops of mountains. We sail'd but eighty *Ly*, because there was but little wind, tho' the *Chinese* sailors to make it blow the more, superstitiously kept whistling. Saturday the 31st, a stiff north wind carry'd us one hundred and forty two *Ly*, tho' we lost some hours expecting it should abate a little, so that I was constrain'd to make them set out by force. At night we came to *Kinangfu*; and I refusing to go to the house of father *Gregory Ibanez*, a *Franciscan*, he came to

see me in the boat, where he diverted himself till midnight.

Sunday the first of January 1697, we lay at *Jynsun*, eighty five *Ly*. Monday the 2d, at *Pekiazun*, seventy *Ly*. We made little way because the Waters were low, tho' the river of *Nangansu* at *Canchenfu* is increas'd by another on which there is but indifferent going to *Fukien*. Tuesday the 3d, at *Huenlon*, one hundred and twenty *Ly*. Wednesday the 4th, at *Taukian*, only seventy *Ly*. Thursday the 5th, at *Canchenfu*, ninety *Ly*. Leaving a servant in the boat, I went in a chair to the church of the *Jesuits*, where father *Grillon* a *Frenchman* was superior. There I found father *Provana* of *Turin*, with whom came from *Goa*, father *Vanderbeck* a *Flemming* of *Mecblin*, and father *Amiani* of *Piemont*, worthy persons design'd for the mission of *China*. It was a great comfort to me to meet these friends. That night there was a great resort of christian *Chinese* to the church, on account the next day was the feast of the epiphany, and they play'd on so many instruments, that I could not sleep a wink. Because of that feast, I did not set out on Friday the 6th.

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6th. *Saturday* the 7th, towards evening I return'd to the boat, but could only sail twenty *Ly*, because of the winding of the river, and stay'd in the suburb of the same city of *Canchoufu*, call'd *Namen*, but a mile from it by land. Here I went to see a spacious *Pagod* in a field. In the first place there is an idol with two swords in his hands, and two other statues on his sides. In the inward *Pagod* over a court, is a great gilt idol, with a sword in its hand, placed in the biggest nich, and two other statues at his feet. On the floor there are four, two on each side, very coarse, large, and arm'd, as if they were to defend the entrance.

Sunday the 8th, we came to the guard and town of *Kiumiu*, eighty *Ly*. *Monday* the 9th, we continu'd the morning at the *Tanfu*, and guard of *Jasutan*; and then entred between the mountains of *Nanganfu*, where the river has so many windings, that the way is twice as long as by land. *Tuesday* the 10th, we came to the guard of *Lanzun*, eighty *Ly*. *Wednesday* the 11th, to *Nanganfu*, seventy *Ly*. Here I was entertain'd by father *Peter de la Pilona* of *Mexico*, a *Franciscan*, who treated me handsomely, and therefore without much intreating I consented to stay with him *Thursday* and *Friday* the 12th and 13th. That day I hir'd three chairs, at the rate of one hundred and sixty *Zien* each (a piece of eight at *Nanganfu* is chang'd for one thousand *Zien* or more) and several porters to carry my equipage, at eighty *Zien* a man. *Saturday* betimes I took chair with father *Peter*, and was carry'd up the steep mountain, for above three miles without setting my foot to the ground; for which the poor men better deserv'd a piece of eight, than about a shilling they had. About the middle of this mountain is a *Pagod*, which divides the two provinces; and here the vice-roy, the *Chiankyun* general of the *Tartar* troops, and the *Titu* general of the country troops, take possession of their employments; the seals being deliver'd to them in the said *Pagod*, by persons deputed by the courts of *Canton*. This *Pagod* serv'd by *Bonzes*, is divided into the lower and the upper. In the first is a gilt idol sitting, of a gigantick stature, and without any beard. The *Chinese* who pay him great veneration, call him, *Fu*, and others *Foe*. Ascending some steps in the upper *Pagod*, appears an idol call'd *Vuen-shin-shon*, with a crown on his head, and a sort of royal mantle on his shoulders. This

statue like the other is gilt, and sitting with two others close by its feet. On the right hand going in is the statue of *Chian-lao-je*, who was a great *Mandarine*, at present honour'd as a God, and accounted the protector of courts. All over this mountain and that near it call'd *Nanganfu*, there grow certain small trees, call'd *Mufchiu*, which produce a fruit as big as a little nut, round and black, with some seeds in it, which press'd, yields the best oil there is in all *China*. The fruit they call *Muzu*, and the oil *Mu-yen*, that is, oil of trees, to distinguish it from the other sorts made of herbs, and several seeds, which serve for lamps. Being come up the mountain I met several troops of soldiers, and other persons of note, going to *Nanganfu*, to meet the *Titu*, who was coming to take possession of his employment, in order to go on to *Canton*. A little way behind came the wife of a *Mandarine*, with a great many people on horseback, and officers of justice with rods and staves before her; after the same manner as her husband would have travell'd, stopping every body they meet in a chair or on horseback. She was carry'd in a chair by eight men, and follow'd by others that carry'd her maids. A little son of hers but three years of age, but brisk and sprightly, sat on a horse alone. I din'd half way, and then setting forward came to *Nanganfu* two hours before night, tho' I set out late and the days were short. The *Chinese* chair-men, are not inferior to a *Tartar* horse, for they trot five miles an hour. They reckoned that days journey twelve leagues, but they were not above eight, or a hundred and four *Ly*, a league being thirteen *Ly*. This happens in all the high-ways, where for the benefit of the couriers the *Chinese* make the *Ly* short, and in other places long. Father *John Nicholas de Ribera*, of the order of *St. Augustin*, and apostolick missionary in this city, treated me very courteously, especially with good chocolate, as he at *Nanganfu* had done before. There being a scarcity of boats because the *Titu* was expected, I had much difficulty to hire one to *Canton* for three thousand three hundred *Zien*, which are three pieces of eight; whereas they usually give but one thousand or one thousand one hundred *Zien* for one in that city.

Sunday the 15th, after dinner, having return'd thanks to father *John*, I went aboard a great boat, which I well knew to be slow, because there was but little water,

Mountain
of Nan-
ganfu.

water, but having paid the master before-hand, I was forced to have patience. Two women row'd much better than the men; tho' they carry'd their children at their backs. Having pass'd two bridges, near the one and under the other, they joining two little suburbs to the city, we lay at *Peyentan*, after sailing twenty *Ly*. Monday the 16th, we sail'd but fixty, by reason of the bigness of the boat which touch'd where there was but little water, so we lay at the town and guard of *Xuan-tan*. Tuesday the 17th, we lay at the guard and town of *Sinchi-an-Shiwy*, sixty *Ly*. Here the water grows deeper, for at the town of *Kiankeu*, another river from the mountains falls into that we were on. Wednesday the 18th, we came to *Sbiachufu*, one hundred and twenty *Ly*. I went to the house of the French fathers, and tho' I found not the missionary, was well receiv'd by his servants. Thursday the 19th, I went about to see the city. It has stately walls, so contriv'd that a man may go quite round always under cover. The compass is above four miles besides the suburbs. The streets are long, strait, well pav'd, and with good shops. At the south end of it, a navigable river falls into the great one that comes from the west. After dinner I went aboard at the south gate, the wind being fair, but the weather calming afterwards, we could sail but forty *Ly*, to the town and guard of *Peru*.

Friday the 20th, we run one hundred and ten *Ly*, to the guard of *Vanfucan*, the two women still rowing, as did the five men. The fair north wind continuing. Saturday the 21st, we run one hundred and forty *Ly*, and came at night to the guard of *Xyackeu*. Having on Sunday the 22d, pass'd the other streight between the mountains, where there is a great *Pagod*, with other little ones among the rocks, shaded with high trees, we held on our way with little wind, but much heat, tho' it was then the depth of winter. This is found in *China* by reason of the variety of climates. Near the northern mountains the cold is very piercing as far as *Nanganfu*; and from thence southward the heat prevails. About sun-setting we met three great boats, well cover'd with abundance of flags and banners, as the custom of the country is, for there were *Mandarines* in them. Our European missionaries use these outward shows, to perform their mission with success and decency, because the Chinese christians are much addicted to these exterior pomps.

Having run one hundred and forty *Ly* we lay at *Quantikou*, where the aforesaid *Mandarines*, who were going to meet the *Tsu*, stay'd that night. The soldiers who expected them on the shore saluted with small shot. The heat was intolerable on Monday the 23d, when leaving on our right hand under the shadow of an infinite number of trees, the populous town of *Seutan*, we stop'd at the guard of *Licbi-Iwen*, having run one hundred *Ly*. Setting out hence four hours before day on Tuesday the 24th, (that we might come betimes to *Kuancheu-fu* or *Canton*, as the Portuguese call it) we came before break of day to *Fucian*. I went there in a chair to see father *Capaccio*, a missionary of the society, crossing the city, which is three miles over, all the way among handiome and rich shops of all sorts of commodities and provisions, and all manufactures of the country. This place in *Italy* would pass for a village, because it has no wall, and is subordinate to *Canton*. It is five miles in length, and three in breadth, the river running through the middle of it, and there are as many boats on the water, as houses on the land. It is govern'd by a *Mandarine*, who can decide no controverſie without consulting the courts at *Canton*. For military affairs here resides another small martial *Mandarine*. All *Mandarines* generally say, *Fucian* contains a million of inhabitants. Taking leave of father *Capaccio* I continu'd my voyage, and God be prais'd, after running eighty *Ly*, came back safe to *Canton*, when the *Franciscan* missionaries imagin'd, I had either been stop'd on the road, or fallen into some trouble at *Peking*, because the *Jesuits* do not like that *Europeans* should go thither. They were the more confirm'd in their opinion because I knew not the language, nor my two servants one word of *Portuguese*, to understand me in changing so many boats, and travelling so far by land; to which must be added my distemper and weakness, which I never recover'd. This I say to shew that dangers and misfortunes never stay'd me, but despising them all, with the divine assistance, I at length by God's help overcame them, and found by experience, that they are ever represented greater than really they are by envious persons, on purpose to disappoint the most glorious undertakings. The muletiers reckoned from *Peking* to *Nanchianfu*, three thousand two hundred and thirteen *Ly*; and the watermen from *Nanchianfu* to *Canton* two thousand

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thousand one hundred and seventy nine; in all five thousand three hundred and ninety two *Ly*, of two hundred and six-

ty paces each, which reduced to *Italian* miles, make a thousand four hundred and two.

GEMELLI 1697.

CHAP. III.

The Chinese New Year, and solemn Festivals of the Lantorns.

I Came to *Canton* with a resolution to go on to *Emuy* in the province of *Fokien*, and there embark for *Manila*; but finding the loading of *Canton* already gone, and a ship belonging to that island in the port of *Macao*, I chang'd my mind, and expected to go aboard that vessel; and the rather, because in the house of the *Franciscan* fathers I found three *Spaniards*, who came to *Canton* to lay out one hundred and eighty thousand pieces of eight, they had brought aboard their ship. Getting acquainted with them I laugh'd at the wonders they made at my boldness, in coming to *Canton* without a pass, and then going on to *Peking*; whereas the *Xu-pu* or custom-mer, took thirty pieces of them for their pass. On *Wednesday* the 25th, several friends came to congratulate my happy return; and on *Thursday* the 26th, there being no such visits to receive, I went about the city to see the preparations for the festival of the new year. The gates of the old city call'd *Lauchin* were shut on *Friday* the 27th, for fear of some mutiny, and there was a search of the very feats of the guards at the gates. One they said was a captain of mutiniers, who was imprison'd with twenty of his confederates, and still there was looking out to secure others, for fear they should come with a great number of boats to besiege *Canton*. The people it is certain are so oppress'd with taxes and impositions, since the *Tartar* government, that peace is not likely to last long in *China*. *Sunday* the 29th, the search was continu'd against the mutiniers, not only in the old city, but in *Sanchin*, or the new.

A famous Pagod.

Monday the 30th, I went over the river in a boat to see a famous *Pagod*. At the gate of the first court I found two gigantic statues on each side, standing as if they guarded the entrance. At the second gate of the second court were four others terrible to behold, one of which held a guitar in his hand. Opposite to them was a great *Pagod*, in the biggest nich whereof there were three gilt idols sitting of an extraordinary magnitude.

On each side there were eight others made of plaster colour'd, and behind one of brass. On the sides of the court were two other *Pagod*s, in each of which was an idol standing of gold colour, well made. In the third court was a small marble pyramid thirty foot high, with figures carv'd all about it, and behind it another *Pagod* with several idols. About it were the apartments of two hundred *Bonzes*, who live on the revenues of the *Pagod*.

The *Chin-yue*, or *Chinese* new year, begins with the new moon that falls next to the 5th of *February*, or the 15th degree of *Aquarius*, which divides into two equal parts the space between two points in the equinox, and solstice; and on that day according to them, the sun enters a sign they call *Lie-chiun*, or the resurrection of the spring. They reckon twelve lunar months, one call'd little of twenty eight days, and the other great of thirty, and every fifth year they make an *Intercalar* year, adding all the days lost in the former, so that they come even with the sun, or solar year. The weeks they divide like us, according to the number of the planets, to each of which they assign four of their constellations, one a day, so that after four times seven, they return to the first. They reckon the day from midnight to midnight, dividing it not into twenty four hours as is done among us, but only into twelve equal parts, and all these, that is, the whole natural day is divided into an hundred parts, and each of those parts again into an hundred minutes, so that ten thousand of these make a day. Then as for their hours they do not count them by numbers, one, two, three, but by names and characters proper to each of them; whereof three are much observ'd and esteem'd very mysterious, by reason of the position of the heavens that must answer to them. The first is the moment of midnight, for then they say the heaven was created; then the second, because then they say the earth had its being and form; and in the third, man.

GENELLI This time the new year fell out in 1697. *China*, on the 3d of *February*, being *Friday*, whereupon the missionaries thought fit to dispense with the *Chinese* Christians eating of flesh, as also on *Saturday* following, else they would have taken leave. This dispensation rais'd new disputes between the bishop of *Macao*, and *French* vicars apostolick; for he having sent the dispensation, to exercise this act of jurisdiction, the vicars answer'd they had no need of it, being sufficiently authoriz'd from the see apostolick. *Tuesday* the 31st, I took my pleasure about the city, which was all sumptuously adorn'd, and resounding with joy; the courts being shut, and the imperial seal lock'd up several days before to give way to the festival. There is no certain day perfix'd, either for shutting up, or opening the courts and seal, but they are appointed from court, with the direction of the *Chronologers*; that the emperor may begin again to reign on the new year, in a happy day, and hour. That year 1696, they were shut up on the 22d of *January* in the evening. It is very dangerous to travel, during those days, because there is no administration of justice, all thieves and robbers going abroad then, upon the security that they cannot be presently punish'd. But in the streets, the guards are then doubled to catch thieves whose punishment is deferr'd till the opening of the courts. The poorest wretch puts on new cloaths at the new year, new papers his widows, and walls; renews the epitaphs, and inscriptions about his house, and is sure to lay in a stock of wine, and provisions to feast with his friends.

Wednesday 1st of *February*, I went at night, to see the illuminations all about the city. *Thursday* the 2d, being the last day of the year, began the solemnity of the new year, to take leave of the old. The celebration is as follows. At night in all houses, the sons kneel before their parents, the younger brothers before the elder, the servants before their masters, touching the ground with their heads, and perform the ceremonies according to the custom of the country, mention'd in another place. The women do the same among themselves; for in *China*, it is so strictly forbid to converse with women, that the father-in-law, must never see his daughter-in-law, if they are of quality, and goes only upon this day, with her son to perform this duty. But before they require this duty of their children, the

masters of the families pay it to their ancestors; touching the ground three times with their forehead before their tablet, that is, the fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers, and burning sweets before it. *Friday* the 3d, in the morning long before day, the most superstitious of them, went to those *Pagods* they had a devotion for, to touch the ground with their foreheads, and burn sweets, and of those coils, made of the barks of trees bruiz'd, we have given an account elsewhere. After which they use to pay visits to their friends, which is sufficiently perform'd by leaving it written on a piece of red paper, that they were there to wait on them; and this is done to save the trouble of compliments when they meet. But kindred and special friends see one another; and no man in their visits can avoid drinking three cups of liquor made of rice, and thus he who has many relations, and friends, tho' he goes from home never so grave, returns light headed and reeling. I say grave, because on these days, the *Chinese* go like so many religious men, in a very stay'd posture, being of opinion that if they laugh, weep, play, or commit any other light action, they shall be inclin'd to do the same all the year after. In short, this beginning of the new year, is celebrated with reciprocal visits, eating, drinking, and rejoicing; a troublesome noise of *Chinese* drums, and other instruments resounding for three whole days; besides fireworks, whereof we shall speak hereafter. Abundance of money is spent in powder, and paper, as well to be us'd in the houses, as to burn in the *Pagods*, after the sacrifice, and offering of flesh, fowls, and fruit, which they afterwards carry home to eat with their friends.

The same 3d day in the morning betimes, I went to see a very inconsiderable thing in my fancy, but very great in the opinion of the *Chinese*. Going out at the gate of *Lauchin* on the east side, I saw a vast great cow, made of colour'd clay, hemm'd in by a multitude of *Chinese*, who beating it to pieces with long poles, wherein consists the sport, went to logger-heads, about who should get the little calves made of the same stuff, which were in the cows belly. This they do in remembrance of an antient emperor of theirs, whom the multitude believes to have been converted into a cow, which was good only for the plough. They told me they afterwards presented the calves to great men.

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men for a good new years gift. At my return, I went in to see two very large Pagods, the first erected in honour of *Cbianlaoye*, a deity, for whose service there are always horses standing ready before the temple gates, because they say he would ride a thousand leagues a day, on them. There are also about the courts, several statues in sundry horrid shapes. At the upper end of the Pagod is the aforesaid idol, *Cbianlaoye* sitting, with a thing like a diadem on his head. I found many idolaters offering meat ready dress'd, and fruit; burning sweets, and paper to be converted into gold and silver, to serve the dead. Others took a piece of stick, slit through the middle, and flung both pieces up into the air. If one or both of them fell to the ground with the flat side, that had been cleft through, upwards, it was counted a good omen, and a sign the idol was pleas'd with them; but if the bark of both was upwards, that was a very ill sign. But they threw them up so often, that at last the sticks must needs fall as they would have them. Others rolling about great faggots, drew out a stick to know their good, or ill fortune, and this they repeated till they drew one that was fortunate. The other Pagod was near the palace, which formerly belong'd to the petty king, but at present to the Tartar general. It is divided into three parts, one within another; in the first, I saw three idols in the nich, bare-headed, and other great statues on the ground. In the second there were also three idols in the nich, and four by their sides on the ground. In the third, there were five horrid figures upon the ground, and one great idol of a gold colour, and another little one in the niche. In my way home, I met a number of *Mandarines* in chairs, and on horse back, most richly clad, with the ensigns of their employments and degrees embroder'd on their garments. They were going to pay the usual adoration in the Pagods. *Saturday* the 4th, those who had receiv'd the compliments of the new year, were employ'd in returning the visits, either in person, or with the red paper, according to the custom of the country. This is to be understood of inferior *Mandarines*; for the five great ones receive them, and make the return by petty *Mandarines*, or other officers of their courts; and only visit one another personally. These five principal ministers of *Canton*, are the *Fuyen*, or vice-roy; the *Puchiansu*, or receiver ge-

neral, of all the taxes of the province; *Gemelli* the *Zian-chyun*, or general of the Tartar troops, and two associates of his, call'd *Tutun*, nam'd the right and left arm of his body, and these are of equal authority; being carried in a chair by eight men, with the *Chinese* drum before them, beaten with thirteen strokes following. *Sunday* the 5th, I went to the church of the *Spanish Franciscans*, whither abundance of *Chinese* christians resorted to perform their devotions. *Monday* the 6th, a *Chinese* merchant invited me to his house; but gave me my dinner too early, according to their custom. There were on the table, at least twenty little dishes with several sorts of fruit and sweetmeats and others with chickens, and swines flesh. I saw nothing worth mentioning the following days, till *Monday* the 13th, when I went about to see the preparations for the feast of the lanthorns made throughout the city, as being one of the chief festivals of the *Chinese*, and to say the truth, I met with wonderful inventions. The *Chinese* give the following account of its original. They say, that not long after the erecting of their empire, a *Mandarine* much belov'd of the people for his virtue, lost a daughter he doated on, upon the bank of a river; and going along the shore to look for her, all people follow'd him weeping, with lighted torches and lanthorns; but tho' he sought for her a long time in all places about the bank (much as *Ceres* did her daughter *Proserpine*) yet she was never found. The learned in their books, assign another original; which is, that three thousand five hundred years since, in the reign of the last king of the family *Ilia*, whose name was *Kie*, a cruel man, and wholly given up to sensuality; he being one day with his best beloved queen, lamented that the pleasures of this life, were not lasting; that few liv'd an hundred years; that time being so swift, he could not satiate himself with those pleasures, he so dearly lov'd, and in short he reflected upon nature as unkind, and cruel. The queen seeing him so disturb'd, said, *I know such a way to prolong time, as will satisfy you. Make a Month a day, and a Year a Month, and thus the Years, Months, and Days will be so long, that living ten Years, you will have the Pleasure and Satisfaction of an hundred.* Therefore she persuaded the foolish sensual emperor, to build a palace without windows, that no light might come in. Then the caus'd it to be adorn'd with

GEMELLI

1697.

Festival
of lanthorns.

GEMELLI with gold, silver, precious stones, and
 1697 rich moveables, brought in a number
 of boys, and beautiful girls, all naked, and in fine, bury'd her self, and her husband there alive, without any light but that of an infinite number of flambeaux, and lanthorns, instead of the sun, moon, and stars. There the emperor *Kie* continu'd a whole year with his leud queen, giving himself up to all sorts of lustful pleasures; forgetting time, heaven, and every thing else, even their court and empire, and framing to themselves new times and new heavens in their own conceit. His subjects provok'd by these extravagancies, and his cruelty, revolted, and set up in his place *Cchim-tam*, head of a new family. After *Kie's* death, they destroy'd his palace, and repeal'd all his ordinances, except the invention of flambeaux and lanthorns, which they preserv'd to celebrate the festival. They tell further, that about two thousand years after that, another emperor of the tenth family call'd *Tam*, had such faith in a juggler of the sect of *Tao-fu* (whose profession it is to impose on the world with chimerical operations, promising endless gold and silver, a life almost everlasting, and in a moment to remove mountains) that one day he told me, he had a mind to see the lanthorns lighted in the city *Yam-cheu*, in the province of *Nanking*, which were the finest and most applauded throughout the empire; and the festival was the next night. The conjurer answer'd, he would carry him thither to see the lanthorns, and bring him back again the same night, at his ease, and without the least trouble. In effect, soon after there appear'd chariots and thrones in the air, made of clouds, which seem'd to be swiftly drawn by swans; and the king and queen mounting them with a great number of ladies; and musicians belonging to the palace, came to *Yam-cheu* in the twinkling of an eye, the clouds spreading and covering the whole city. The king saw the lanthorns, and to requite the citizens for the pleasure he had taken in their city, he caus'd his musick to play, and then return'd to his palace in a moment. A month after an express came according to custom from that city, mentioning what had been there seen on the lanthorn night. Lastly, they say, that five hundred years after, there was a king of the family *Sum*, who us'd every year at that time to shew himself familiarly to all the lords, and great men, with the doors open, affording

them the satisfaction of enjoying the sight of the fine lanthorns, and fireworks, and the hearing of the charming musick he had in his palace.

Thursday the 14th of February, and the 12th of the Chinese moon, I went at night about the city of *Canton* to see this rejoicing. In every quarter of it, or ward, was set up some figure of their idols, about which there were several persons disguis'd, some like women, and some otherwise, with preposterous habits and masks, and several instruments in their hands. In these shapes they went about the town upon asses, or a-foot (as is us'd in the carnival in *Italy*) with a long procession before them of lanthorns on long poles. They were made either of paper, or of taffeta of several colours, and in the shape of several creatures, as fishes, dogs, horses, lions, and the like, which with the light were very pleasant to behold; all this attended with noisy instruments of brass and drums. The best of it was that some went naked to act their parts more to the life. But the prime part of this solemnity is to be seen in the *Pagods*, and the palaces of the great lords, where there are lanthorns that cost fifteen, or twenty pistoles, and in those of the vice-roys and princes, they are not worth less than an hundred, two hundred, and three hundred crowns. They are hung up in the stateliest halls, by reason of their greatness, for there are some twenty cubits diameter, or more. Within them is a vast number of lamps and candles, whose light sets off the painting, and the smoke gives life to the figures, which with wonderful art run round, leap, and go up and down within the lanthorn. There are to be seen horses galloping, carts drawn, men at work on the land; ships under sail, *Mandarines* and princes going in and out with numerous trains; armies marching; plays acting; dancing, and other sports with several motions. The people go about all night enjoying these sights, playing on instruments, in companies made up of families and friends. There is no house rich or poor, but that night has its lanthorn either in a court, hall, or window. There are also puppet-shews, and others by shadows made to appear upon fine and transparent white silk, wonderfully representing kings, queens, commanders, soldiers, buffoons, and other things proper for the stage. The wonder is to see them express weeping, joy, anger, and other passions, with as much ease

Book IV.

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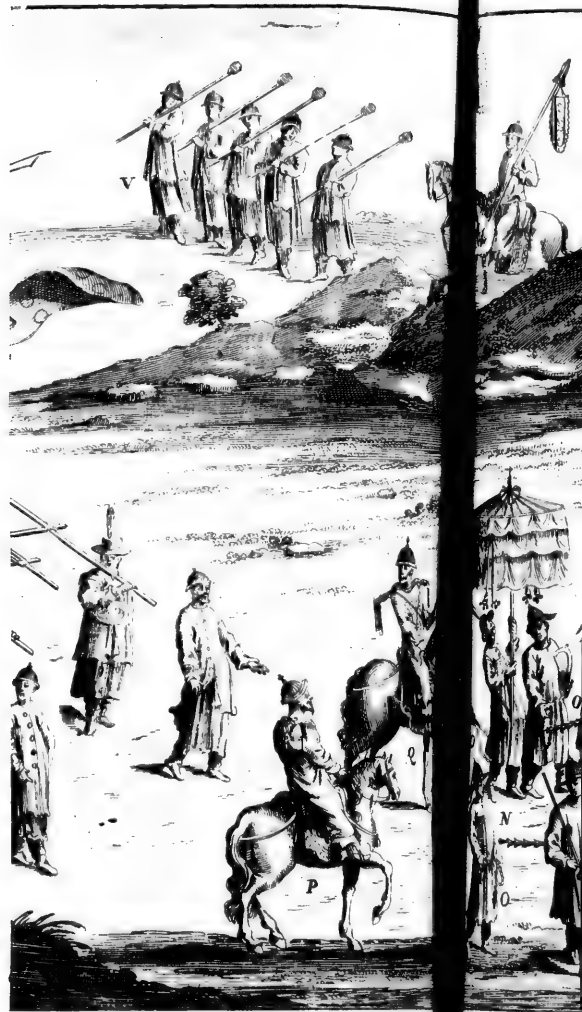
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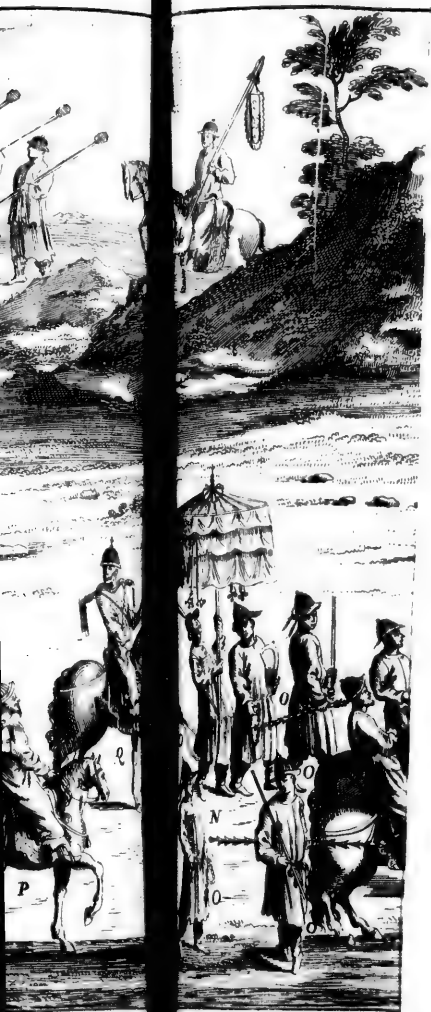
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case as they make all the figures move. Near the *Pagods*, besides the aforelaid figures and shows, there are several arches cover'd with silk, with variety of painting, which the light within shews pleasant and diverting. In short, upon this occasion there are several millions spent throughout the empire, as well in colour'd paper to adorn the houses, as to burn, make fireworks, and lanthorns. Methinks if it were possible to see all the empire at one cast of an eye from some high place, it would appear all in a flame, like one mighty fire; there being no man either in city or country, or on the rivers, but has his painted lanthorn, and all of them made after several manners, and that has not fireworks representing several creatures. I know

nation in the world that can compare ^{GEMELLI 1697.} with the *Chinese* in this particular of making fireworks; for they have been known to make a whole bower of red grapes, which all burnt without being consum'd; but on the contrary the body of the vine, the branches, leaves, bunches, and the very stones, all at once burning, appear'd in their proper colours, either red, green, or otherwise; so that to the beholders they seem'd rather real than counterfeit. But the most stupendous thing is to see, that the fire, which is so active and fierce an element, should operate so slowly, as if it had lost its own nature, to obey art; and serv'd only to shew the bower without burning it.

CHAP. IV.

Describing the publick Attendance of the Leamquam Tſunto, or Vicar of two Provinces, and other remarkable Things in Kuan-cheu, or Canton.

Attendance of
the vicar
of two
provinces.

Wednesday the 15th of February, and 13th day of the *Chinese* new year, I went to see the *Tſunto*, who was then at *Canton*, about business of his employment. Before he came out of his palace (which had belong'd to the petty king of *Canton*) three chambers were fir'd to give the people notice of his coming, and then he set out attending as follows.

A. *Chinese* drums on which they give thirteen strokes following.

B. 1. A Tablet with the sign denoting the civil magistrate.

C. 2. A Tablet denoting his martial power.

D. 3. A Tablet commanding silence.

E. 4. A Tablet to command all to clear the way.

F. Banners.

G. Several employments, and offices the ministers hold.

H. Gilt staves.

I. The dragon, the emperor's device.

L. Domesticks and servants.

M. Executioners and catchpoles.

N. An umbrella.

O. Assistants to the executioners.

P. One that carries the imperial seal on his back in a purse.

Q. Another who carries the commission.

R. The *Tſunto* in an open chair, carry'd by eight men.

S. An umbrella of another sort.

VOL. IV.

T. The first guards.

U. The second guards.

X. A Troop of *Tartar* horse.

Y. *Chinese* women that come to see the cavalcade.

Z. *Tartar* women.

See Cut Numb. III. Pag. 389.

After dinner I went to the top of an odd hill to see the preparations, made in a structure. house, where the vice-roy and some principal *Mandarines* were to be entertain'd at night. It had been built by a *Mandarine* within the old city call'd *Lauchin*, and consisted of one large room or hall supported by abundance of fine wooden pillars. Over it was another like it; both of them were spacious, but not beautiful; and therefore only afforded a noble prospect, because they discover'd all the city. In the upper hall was a *Pagod* with several idols; with many of their religious men call'd *Taozu* about them. In the first the tables were cover'd plentifully enough to entertain the *Fuyen*, or vice-roy. About the wall there were cupboards, cabinets, and other things of rich *China* and *Japan* varnish'd with abundance of figures. Having seen what was there I came down from the hill. At the foot of it I went in to see a covenant of women *Bonzes*. The good women gave me *Tea*, and carry'd me to see the *Pagod* and their monastery. The night following there

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GEMELLI was publick rejoicing throughout the city with lanthorns, and other superstitious follies.

Atten-
dance of
a mean
bride.

Sunday the 19th, there was a great resort of *Chinese* christians to the church of the *Spanish Franciscans*. *Monday* the 20th, being counted a fortununate day, a great many couple were marry'd. As I stood before the house, I saw a bride go by: Before her went six women, with as many *Chinese* boxes handfomly gilt and varnish'd, in which they carry'd the presents cover'd. Then follow'd about twenty musicians with several instruments, and several banners of painted paper, upon long staves. Then came the bride in a close chair, richly adorn'd with silk curiously wrought, and after her four relations that attended her. Ten porters carry'd as many chests with the goods, the bride being of mean parentage. The bridegroom waited at home, with his kindred, to receive her at his door.

A funeral.

Wednesday the 22d, I saw a stately funeral. First went twelve paper banners, statues, and other things, hanging at long poles; then about twenty musicians, and six boxes for burning of sweets, and to carry presents to the *Bonzes*. Next follow'd seven great umbrello's with curtains about them, and many *Bonzes* with their copes, attending the dead body. The procession was clos'd by about an hundred *Chinese*, with each a cord in his hand, of those they make of the bark of trees pounded, which burn gently. Among them were the nearest relations, clad in sackcloth, with their bodies bowing.

The *Tjun-
to's* pa-
lace.

Friday the 24th, thinking it a proper day to see part of the *Tjun-to's* palace, because of the visits made him by all the *Mandarines* of the city, and country, as their superior in civil and military affairs, he being captain general and vicar of the provinces of *Canton* and *Kiangsi*, I went thither betimes. The first court was a musket shot and a half long, and proportionably in breadth, where there were abundance of soldiers in tents. From two long Poles fix'd up there, hung two square yellow banners, with characters on them; after the same manner as they are in the vice-roy's court. At the entrance of the second court there were several officers, and among the rest forty in beautiful silk garments, on which some had a bird, some a lion, some a tyger, or other things embroider'd. Being in this second court, which is half a musket shot square, and going on to the third door, I met the guards, who

would not permit me to go any further; but from thence I look'd into the third and fourth courts, as big as the second, at the end whereof was the hall to give audience, well enough adorn'd. Having stay'd there an hour, I saw the *Fuyen*, or vice-roy, the *Zanbyun*, and other *Mandarines* take their leaves; the *Tjun-to*, who was an old man, but of a comely presence, and clad after the *Tartar* fashion, waiting on them to the fourth door with much respect, and civility; then I observ'd they went to the third gate upon a handsome causeway that divides the court, and there they reiterated their compliments. The vice-roy's train was more numerous than the *Zanbyun's*; for there went first sixteen banners; then as many tablets, on which were written the characters and privileges of his dignity; then umbrello's; thirty soldiers a horseback; above fifty inferior officers, executioners, and hangmen, with staves, chains, and wands in their hands, after whom came he in a chair carry'd by eight men. They said the *Tjun-to*, and two *Tagins* (*Ta* signifies great, and *Gin* a man in the *Chinese* tongue) were come by the emperor's order to review the troops in the province; that is, to fill their purses.

After dinner I saw another nuptial solemnity. First of all there were carry'd twenty great lanthorns hanging at poles, but they had no lighted candles in them. Next came a quantity of presents of several sorts, and twelve women with gifts, then other lanthorns carry'd by young lads, several curiosities in silk and paper, and lastly the bride in a fine cover'd chair.

Saturday the 25th, as I pass'd before the court of the *Quanchensu*, that is, the governor of the city, I perceiv'd they were beating a poor wretch, and asking the cause of it they told me, he was bastinado'd for another man's crime; it being the custom for a guilty person, condemn'd to receive so many strokes, to find one for money to take them for him; using this cruelty towards himself to relieve his poverty. But the executioner and goaler must be brib'd to consent to the exchange. Father *Augustin*, superior of the house when I lay, told me, this abuse had been carry'd so far of late years, that some thieves having been condemn'd to death, their friends, perswading some poor wretches they should receive so many strokes for a price agreed on, with the consent of the goaler, whom they had brib'd, got the condemn'd persons out of prison; and those

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those miserable fellows were afterwards put to death by the *Mandarine* as having taken on them the names and crimes of the real malefactors. This villany being afterwards detected, the contrivers of it were punish'd with death.

Monday the 27th, the governor of the city proclaim'd a fast for fifteen days, to obtain rain of heaven to produce the rice, for there was a great drought. The best of it was, that they made even the christians fast by force, and keep lent in shrovetide; it being prohibited

under severe penalties, to sell beef, pork, fowl, eggs, or the like, but only herbs, and grain. These fasts are proclaim'd most years in all cities where there wants rain; and they endeavour to obtain it with prayers and processions, and lighting abundance of candles in their *Pagods*, and burning gilt and silver'd paper. If it does not rain in a fortnight, the fast is proclaim'd for as long again. *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* the 28th, and 29th, I prepar'd for my return towards *Europe*, and bought some curiosities.

GEMELLI

1697.

CHAP. V.

The Author's short Voyage to Macao.

BEING resolv'd to go for *Manila*, aboard the *Spanish* vessel then riding at *Macao*, I thought fit to wait on the captain of it to ask his consent, and accordingly order'd my affairs for that short voyage. *Saturday* the 3d of *March*, I sail'd late aboard a *Cbiampans*, or great boat that carry'd the silks the *Spanish* merchants had brought to *Macao*, and made little way, as we did also on *Sunday* the 4th, the wind being contrary, so that we could scarce come in sight of the town of *Sciunte*, where the *Spanish Franciscans* have a house and church; and the same wind continuing on *Monday*, we could not get beyond the town of *Aonfon*. *Tuesday* the 6th, the idolatrous sailors prepar'd for their sacrifice. The wicked pilot play'd the part of a priest, under an umbrello, that the idolatrous ceremony might be the more decent, or rather more detestable. The meat was set upon a table in *Chinese* dishes, viz. boil'd pork, fish, and sugar-canes cut in small bits with wine. First he struck his head against the ground several times holding his hands together, and the drum beating; then he began to mutter some words; and lastly, he pour'd a little wine on the meat, and, according to custom, burnt colour'd papers. Afterwards the meat and wine was distributed among the idolaters; which they greedily devour'd, vainly imagining themselves to be bless'd by it. This prophane action could not but produce an unhappy effect. One or two *Cbiampans* of robbers that were in the island came up to us. Our men thinking they had been guards of the canal receiv'd them as friends, saluting them with their drum. The robbers return'd the civility lifting their hands on high, in token of friend-

ship; then making up under the stern of our boat, asking whether we had any salt, they laid us aboard. We hereupon beginning to suspect them, laid hold of our arms, and fir'd two pistols to fright them. Being meer cowards they presently fell off in a fright; and went to take up a spy or sentinel they had left on the highest part of the island. Afterwards both the *Cbiampans* drew into the privatest part of the island, fearing lest the *Mandarine* of the white house upon information should send after them. Whilst we stood upon our guard against the robbers, I could not save my self from the knavery of our own sailors; who making use of their time, in the height of the hurry, stole a little watch I carry'd for father *Philip Fieschi*. The *Chinese* sailors would have cast anchor in sight of the pirates, upon pretence that it was ebb, and there was not water enough to go on; but being requir'd to go on as far as the white house, that we might be out of the danger above-mention'd, and the pilot obstinately refusing to go any further, he had some strokes given him, and then laughing hoisted both his sails. We came to *Macao* before noon, where I was again courteously entertain'd by father *Joseph* of the conception, prior of the monastery of *St. Augustin*, as I had been at my first coming thither, and that night being *Sbrove-Tuesday*, we had an excellent supper aboard the *Spanish* vessel, all the *Spanish* merchants being there. The following days were spent in devotion, which is great there, and the churches much frequented by men and women. The womens apparel there is strange, the whole consisting of two pieces of silk, without the help of taylor, seizars,

or

GEMELLI 1697. or needle. One they wrap about their waste, and serves for a petticoat; the other covers the head and breast, the legs being left out with no other stockings than nature provided, and the feet with a sort of slippers. This habit, tho' not convenient, is very modest. But the ladies are better, and more decently clad. They generally go in wooden chairs gilt, and close on all sides, sitting after the *Turkish* fashion, with their legs a-crofs, the lowness of the chair not allowing them to sit any other way. They are carry'd like cages, hanging by an iron ring fastned to the top, through which they run a coltstaff. The men

wear long breeches down to their ankles, so that they look like so many shaggy dogs. The condition of the poor *Portuguese* of *Macao* is very deplorable, for want of trade, especially among the meaner sort. Whilst the trade with *Japan* flourish'd, the citizens were able to pave their streets with silver; but that ceasing they were reduced to the poverty they now labour under. Tho' the vessel was small, captain *Basarte* very generously gave me my passage to *Manila*; and therefore having no other business at *Macao*, I took my leave of my friends, to return to *Canton* for my equipage.

C H A P. VI.

The Author's Return to Canton another Way.

HAVING hir'd a chair for eight hundred and fifty *Chiappas*, I set forward upon *Saturday* 10th, before noon, pass'd first by *Caja-Blanca*, or white house, a little town, and the residence of a small *Mandarine*, and at night came to the village of *Juma*, having travell'd eighteen miles. I found a bad lodging, and worse supper in the inn, there being nothing to be had for money. *Sunday* the 11th, I set out with a *Chinese* that fell into my company, and we travell'd through hills and mountains. The chairmen were so weak that they often rested, which made me in pity to them walk a great part of the way. They were nothing like those of *Nangansu*, who carry'd me up a steep hill, without ever setting my foot to the ground. After noon we came to *Aonjon*, having travell'd eighteen miles more. I presently went aboard the passage boat for a few *Chiappas*, set sail about sun-set, and sail'd all night. *Monday* the 12th, the fair wind continuing we pass'd by *Sciante*. In this channel, tho' it be fresh water, an infinite quantity of oysters is taken; so large, that the shell of some of them weigh a pound; but generally half a pound; but the taste is not so delicious as ours. The *Chinese* use the shells in building, as if they were stones; and the *Portuguese* work them so thin that they serve instead of glass in their windows. *Tuesday* the 13th, we arriv'd at *Canton*, and I return'd to my usual abode at the *Spanish Franciscans*. *Wednesday* the 14th, as I was going to the painter that was at work for me, I met a pro-

cession of *Tauzu-Bonzes* going to a funeral in their copes adorn'd with gold. Before them were carry'd several umbrellas, idols on biers, silk banners, and others of painted paper, perfumes, and other things. *Thursday* the 15th, I saw the *Fuyen*, or vice-roy set out with a noble train of two hundred great boats finely gilt and painted, belonging to himself and the *Mandarines* that bore him company as far as *Fusian*. He was going thither to provide for the security of a third part of his province, where some mutiny or invasion of robbers was fear'd. The emperor had order'd that for the better securing of the province, it should be divided among three; one part to the vice-roy; another to the *Titu*, or general of the forces; and the third to the *Tsunto*; and every one of them to be accountable for what should happen within his division. *Friday* 16th, the little *Mandarine* of *Tunlan* (which signifies of the east shore) set out by the vice-roy's order, to compose the difference between the people of that small town and the *Spanish Franciscans*; who having purchas'd the ground to build a little church for the use of the christians of the place, had their work obstructed by those people, who fancy'd they should all die if the church were built; because it would take away their *Fuen-Seivy* (that is, wind and water), or good luck, as has been mention'd before. Being resolv'd to depart, I took leave of all the fathers, and return'd thanks to the *Franciscans* for having entertain'd me several months in their house.

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CHAP. VII.

The Author's return to Macao.

HAVING provided all things for my voyage, I put my goods and black aboard the vessel on *Tuesday* the 20th, and went thither my self after dinner. Tho' we were under sail all the rest of that day, and the following night, yet we made but little way. *Wednesday* the 21st, we pass'd by the town of *Sciunte*, and advanc'd considerably in the night. *Thursday* the 22d, the wind being contrary we made but little way. *Friday* the 23d, the same pilot made such a sacrifice, and with the same ceremonies as was mention'd before. He would not have us make water over that side of the boat which was reserv'd for that superstition. Coming to *Macao* betimes, the custom-house officers search'd the chests of silks, and weigh'd as well those that had gold in them, as the plain, wrought or unwrought, but they did not all pay alike. The duty is inconsiderable, that is, one, or one and a half per cent. The prior of *St. Augustin* lodg'd me. The following days I spent in visiting the captain of the vessel I was to go in, and some churches, and among the rest, the college of *St. Paul*, where there is part of the arm of *St. Francis Xavierius*, from the elbow to the shoulder, the rest with the hand being at *Rome*, in the profect's house of the *Jesuits*. *Wednesday* the 28th, I went up to see the fort on the north side, but when I came thither, the captain that was upon guard would not suffer me to go in; whereof making my complaint to some *Portuguese*, they desir'd

me not to look upon it, as proceeding from jealousy, but prudence, this being done, that none might see what a wretched condition the guns were in, which besides that they were few were all dismounted, by reason of the poverty of the city. So that I cannot perceive upon what grounds father *John Joseph* of *St. Teresa* says, the city of *Macao* is vastly rich, and that upon the coronation of king *John* the fourth, it sent him a considerable present of ready money, and two hundred pieces of brass cannon. The good father was so fond of cannon, that he would say any thing for it. I never heard a more extravagant romance, than when he tells us, that when the *Portuguese* took *Malacca* from the *Indians*, there were found in it three thousand pieces of brass cannon; whereas 'tis well known that number cannot be found in many considerable strong holds in *Europe* put together; and that *Malacca* is no other than a small village, made up of little houses, with mud walls, or at best of timber, and cover'd with palm-tree leaves, and the castle so small, that it could not hold so many pieces of cannon, tho' they had been laid one upon another. Perhaps the two hundred pieces *Macao* sent the king of *Portugal* were taken out of these three thousand, which could never be found throughout all *India*, either of brass, or iron. The following days, I took leave of my friends, and prepar'd for my voyage to *Manila*.

GEMELLI
1697.Hist. of
Brazil.
par. 2. lib.
1. pag. 19.

CHAP. VIII.

The Wreck of a small Vessel, and the wonderful escape, of some of the Sailors belonging to it.

Saturday the 31st, I took a boat to go see the green island, belonging to the fathers of the society, and not above a mile distant from the city. It is a mile in compass, and tho' it be all a solid barren rock, yet there is a convenient house in it, for the fathers to take their recreation, and about it some fruit-trees of *Lichas*, *Longans*, and *Vivas*, as also some few *Plantans*, and *Ananas*. In this island I found a brother, who told

me a strange story, which I had before heard from others, of a small vessel of the coast of *Coromandel*, aboard which, he himself had been a sailor. In the year 1682, it sail'd from the city of *Manila*, and port of *Cavite*, with about sixty persons aboard, *Portuguese*, *Moors*, and *Gentiles*. The pilot being ignorant of two banks, that lie off opposite to the islands of *Calamins*, run full upon one of them, where the ship split, and

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GEMELLI the goods were lost. The *Moors* and 1697. *Gentiles* attempting to get to a neighbouring island, a storm rising, sunk them, and the boat they went in. The rest waiting till the weather grew calm, made up a chest of boards, the best they could, and in it went over by degrees at several times to the island, which was not above two miles off, but finding no water in it, they remov'd to another, three miles from it; which they found as low as the other, very small, and without wood or water, so that for four days they were forced to drink the blood of tortoises. At length necessity sharpening their wits, they dug trenches in the island level with the water; and what came into them, tho' blackish they drank for want of better. In the mean while, providence, which never forsakes any body, fed them with tortoises; for they coming to lay their eggs, as they do for six months continually, they kill'd such a vast quantity, as serv'd to maintain them. When the season of the tortoises was past, there resorted to the island a sort of great sea-fowls, call'd by the *Spaniards*, but more especially by the *Portuguese*, *Paxaros-Bobos*, or *Passaros-Tolos*, that is, foolish birds, to build their nests; and these being very silly, as their name denotes, the men kill'd enough to serve them, with sticks; and thus eighteen of them, that had got into the island fed six months in the year upon tortoises, and the rest upon those birds, whereof they laid up provision drying them in the sun. They had no pots to boil them, but necessity taught them to make some of clay, but such as would serve only once. Their cloaths being quite worn out in seven years they led this painful life, they flead the birds, and stitching the skins together with needles, and thread, made of small palm-tree leaves, they made a shift to cover their nakedness. In winter they defended themselves the best they could in caves they dug with their hands. During this time several ships sail'd by, but, tho' they made all possible signs with fires to call them to their relief, none ever would come to their assistance, perhaps, for fear of the sands; and thus their hopes always ended in grief. At length they resolv'd to die, or put an end to their miseries; for the birds being frighted came not in such numbers as they had done at first; and they were like ghosts for want of fire and good food, and because the water was very

bad. They therefore made a small boat, or rather a chest of boards, caulking it with the cotton of a quilt they had, and instead of tar daubing it with tortoises grease. They made ropes of certain sinews in the tortoises, and sails of the skins of the birds sew'd together. In fine, they set out without a sufficient provision of birds, and water, reposing all their confidence in God's mercy, and at the end of eight days, arriv'd in the island of *Hainan*. Sixteen sailors landing, for two had dy'd in the little island, the *Chinese* fled, seeing them look like ghosts, and so strangely clad; but having given an account of their misfortunes, the *Mandarine* of the island caus'd them to be recover'd and restor'd to their strength with good provisions, and then furnish'd them with all necessaries to return home. The *Portuguese* coming to *Macao*, one of them found that his wife, believing him to be dead, had marry'd another husband; yet he took her again, and the other was forced to seek another, which perhaps was no great trouble to him.

Before I leave *China*, I am oblig'd, since it comes here into my mind, to acquaint the reader; that the *Chinese* women are much wrong'd in their reputation by the author of the relation of the *Dutch* embassy to *Peking*. In the first place he certainly dreamt that there were publick whores in *China*, and that they are carry'd about the towns on asses by those that deal in them; and that they cry, *Who will take her to him*, as other things are cry'd about the streets; further adorning his book with the figure of such a woman. To speak the truth, I have not met with any such piece of impudence in so many kingdoms and empires, as I have seen, whether they were *Moors*, or other barbarous nations; and as for *China*, having been in both the courts of *Peking* and *Nanking*, and gone the same way the *Dutch* ambassadors went, I never heard so abominable a traffick spoke of, much less could I see any thing like it; nay, they have not so much as the name of whores, much less a toleration of them, to prevent the debauching of youth; and if there should happen to be any such women, they would be most severely punish'd. So that father *Philip Grimaldi*, who was interpreter to the embassy had reason to tell me, that the author of that relation has writ as many lies as words.

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Sunday the first of April, the last *Chi-
ampan*, or boat loaded with silks ar-
riv'd. It was hir'd by *Dominick Seila*,
factor to the *Spanish* vessel, that the ship
might not be detain'd any longer for
want of its loading. Yet they were fain
to stay Monday the 2d, as well because
Semea, the *Tjuntio's* servant was absent,
who had taken charge of that affair
which amounted to the value of twenty
eight thousand pieces of eight, and be-
cause a companion of his, who brought
the remainder of the silks, would not de-
liver them without him; as also by rea-
son the *Hupu*, or *Chinese* customer, for
his private interest, delay'd signing the
Chiappa, or license to depart, which cap-
tain *Bajarte* press'd for, that he might
sail; the *Portuguese* general, as they call
him, allowing none to sail without the
Hupu's leave: At last, on Tuesday the
3d, some of the chief customers clerks

came to the captain's house, with whom
the business was adjusted for fifty ducats,
over and above all duties; and accord-
ingly on Wednesday the 4th, the head
clerk came again with a great many un-
der clerks, and other small officers to de-
liver the captain the *Chiappa*, or license
to sail, and he rewarded them for their
pains. Thursday the 5th, *Semea* came,
and deliver'd silks to the value of twenty
eight thousand pieces of eight, re-
ceiving fifteen thousand that were be-
hind. Friday the 6th, when the vessel
was ready to sail, I having been too
negligent before, had a great deal of
trouble to make the necessary provision
for my voyage in such a hurry. Here
the reader must give me leave to put
an end to this volume of the account
of *China*, and to begin the next with
the *Philippine* islands.

GEMELLI
1697.

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Vol. I

A Voyage round the World, by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part V.

Containing the most remarkable things he saw in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

The Author's Voyage from Macao, to the Philippine Islands.

SO great is the dignity and excellency of humane nature, and so active those sparks of heavenly fire it partakes of, that they ought to be look'd upon as very mean, and unworthy the name of men, who thro' pusillanimity, by them call'd prudence, or thro' sloth, which they stile moderation, or else through avarice, to which they give the name of frugality, at any rate withdraw themselves from performing great and noble actions. Many make it their business to extoll the glorious undertakings of others, both in verse and prose; and yet very few will attempt those things that may purchase them such praise. It is easy to find many poets and orators, who make it their business to panegyryze Alexander, Cæsar, Themistocles and Scipio, who had not the heart to imitate them in any one thing. Having from my youth been an utter enemy to this vice, and being taught by custom to endure the fatigues of long voyages; I resolv'd without any demur to sail from Macao, to the Philippine Islands, in the Spanish vessel bound thither with silks, as has been mention'd in the last volume; in order to expose my self afterwards to the most dangerous voyage that can possibly be imagin'd, in which for seven months I was to be by most boisterous and frightful storms.

It was now the 7th of April 1696, when the captain of the ship, being ready to sail, gave a noble fare-well feast to his friends, at which I was, and after dinner went aboard, thinking the Spanish merchants too dainty, who staid ashore to enjoy their beds

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one night the more. Sunday 8th, the *Xipu*, GEMEL-
or customers head clerk, came aboard with LI.
other officers to search the vessel, according 1697.
to custom, to see whether there were any Chinese men or women aboard. Though they had been abundantly presented by the captain, yet their insatiable avarice put new projects of interest into their heads, notwithstanding the agreement made the day before. They said they must make a new search among the silks, to see whether there were any yellow, or that had dragons wrought in it with five claws, which are the emperor's peculiar device, or mark of distinction, and there being of both sorts abroad, and both prohibited to be exported, there was no remedy but compounding the matter for a sum of pieces of eight, whereupon they all went away about noon well satisfy'd. Being deliver'd from the troublesome custom-house officers, after dinner when the tide serv'd, we weigh'd anchor, and fell down with it, the wind not proving very favourable. Coming up with the fort of the bar, we kept so close under the land, that the vessel run a ground; but one *Salvaetta* a *Biscayner*, who was an able sailor, carrying out an anchor, soon brought her off. Having saluted the fort with five or six brass guns the vessel carry'd, we held on our way; but at midnight came to an anchor among some islands twelve leagues from Macao. That night there came up a *Lorgia*, or bark, with some bales of silk for the pilot. Whilst the silks were putting aboard, a *Moor*, and another slave of *Timor*, hid themselves aboard our vessel, in order to go away

GEMEL-away to Manila, but the captain made them be found out, and put aboard the 1697. *Lorgia*, notwithstanding the *Moor*, rather than be turn'd away, said, *he would become a christian.*

The author at sea.

Monday 9th, the wind being contrary, we weigh'd anchor late, and advanced but two leagues. *Tuesday* 10th, the wind being fair, we hoisted sail about noon, and held on our course, not only all night, but *Wednesday* 11th, got out of the narrow channels among the islands into the open sea. About sun-set, we sailed by the *White Rock*, which is very dangerous. *Thursday* 12th, the wind blew so fresh, that we made much way; and as before we steer'd east, to avoid the flats which stretch twelve miles in length, from this time forward, we flood east south east, which is the direct course for the island of *Manila*. *Friday* 13th, the wind was so full in our teeth, that we could not gain ground, and to add to it, on *Saturday* 14th, the current carry'd us away to the southward. *Sunday* 15th, the wind abated, and *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday* till sun-set, we were becalm'd; but a gale starting up afterwards, we began to make way. This pass'd like a dream, for it lasted only that night, and we were again becalm'd, upon *Maunday Thursday* in the Morning. *Friday* 20th, the sailors catch'd a great shark with a hook, and found in its belly three small ones, which being cast into the sea, scudded about. Some said the great one was a female, and the small ones her young, whom she had swallow'd, that they might not be lost, and they use to carry them under their fins, for the same reason. Others were of opinion they had been hatch'd in her belly out of eggs, which is more likely, if we consider there are some sorts of fish that breed in their bellies, as is daily observ'd in eels. The calm held holy *Saturday* and *Easter Sunday*, which was kept as well as such a small vessel would permit. *Tuesday* 24th, the wind blew fair a while, but the calm return'd. *Wednesday* 25th, *Thursday* 26th, after noon the wind came up again, and carry'd us so far, that on *Friday* 27th, we saw the land of *Ilocos*, in the island of *Manila*. *Saturday* 28th, we coasted along with a fair wind, so that *Sunday* 29th, we discover'd *Cape Bolinas*, and the land of *Pangasinan*, metropolis of the province. *Monday* 30th, continu'd coasting the island of *Manila*.

Tuesday the 1st of *May*, there being but little wind, we drew close under the shore; and *Wednesday* 2d, it was so calm, that we could not get by two little islands, call'd *Las dos Hermanas*, or *The two Sisters*. *Thursday* 3d, made as little way. *Friday* 4th, advanced no faster, and could scarce come

up with *Pla-ya-onda*. In this place is a small fort, with twenty *Spaniards* in it, sent thither by the governor of *Manila* as a punishment. The *Dominican* fathers have a mission-house there, to instruct the *Indians* that are converted to the faith. *Saturday* 5th, we saw a prodigy upon the sea, that is, a vast quantity of water drawn up into the air, the *Spaniards* call it *Manga*, the *English* a spout. The former said it was form'd in the air like a rain-bow; but would not grant upon any account, that the only difference between them, was that the rain-bow was compos'd of smaller drops, and the spout of greater. It was the fore-runner of a mighty storm, which rose at midnight, and lasted till next day at noon, putting us in danger of being lost; but ceasing then, we weather'd *Cape Capones*, so call'd, because of two little rocks lying off a little distant from it. This cape butts out far into the sea, and is therefore troublesome to weather. That night we anchor'd opposite to the bay of *Mari-mau*, because it was not thought fit to enter it in the dark, by reason of the flats. *Monday* 7th, the anchor was weigh'd sometimes, but little way made, for want of wind, and we scarce got to *Cape Botan*. At sun-set the wind blew hard, with thunder, lightning, and rain, driving us forward, not without danger. Next we pass'd by the rocks call'd *De las Puercas y Puerquitos*, that is, the sows and pigs, being two great, and five little ones, at the mouth of the channel near the island *Maribeles*, and another call'd *la Monja*, or *the Nun*. As we came up the channel, between the island *Maribeles* and the *Punta del Diablo*, or *the Devil's point*, the house upon *Mirabeles* put up a light, that we might not run aground in the dark night. Perceiving that the guard of the island of *Ilas*, or *Maribeles* had not discern'd us, by reason of the darkness, we set up a light to give notice; and then the ensign who was upon guard, came in a small boat to examine us, and know whence we came. He came aboard, and having stay'd an hour, telling us how affairs stood at *Manila*, went his way. Sailing on all night, on *Tuesday* 8th of *May*, we found our selves directly opposite to the castle of *Cavite*. Whilst we were drawing nearer to *Manila*, colonel *Andaya* came aboard to see our captain. He was saluted coming, and going, with six pedereroes. With him came several others, among whom was *D. Gabriel de Sturis* of *Pampilona*, who being a professor of the civil-law, as well as I, we soon contracted friendship. They brought a good refreshment of chocolate, grapes, melons, and other fruit of the country, which we had need enough of, after our fatigue.

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Reasons
for sailing
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a stay at
Cebu

Being inform'd that *F. Antonine Tutio* of *Messina* was rector of *Manila*, I went ashore that same day to see him, and with his assistance provide me a lodging. He rejoic'd at my coming, for *F. Turcott*, had sent him an account of it from *China*, persuading him I was an apostolick emissary, sent to inquire into the differences between the millioners and vicars apostolick, of which opinion many more were at *Manila*. Asking *F.* rector what day of the week and month it was there, he told me that at *Manila*, it was *Monday* the 7th of *May*, whereas according to my reckoning and journal, begun in *Europe* from east to west, and according to the reckoning of the *Portuguese*, I took it to be *Tuesday* the 8th of *May*, the feast of the apparition of *St. Michael*. This surpriz'd me very much at first, seeing I should have two *Tuesdays* in one week, one at sea, and the other at *Manila*; but afterwards considering that the tables of the sun's declination are made for one fix'd, and determinate meridian; and that all the interval of time the sun spends with the motion of the *Primum-mobile*, performing his round, from his departure from one meridian till his return to the same, is divided into 24 spaces, call'd hours, my admiration ceas'd. Two vessels therefore departing from the same meridian upon the same day, and the one sailing east, the other west, with the same tables of declination, when they have both run round the world, and return to the place whence they set out, it will appear that the ship which sail'd east, will reckon a day more than in reality the sun has made, according to the tables of declination; for as the ship gains meridians eastward, so the days it reckons are all less than twenty-four hours, and every fifteen degrees it runs to the eastward, the days will have lost an hour, and so proportionably ninety degrees will cut off six hours, and the sun will fall short so much of the declination, set down in the tables for that day either increasing, or diminishing. So when the vessel has made the whole round eastward, running over the 360 degrees, which answer to a whole day, the sailor who comes into the port, will take it to be one day, according to his computation of short days, but in reality, and according to the tables by which the inhabitants of the port are govern'd, it will be a day short of his reckoning; and therefore if on that day, the declination increases, it is certain all that must be deducted, that the said declination rises in a day, and if the declination falls short, so much must be added, to come up to the declination of the tables, which is true and immutable. The contrary happens to the ship that sails westward; for

the further it goes from the port, the diurnal motion of the sun will be the more above twenty four hours, and therefore the sailor will always reckon greater days, that is, every 15 degrees he removes from the meridian where he set out he will gain an hour, and in 90 degrees six hours more than the tables set down; and lastly, having run round the world, will find one day less in his journal than is in the tables, and therefore will come to his port, according to his account, a day short of the account of the place. In this case he must add all that the sun increases in declination from one day to another, deducting what is wanting that day; all that has been said will be the plainer by the following example.

Two vessels sail'd from the port of *Lisbon* on the 1st of *May* 1630, the one east, the other west, and having both sail'd round the world, return'd together to the same port of *Lisbon* on the 1st of *May* 1631, being the third after leap year. On that day, according to the tables, the sun's declination was 15 degrees and 6 minutes, and its increase from one day to another is 18 minutes; that day at *Lisbon* happen'd to be *Thursday*; but he that had sail'd eastward having made the days less, it follow'd of necessity, that at the end of his voyage he had a whole one over; and found by his reckoning that he was come to *Lisbon* upon *Friday* the 2d of *May*, and therefore said the sun's declination was 15 degrees and 24 minutes, which was not true, because according to the tables he came to the port on the 1st of *May*, when the sun's declination was but 15 degrees and 6 minutes. Therefore deducting the 18 minutes the sun at that time advances in a day, there remains the true declination of the first of *May* 1631. But he that sail'd west, and consequently had longer days, of necessity at the end of his voyage found a day short, so that according to his account he thought he had come to *Lisbon* on *Wednesday* before the first day of *May*, and therefore found the declination on his tables to be 14 degrees and 48 minutes, but saw he was deceiv'd, finding at the port it was the 1st of *May*, and the sun's declination 15 degrees and 6 minutes. Therefore adding 18 minutes to 14 degrees and 48 minutes, it produces 15 degrees and 6 minutes, the sun's true declination on the 1st of *May*. Thus the two ships we speak of, according to their reckoning, differ'd from one another two days, because that which sail'd east, thought he came to the port of *Lisbon* on *Friday* the 2d of *May*, and the other believ'd he came on *Wednesday* the last of *April*; but according to the true account both vessels

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GEMEL-fels arriv'd on the 1st of May. If it were possible to make a watch so true, as that it should never err; a sailor departing from *Naples* with it going, and sailing round the world, would at his return to *Naples* find the same day without any mistake. So setting out of *Naples* at six of the clock, and sailing 90 degrees in six hours, as the sun runs (were this possible to be done) when he would believe it to be twelve in the meridian he came to, as it was where he left, he would to his astonishment find it was still six of the Clock.

Having therefore found what I say to be true by experience, I shall hereafter proceed in my journal according to the computation of *Manila*, sinking a day I had over according to the computation of the east and *Macao*, and instead of *Tuesday* the 8th, I will call it *Monday* the 7th. *Tuesday* the 8th, I return'd to the vessel for my baggage, and din'd there with *D. Dominick de Seila* the factor, who staid there to take care of it, till it was searched. Three hours before sun-set, captain

Bafarte sent word every one might carry off his equipage, because the king's duties were fix'd at 3000 pieces of eight, which was a small matter for the value of 200000 pieces of eight, the *Chinese* paying six per Cent. I landed with my equipage near *St. Dominick's* gate, where I found an adjutant sent by the governor, who told me he expected me at his palace. I went thither immediately, and was courteously receiv'd and treated with sweetmeats and chocolate. He was a gentleman as honourable as curious, and therefore kept me with him four hours, enquiring concerning the customs of those kingdoms and nations I had travell'd through; so that his coach and six horses being ready to carry him out to take the air, he caus'd the horses to be taken out to satisfy his curiosity. When I took my leave he civilly offer'd me any thing I should stand in need of. I lent my goods to an apartment in the colleges, whither the rector came to honour me, as he had done the night before.

CHAP. II.

The description of the city *Manila*, and its suburbs.

Situation of *Manila*.

MANILA is seated in 14. degrees and 40 minutes of north latitude, and 148 degrees of longitude. For this reason the days and nights are always of a length, or at least never vary above an hour winter and summer; but is excessive hot, as being under the torrid zone. It stands upon that point of land, where the river that comes out of the lake runs into the sea; and whence *Ragia* the Moor, who had fortify'd himself with ramparts, upheld by palm-trees, and furnish'd with small guns, was beaten out by *Michael Lopez* on the 19th of June 1571. Its compass is two miles, its length a third of a mile. The shape of it is irregular, being narrow at both ends, and wide in the middle. It has six gates, call'd *De los Almazenes*, or of the magazines; *Santo Domingo*, or *St. Dominick*; *Parian*; *Puerta Real*, or the royal gate; *St. Lucia*; and the *Possigo*, or the postern. The wall on the side next *Cavite* is strengthen'd with five little towers, with iron guns; but on the angle next the land is a noble bulwark, call'd *la Pindazion*, or the foundary; and beyond it another not inferior to it, betwixt which two is *Puerta Real*, or the royal gate, which is also well furnish'd with brass guns, and good outworks. Further on is the gate of *Parian*, so call'd because it looks to the village of that name, over which there is very good brass artillery. Going along

Strength.

still by the river side, the next is *St. Dominick's* tower, as being near the monastery of the *Dominicans*, as fo going on the circumference of the city ends at the castle, which terminates the length of the city. Thus on the south it is wash'd by the sea, and on the north and east by the river, over which there are draw-bridges to enter at the royal gate, and that of *Parian*.

The palaces of *Manila*, though they be built all of timber above the first floor, yet are beautiful to behold for their handsome galleries. The streets are broad, but the frequent earthquakes had spoil'd their uniformity; several houses and palaces being overthrown, and little hope of re-building them; and this is the reason why the inhabitants live in wooden houses. *Manila* contains about 3000 souls, but these of such different mixtures as to qualities and colour, that they are distinguish'd by several strange names. This has happen'd by the conjunction of *Spaniards*, *Indians*, *Chinese*, *Malabares*, *Blacks*, and others inhabiting that city and islands depending on it; as is also fallen out in the *Portuguese* conquests in the *East Indies*, and the kingdom of *Peru* and *Mexico* in the *West Indies*. They call him *Criollo*, whose father is a *Spaniard*, and mother a *West Indian*, or the contrary; *Mestizo* is the son of a *Spaniard*, and an *East Indian*; *Castizo*, or *Terzeron*, of a *Mestizo* man and woman; *Quartaron* of a black

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black man and *Spanish* woman; *Mulato* of a black woman and white man; *Griſo* of a black woman, and *Mulato*; *Sambo* of a *Mulata* woman, and an *Indian*; and *Cabra* of an *Indian* woman, and *Sambo*; and fo other ridiculous names.

The women of quality in *Manila* go in the *Spanish* habit; the common fort have no need of tailors, for a piece of *Indian* ſtuff call'd *Saras*, wrapp'd about their middle, and hanging down, ſerves for a petticoat; and another they call *Cbinina* from the waſt upwards, for a waſtcoat. The legs and feet ſtand in need of no ſhoe and ſhoos by reaſon of the heat. The *Spaniards* are clad after the *Spanish* faſhion, only on their feet they wear wooden clogs, becauſe of the rains. The *Indians* are forbid wearing ſtockings, and they muſt of neceſſity go bare-legg'd. Thoſe that live well have always a ſervant to carry an umbrella to ſave them from the ſun. The women have fine chairs, or hamacks, being nets hanging by a long pole carry'd by two men, in which they are carry'd at their eaſe.

Though *Manila* be ſmall, if we look upon the circumference of its walls, and the number of inhabitants, yet it will appear large if we include its ſuburbs; for within a muſket-shot of the gate of *Parian*, is the habitation of the *Chinese* merchants call'd *Sangleys*, who in ſeveral ſtreets have rich ſhops of ſilk, porcellane, and other commodities. Here are found all arts and trades, ſo that all the citizens are worth, runs through their hands, through the fault of the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who apply themſelves to nothing. There are about 3000 of them in this ſuburb, and as many more about the iſlands; which is permitted them, if not as chriſtians, at leaſt in hopes they may become ſuch, tho' many are converted for fear of being baniſh'd. There were formerly 4000, but abundance of them were put to death in tumults they rais'd at ſeveral times, and particularly that on *St. Francis*'s eve in 1603, and they were afterwards prohibited ſtaying in the iſland by his catholic majesty. This order is very little obſerved, for there always remain behind hid many of thoſe that come every year in 40 or 50 *Cibampans* loaded with commodities; the profit being very great at *Manila*, which they could not find in *China*, by reaſon of the ſmall price manufactures bear. The merchants or *Sangleys* of *Perian* are govern'd by an *alcade*, to whom they allow a good ſalary, as they do to the ſolicitor their proteſtor, to his ſteward, and other officers. Beſides all the duties and taxes to the king, they pay his majesty 10000 pieces of eight a year for the privilege of

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playing at *Metua*, at their new year, and yet this permiſſion is but for a few days, that they may not throw away other men's money. *Metua* is the game of even or odd, at which they play laying down ſmall heaps of money to be won or loſt by gueſſing right. They that uſe this ſport are ſo expert, that they know the number by the dimenſions of the heap, and ſometimes ſharply withdraw a piece to make their number fall right. The *Spaniards* keep theſe *Chinese* very much under, not ſuffering them to be in chriſtian houſes at night, and obliging them to be without light in their houſes and ſhops, to break them of the abominable vice that nation is inclin'd to.

Over the bridge adjoining to *Parian*, or the ſuburbs or hamlets of *Tondo*, *Minondo*, *Santa Cruz*, *Dilao*, *S. Miguel*, *S. Juan-de-Bagumbaya*, *Santiago*, *Nueſtra-Senora-de-la-Hermita*, *Malati*, *Chiapo*, and others, to the number of 15 in all, inhabited by *Indians*, *Tagalis* and other nations, under the government of an *alcade*. The houſes are generally of wood, near the river and ſtanding on pillars, with boats going up to them, after the manner of *Siam*. The tops of them are cover'd with *Nipa*, or palm-tree leaves; the ſides are of cane, and they go up ladders to ſome of them, becauſe the ground is moiſt and ſometimes full of water. In the time of the petty king *Matanda*, *Tondo* was fortify'd with ramparts and cannon, but could make little reſiſtance againſt the *Spaniards*. In the ſpace between theſe hamlets on both ſides of the river, as far as the lake of *Babi*, there are gardens, farms and country houſes, pleaſant enough to behold, ſo that looking on it altogether, it is much like the large ſcattering villages of *Siam*.

Wednesday 9th, after other viſits I went to wait upon the father provincial of the Jeſuits, and he being a very knowing perſon, and who had travell'd much, particularly in *America*; we ſpent the reſt of the day in diſcourſe of ſeveral ſorts, but eſpecially arguing whether *California* was an iſland as ſome imagine, or a part of the continent join'd to *New Spain*. The provincial was of opinion it was part of the continent, becauſe ſome fathers of the ſociety having gone up the mouth of its ſtreight which is 60 leagues over, and run up it many leagues, found at laſt that there was but very little water in the channel, and could go no further; by which he gueſs'd that long bay had no communication with the northern ſea, ſo as to make *California* an iſland.

Thursday 10th, I went to the monaſtery of *S. Clare*. The church is little, but has three conſiderable altars. In the monaſte-

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GEMEL-ry are 40 nuns of the order of *S. Francis*, who live upon alms given them by the king and many private persons, being such strict observers of their rules that they receive no portions nor servants. These good religious women came first out of *New Spain* in 1621.

Chapple
royal.

Next I saw the royal chappel seated before the castle, apart from the governour's palace. It is well adorn'd with images, and the high altar is all gilt, as are the two side ones, and that in the wall on the right hand. At the end of the chappel there are two quires, one over another, both well wrought. Eight chaplains serve it with an allowance of 15 pieces of eight per month, and 50 to the chaplain major, all paid out of the king's revenue, and these may be chang'd at the governor's pleasure. They are oblig'd to bury the soldiers, and have a settled allowance for masses for their souls. Upon great days the governor is on the right or gospel side of the altar, with a chair on a floor lifted up a step, and the *ordores* or judges of the king's court on the left, next to whom are the *alcades* of the city.

Orphans
hospital.

Friday 11th, I went to the church of the *Mercordia*, dedicated to *S. Elizabeth*, in which monastery the orphan daughters of *Spaniards* and *Mestizos* are receiv'd, and if they marry have a portion of 300 and sometimes 400 pieces of eight given them. If they will be nuns they have also an allowance for it, they are 40 or 50 at most. The church has a fine high altar, and two side ones.

Augusti-
ani.

Saturday 12th, I was in the monastery of the fathers of the order of *S. Augustin*, which is very large and has spacious dormitories vaulted. The church is also vaulted, but low. There are in it 15 altars well gilt, and some of them with antependiums of beaten silver. The sacristy is rich and handsome. On the outside the church has a good front, but most of the structure is wood, because of the continual earthquakes, so that it was easily burnt in 1582. There are in the monastery about 30 religious men.

The ca-
stle.

Sunday 13th, I saw the castle of *S. James*, seated as was said before, at the west end of the city, shut in on one side by the sea, and on the other by the river. The ditch that parts it from the city is very deep and fill'd with the flood, there is a drawbridge over it. At the two ends of the ditch there are two bulwarks, one close to the river, the other not far from the sea, but furnish'd with good cannon. The other point of the triangle westward near the sea, is defended by a great tower, which guards the mouth of the river, and the port (which is only fit for small vessels) with two small batteries level with the wa-

ter. After passing two gates is the *corps de garde*, and then a large place of arms, opposite to which is the second *corps de garde*, the governor of the castle's house, and another place of arms.

The college of the fathers of the society *Jesu* is very large, and adorn'd with high and long vaults and spacious dormitories, but all above the ground-floor is wood for fear of the earthquakes. For the same reason it is all supported by high pillars, that the weight may not lye upon the wall which would not be able to withstand such shaking, which same thing is used in all the houses in the islands. In the middle is a stately cloister, and the church, which is one of the best in the city. The high altar is made like a semicircle, all well adorn'd with pillars, and delicate carving richly gilt, which shines the more by reason of the nearness of the cupolo. Six other altars well gilt answer the high altar. The front over the great gate is of carv'd stone very finely. This college is of the invocation of *S. Ignatius*, and was founded upon the arrival of the first bishop of *Manila* in 1581, by *F. Antony Sedeno-y-Alonso*. Joining to the same is the college of *S. Joseph*, where at this time there are 40 collegians studying humanity, philosophy and divinity; for all degrees are given in it. It has particular revenues besides the king's allowance; and some collegians pay 150 pieces of eight a year. They are clad in purple with red cloth gowns. The graduates, by way of distinction from the humanists, wear a thing like a collar of the same cloth.

Monday 14th, I went to see the cathedral, which is large but not well adorn'd within, the walls being black, and the altars in no good order. It has in all 12 chappels and altars besides the high altar. The roof is supported by 12 pillars, 6 on a side. The quire is near the great gate, and there sits the archbishop, whose revenue is 6000 pieces a year, with 12 canons who have 4 or 500 each out of the king's revenue, because there are no tithes. *F. Francis-Dominick-de-Salazar* came in 1581, to be the first bishop of *Manila*, and the first archbishop in 1598, was *F. Ignatius-de-Santi-Bannez* of the order of *S. Francis*.

Tuesday 15th, I saw the church of the barefoot fathers of the order of *S. Augustin*, which tho' small is well set out, there being 7 altars well gilt, and the roof handsome enough. Wednesday 16th, I was in the church of *S. Dominick*, which if it were not dark, would be one of the best in the city. There are in it 8 altars well painted, but not well gilt, no more than is the roof. The dormitories and gilleries are large enough. These religious men came to settle

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tle at Manila in 1587. Adjoining to the church is the college of *S. Thomas*, whose revenue maintains 50 collegians, to study the sciences. Their habit is green, with carnation satten gowns. There is another college call'd of *S. John Lateran*, belonging to the same *Dominican* fathers, where about 70 boys are taught to read and write, to be remov'd from thence to that of *S. Thomas*, there to study humanity, philosophy and divinity, and to take their degrees as they do in that of *S. Joseph*; yet with this difference, that none but the sons of *Spaniards* are admitted into the college of *S.*

Thomas; but in the other they admit those of *Mestizos*, who are clad in blue, and oblig'd upon festivals to serve in the royal chapel, as maintain'd in a college of a royal foundation. They are receiv'd gratis in both of them. His catholic majesty out of his goodness allows oyl for the lamps, and *Spanish* wine for the masses to all the churches here mention'd, and all others in the islands. But where there are commendaries or baronies, the possessor pays the curate, and every 500 houses are made to allow 25 pounds of oil.

C H A P. III.

What more the author saw in Manila, after his return from Cavite.

A Galeon being shortly to sail for *New England*, whither I was desirous to go, I desir'd the governour to grant me my passage aboard it; which he very honourably did, notwithstanding the great difficulties that commonly occur in such cases; because there are a great many *Spanish* merchants that desire to come from thence every year to the *Philippine* islands on account of trade, and there is but one ship, which cannot carry so many, and therefore they get mighty recommendations to secure their passage a year before. However the governor, because I was a stranger, and he had all this while taken much pleasure in discoursing with me, prefer'd me before another; ordering me to go to *Cavite*, where the galeon lay, and he would order I should have conveniences allow'd me aboard it. Accordingly I went on *Thursday* 17th, and having a little cabin assign'd me, which was to be my prison for a voyage of 7 months, I found much difficulty about my diet; for the captain, pilot, master and mate, being desir'd by the castellan of *Cavite* to admit me to their table, excus'd themselves, saying, They had already undertaken to furnish so many passengers, as could be maintain'd by the provisions they were allowed to put aboard. I was therefore oblig'd to agree with the boatswain, who with difficulty consented to do it for an hundred pieces of eight, to oblige the governor of the castle; whereas it is usual to pay 5 or 600 pieces of eight for a cabin and diet, because the cabin costs more than the provisions.

Friday 18th, I lodg'd at *Cavite* in the house of *Joseph* of *Milan*, who had been 30 years married at *Cavite*. He was master or chief pilot to a small vessel of the king's, which was by his majesty's order to sail speedily for the *Marian* islands, with supplies, and to discover the southern islands

particularly *Carolina*, discover'd some years since, the conquest whereof had been laid aside. *Saturday* 19th, I return'd to *Manila*, and because the religious mutter'd at my stay in the monastery, I thought of leaving that lodging, that the *F. rector*, who had entertain'd me so courteously, might not hear those indiscreet complaints. They said my apartment was for those who were to perform the spiritual exercise; and they knowing my speedy departure would not allow me leisure to enter upon it, as having business to do in the city, told me I might stay, if I would go upon that act of piety. Being sensible of what they aim'd at, I told them I had not so much leisure to perform that devotion, which requir'd time and sedateness, and so left the apartment.

Sunday 20th, I remov'd to the apartment of *F. Antony* of *St. Paul*, chaplain to the royal hospital. This hospital was founded for the *Spanish* soldiers. The king allows it 250 pieces of eight per month, whereof 40 to the chaplain aforesaid, 25 to the apothecary, 25 to the steward, 25 to the physician, and other officers, and the rest is spent upon the sick: Besides, the king allows fowl, rice, grain, wood, salt, sweetmeats and cloth. As for the fabrick it is very large, with galleries that will hold 300 sick men, and rooms for all servants. This hospital was burnt in 1603, when a great part of the city was consum'd, as also the monastery of *St. Dominick*, and the king's magazines. *Monday* 21st, I went to return the governour thanks for the favours he had done me, he being then at a little country house in a small island made by the river, half a league from the city. He was retir'd thither to be more at leisure to dispatch the galeon, the court being shut upon the same occasion. This holds for a month, that all the ministers may have

GEMEL have time to write to court, and draw up
LI. all proceſſes and informations that are to
1697. be ſent thither. The houſe is handſome

tho' the upper apartment be of wood. The garden is pleaſant and has the proſpect of the river, on which boats are continually going up and down, carrying provisions to the city from the lake of *Babi*. *Tueſday* 22d, I went two miles out of town to ſee the *Doctrina*, or pariſh of the fathers of the order of *St. Auguſtin*, otherwiſe call'd *Nueſtra-Senora-de-los-remedios*. All the front and inſide of the church was adorn'd by a *Portugueſe* father, with oſter and other ſea-ſhells artificially placed, as in the cloiſter and galleries above; ſo that any ſtranger that takes the pains to go thither, does not think his labour loſt. Before the gate is a ſquare bank of flowers parted in the form of a croſs, with little trees that are a great beauty to it.

Franciſcans. *Wednesday* 23d, I ſaw the *Franciſcans*. Their church is ſmall, but has ſix altars well gilt, and adorn'd ſuitable to the poverty they profeſs. Theſe fathers came to *Manila* on the 2d of *Auguſt* 1577, and were diſtributed to take

An hoſpi- care of pariſhes. *Thursday* 24th, I went tal. to ſee *St. Potenciana* a monaſtery or rather hoſpital, founded by the king for 16 poor orphans, to whom he allows a competent maintenance, and a portion when they marry. Marry'd women are alſo admitted, and leud women put in by the magiſtrates, but they have no communication with the 16 orphans. The whores are maintain'd by the king, and they are to work for him. The church has three decent altars.

Friday 25th, I went out at the *Puerta real*, or royal gate, to the hoſpital of *St. Lazarus*, a mile from the city. The men were in the under gallery, and the women in the upper, all well ſerv'd at the king's expence. Walking out on *Sunday* 27th, I went ſo far before I bethought me, that I was near the powder-houſe three miles from the city. Going in I found it was a ſmall fort, with little towers and ſmall guns on them, and within the place ſeveral rooms where they make the powder for the king's ſervice.

Cock-fighting. *Monday* 28th, I ſaw a cock-fighting, a ſport ſo much us'd in the *Philippine* iſlands, that whole families are ruin'd by it. They breed them tame, and apart, that they may be the more fierce when they come together. The owners lay great ſums on their heads, and faſten gavelocks on their heels; then they make them peck one another on the head, the more to enrage them, and then let them down together to arm'd. They fall on more like lions than cocks, attacking, and riſing one againſt another, till they tear their very bowels out, and one is left dead, or ſo wounded, that the other remains maſter of the field.

Tueſday 29th, the porter of the royal court ſhew'd it me. We went in at another door than that which leads to the governor's apartment, and going up a large ſtair-caſe, came into a fine gallery, and then into the hall handſomely hung with damask. At the end was a great canopy, and under it a long bench cover'd with ſilk, on which the governor ſits in the middle of the *oydores*, or judges, who take place according to ſeniority, with a great table before them cover'd with crimſon velvet, all eight ſteps above the floor. The advocates or lawyers generally ſit on two low benches, out from under the canopy, and on another little bench the relator, or clerk, below on the floor of the hall oppoſite to the judges, who as they ſit together in a body have the title of highneſs given them. Adjoining to this hall is another room, where they uſe to meet to conſult about important affairs. There is alſo a chapel to ſay maſs in, all well hung with damasks, and other ſilks; and all the ſtructure beautify'd with galleries plac'd for the judges to divert them.

The governor's palace adjoining to it, *Court* cho' a timber building for the moſt part, is not ſo large and handſome. It is ſquare, and the windows and galleries uniform on every ſide, as well without, as in the court, and wants nothing either for ornament or convenience. Before it is a ſpacious parade, on which, by reaſon of its largeneſs, and being but little frequented, there grows as much graſs and hay, as would keep ſeveral horſes.

Wednesday 30th, I went to *Dilao*, a pa- riſh belonging to the *Recollects*. The church is ſmall, and the convent no bigger than for eight friars. *Thursday* 31ſt, I ſaw the pariſh belonging to the fathers of the ſociety without the walls of the city. The church is large, but indifferently adorn'd. There they adminiſter the ſacraments to the *Chi-neſe* chriſtians, and preach in their language.

Friday the firſt of *June*, I went to ſee the *Dominicans* church of *Parian*, which is well adorn'd, and ſerv'd by three prieſts, who aſſiſt the *Chineſe* and *Indians*. This is all that *Manila* affords remarkable for churches, palaces, or any other thing. I ſhall conclude this chapter with a ſtrange paſſage told me by *F. Francis Borgia*, of the ſociety of *Jeſus*, procurator of the miſſion in the *Philippine* iſlands, and by ſeveral religious men and citizens of reputation. In the year 1680, *D. Maria de Quiros*, Wife to *D. Joſeph Armijo*, was deliver'd at *Manila*, after going two years with child, and the birth was declar'd legitimate. The matter of fact is publick, and well known, and happen'd very lately, but it being a very difficult matter, and almoſt impoſſible to go two years with child, the reader may believe as he pleaſes.

CHAP. IV.

The author's short journey to the lake of Bahi.

^{Bridges of} ^{canes.} **H**AVING a particular curiosity to see the lake of *Bahi*, I set out towards it a horseback on *Saturday* the 2d betimes. After riding six miles, I pass'd through *Paragnach*, a parish belonging to the fathers the order of *St. Augustin*, where there being a bridge of Canes over the river, the horses were fain to be swum over, which was repeated a league further in passing another channel where there was another bridge of canes. What with these delays, and the guides not knowing the way well, night overtook me near a farm of *St. Peter*, belonging to the fathers of the society, where I was forced to lie. The father who resided there made as much of me, as the country and smallness of the place would permit.

Sunday 3d, I proceeded on my journey, but the ignorant *Indian* having carry'd me again, as he did the day before, into plow'd lands and woods, where he knew not how to get into the road again, I was oblig'd to put into *Vignan*, a farm belonging to the *Dominicans*. I heard mass, and then to be rid of the folly of my guide took a small boat the best I could get. Leaving the horses with a *Dominican* father, I went up the river to the lake, where I was well wet with the water the wind threw into the boat. Not being able to cross a small bay, to go to *Bagnos*, or the baths, as I design'd, I took a bigger boat that happen'd accidentally to come in my way. About sun-set it carry'd me to *Bagnos*, or the baths, a parish of the *Recolets*, where I was courteously receiv'd.

Monday 4th, the *Indian* told me the boat was gone, because the water-men came thither with an ill will; and I having a mind to go to another little lake, took another boat to carry me to it. This lake is small in compass, but very deep, and in the middle of it they find no bottom. The water is blackish, though it stands on a mountain not far from the great one, which may proceed from the minerals under it. In it there is a sort of unfavoury bony fishes. About it in the day time there is an infinite number of large bats, hanging on the trees, one by another in ropes. But towards night they fly away in swarms to the woods a great distance off to get their food, and sometimes they fly so thick together, that they darken the air with their fleshy wings, some of them six spans long, which I was an eye-witness to whilst I staid at the aforesaid *Bagnos*, or the baths. They

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know how to chuse in the thick woods such trees, whose fruit ripens at certain seasons, which they devour all the night, making such a noise that it is heard two miles off. About break of day they return to their quarters. The *Indians* seeing the best fruit God has provided for their sustenance, especially the *Goyavas*, and pears, destroy'd by these scurvy birds, kill all they can of them; and revenging themselves thus at once, save their fruits, and provide themselves meat, eating the bats. They say their flesh tastes like rabbit, and indeed when they have flea'd them, and cut off their heads, they are not at all unlike them. They take as many as they please without any great trouble, for they bring down a great many with an arrow. *Tuesday* 5th, I went to see the water of the baths; whereof there is at the monastery a great rivulet, which runs into two neighbouring baths. It is so violent hot ^{Hot wa-} that there is no enduring a hand in it; but ^{tters.} if a hen is put in it scalds off the feathers, and the very flesh from the bones. And not only a hen, but if a crocodile should happen to go into it, the water would kill it, and scald the scales off. The smoke which rises from the spring, is no less than that of a flaming furnace. It flows from the neighbouring mountain, and running under the monastery, casts such a heat up to the sweating-room, that it cannot be endur'd a quarter of an hour; for my part, I was no sooner in, but I leap'd out again. A *Portuguese* had the care of building these Baths with the alms of charitable persons; afterwards by the king's order an hospital was built there, but the care of the sick in process of time has been laid aside; and the fathers residing there take care of souls, and not of bodies. It is to be observ'd, That the water, though mineral, is as clear and well tasted as any other water, and being cool'd is excellent to drink. I drank it all the while I was there entertain'd by the fathers, who use no other.

Wednesday 6th, I went half a league from the monastery to see a little river, which ^{ver over} runs from the mountain, and whose water ^{minerals.} is excessive cold, and very wholesome. Yet its channel is upon minerals, for digging a little in the sand there rises a very hot water.

As for the great lake of *Bahi*, it is very ^{Bahi lake;} long but narrow. Round about it, being 90 miles in compass, there are several monasteries of *Franciscans*, *Augustinians*, and

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GEMEL-Jefuits, because the place is well peopled, and till'd by the *Indians*. It abounds in fish at all times. There are also in it crocodiles, and sword-fishes, but not like ours. These two fight together furiously, because the crocodile thinking himself absolute lord of the lakes, cannot endure any other fish of prey should be in them. For the most part the sword-fish gets the better, for he perceiving his enemy arm'd with scales which bear off the stroke of his sharp sword, dives under water, and strikes the crocodile in the belly, where he has no scales, and so kills him. I was shew'd a sword six spans long with teeth on the sides,

as sharp as nails, or rather like a saw, that pierces and cuts at once. The many crocodiles of this lake do much mischief, for there is never a year but they devour many people, and kill horses and cattle that graze about, or drink at the lake. The *Indians* revenge themselves laying snares for them with pieces of meat, or dogs, for the crocodiles are such lovers of dog's flesh, that they will leave a man for it. *Thursday* 7th, I return'd by water to *Vigan*, where I found my horses had broke their halters, and were run away, which made me stay till others were taken in the farm, which carry'd me to *Manila* on *Saturday* the 9th.

CHAP. V.

Of the government of Manila, and the adjacent islands.

Archbishop and bishops.

THO' the *Philippine* islands are very remote from *Europe*, and from his catholic majesty's court, to whom they are subject, yet they are excellently governed. For spirituals, there is an archbishop at *Manila* chosen by the king, who decides all matters not only in his own diocese, but all appeals from his suffragan bishops. If the metropolitan's sentence does not agree with the first, there lies an appeal to the neighbouring bishop of *Camerines* the pope's delegate. The king, as has been said, allows the archbishop six thousand pieces of eight a year; and the bishops of *Sibu*, *Camerines*, and *Cagayan* 5000. Besides these, there resides at *Manila* a titular bishop, or coadjutor, by the *Spaniards* call'd *Obispo de anillo*, or ring-bishop, who succeeds in the first vacant church, that there may be no intermission in the care of souls during fix years before a new prelate can come. As for the inquisition, there is a commissary appointed by that court at *Mexico*.

Governor and court.

For the temporal government there is a governor with the title of captain general, and president of the royal court, whose authority lasts eight years; and four *Oydores*, or judges, and a solicitor, but these are for life. When this court was erected in 1584, it consisted of two *Oydores*, or judges, and a solicitor; and the president was doctor *Santiago de Vera*. Sometime after a third judge was added. Experience afterwards shewing, that there was no need of such a court, it was suppress'd by order of the king and council, and instead of it a body of 4000 men rais'd, which was perform'd in 1590. But in 1598, it was again erected, and D. *Francis Tillo* was appointed president over three *Oydores*, or judges, and a solicitor. This court does not only receive appeals from the common magistrates of the city, which are two *Alcades*, but

from all the islands; and it tries violences committed by church-men like the court of *Fuerca* in *Spain*. The governor sits in it as president, but has no vote, but when they are equally divided he appoints a doctor to give a casting voice. D. *Gabriel de Sturis* acted twice in this capacity whilst I was at *Manila*. Tho' a small matter would suffice to maintain an *Oydore*, or judge, because provisions are cheap, as are stuffs for apparel, and all other necessaries for decency; a saddle horse being sold for ten pieces of eight, and enough to keep him a month for two; yet they have a plentiful allowance, each of them being paid every four months 1100 pieces of eight. The solicitor has over and above 600 pieces of eight a year from the *Sangleys*, or *Chinese* merchants, as their protector, and 200 more as solicitor for the *cruzade*. The governor's salary is 13300 pieces of eight; 4000 as general, 4000 as president of the royal court, and 5300 as civil magistrate. If the governor dies, the eldest *Oydore* or judge receives this salary, and manages the martial and civil government; for which he is afterwards accountable to the new governor.

Were not the *Philippine* Islands so remote, that government would be coveted by the chief grandees, because his government is unlimited, the jurisdiction large, the prerogatives not to be parallel'd, the conveniences great, the profit unknown, and the honour greater than that of viceroy in the *Indies*. But, as I said, the distance makes the greatness of this post not to be known in *Spain*. To shew something of it, the governor besides the civil government, and administration of justice, which he exercises with the royal court, has the gift of all military employments, makes 22 *alcades* to govern as many provinces, and appoints the governor of the

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Marian islands, when one dies, till the king names another. Formerly he made the governors of the islands *Formosa* and *Ternate* (one of the 5 moluccas) when they were subject to the crown of *Spain*. He also bestows all the *Encomiendas*, or lordships over *Indians*, given as a reward to soldiers that have serv'd in *India*. These are given for two lives, the wife and children succeeding in them, after which the land returns to the king. These *Encomenderos* or lords, receive the duties that should be paid to the king, that is, 10 royals from married men, and 5 from others; but these lords are oblig'd out of it to allow towards the maintenance of the forces, 2 royals and 4 *Cavans* of rice for each head, and 2 royals more to the parish priest. The king out of his own demesnes, besides the 10 royals, has 2 *Cavans* of rice: A *Cavan* weighs 50 pounds *Spanish*. It is very remarkable that the governor fills up all the vacant canopies in the cathedral, and then acquaints the king to have them confirm'd, as he does by the *Encomiendas* above-mention'd. When any parish of secular priests is vacant, the assembly is held before the archbishop, who names three of the ablest for the governor to choose one. The same is practis'd in the vacancies of canopies and royal chaplains. The parishes belonging to the religious men, are supply'd by the provincial of the order, in a provincial chapter. These need no confirmation, and they may hear the confessions of the *Indians*, but not of the *Spaniards* in their parish, without the ordinaries approbation. If the secular curates commit such a fault, as deserves they should be expell'd their benefice, it is done with the advice of the diocesan and governor. The governor of *Manila* has also the nomination of the commander of the galeon, that sails every year to *New Spain*, a post worth above 50000 crowns a year. He appoints two majors for *Manila* and *Cavite*, and several captains and officers, that are not commission'd at *Madrid*. He gives the *Indians* commissions as colonels, majors and captains, without much difficulty; they paying the king half a year's value of the place. To honour the governor a company mounts the guard every day before his palace, and to curb the mutinous *Chinese*. There are in the city of *Manila* about 800 soldiers in all, but their pay is only two pieces of eight, and 50 pound of rice a month.

This grandeur and power is somewhat eclips'd by a dreadful trial, the wicked people of *Manila* make their governors go through. They do not then examine the heinousness of offences, but the sums receiv'd in eight years, punishing the purse instead of the person. The accusers have

60 days allow'd them, after proclamation made through the provinces to bring in their complaints, and 30 days to prosecute before the judge, who is generally the successor in the government, by special commission from the king, and his supreme council of the *Indies*; which refers to it self the judging of some matters of consequence. Therefore the judge having receiv'd all informations, without deciding any thing, returns all the proceedings to court, after giving sentence in those cases which are left to him. The *Oidores*, or judges, who govern after the governor's death, or are remov'd to another post in *Mexico*, are subject to the same trial; but with this difference, that they may go away, leaving an attorney to answer for them. There is so much Rigour us'd in this trial, that sometimes they proceed to imprisonment, without respect to greatness of the post possis'd by the person; as happen'd to *D. Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera*, and *D. James Faxardo*; the first of which was kept prisoner 5 years in the castle of *St. James*; and the other not much less; but by special order from his majesty they had all restor'd that had been wrongfully taken from them at their trial. 'Tis true the council of the *Indians* has moderated this rigour, ordering that the governors be not imprison'd, but that the informations being taken, they be sent into *Spain*; but this is not punctually observ'd because of the great distance. The inhabitants of *Manila* did so terrifie *D. Severiano Manriquez de Lara* at his trial; that being imbark'd for *Spain*, he never ceas'd all the voyage to ask whether the vessel could return to *Manila*, and being at last assur'd by the pilot that he must either land in *New Spain* or die, he pleasantly said, *Then a t-----d for Manila*. In short since the islands were conquer'd, no governor has return'd to *Spain* but he and one more; for all of them either break their hearts at their trial, or die with hardship by the way. It is certain this trial is worth 100000 crowns to the new governor, which he that goes off must have ready to come off well in this dreadful trial.

When I went thither the governor was *D. Fausto-Cruzat, y-Gongora*, Knight of *Santiago*, or *St. James*, descend'd from the ancient kings of *Navarre*, and one of the best captain generals the islands had since they were conquer'd. All the other governors before him had anticipated upon the revenue several thousands to maintain the soldiers; but he during his government, not only clear'd all debts, but so improv'd the revenue, that when I was at *Manila*, there were 400000 pieces of eight in the treasury; for he by his great ability, wisdom,

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GEMEL-dom, zeal and application had advanced the revenue 110000 pieces of eight a year. As for the execution of Justice, and places bestow'd, if the people of *Manila* will lay aside all prejudice, they cannot choose but commend his conduct, for he has behav'd himself uprightly in all his actions, and has bestow'd the *Encomiendas* or lordships before-mention'd on well deserving soldiers; the offices of *Alcades* on natives of the place well qualify'd, according to the king's orders; and church livings on the most deserving, without suffering himself to be corrupted. I do not write for favour or affection, for what I say is so true, that the king being inform'd of it, declar'd, he was faithfully serv'd by that governor, and continu'd him in his government, at such

time as he had receiv'd 70000 pieces of eight, and given the commission to his successor to go take possession of the place. I was actually at *Mexico* when the king's orders came for restoring the 70000 pieces of eight to the intended successor out of the king's treasury. This gentleman's good behaviour set him above the fear of a trial. He was unfortunate in setting out galleons, for in his time two of the greatest that were built in the islands were cast away. The one was call'd *St. Joseph*, the other *Santo Christo*; and in them both the people of *Mexico* and *Manila* lost above a million, which reduc'd *Manila* to great poverty, but it recovers by the arrival of other ships.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Philippine Islands, their discovery, and of the several nations that have peopled them.

THERE being a great number of islands under the governor of *Manila*, of which place we have hitherto spoke, it will be convenient to give a short account of the most remarkable of them; and the more because they are little known in *Europe*, and not taken notice of in Maps.

Philippines in general

The author of nature, and of the wonderful creation of this world, placed an archipelago strew'd with islands, now call'd *Philippines*, in the great *Indian* ocean beyond *Ganges*, and almost opposite to the long extended coasts of *Malaca*, *Sian*, *Camboja*, *Cbiampa*, *Cbochinbina*, *Tunkin* and *Cbina*. The famous *Ferdinand Magellanes* call'd it *Archipelago de S. Lazaro*, because he came to an anchor there in the year 1521, upon *Saturday* before passion *Sunday*, vulgarly in *Spain* call'd of *St. Lazarus*. The name of *Philippines* was given them in 1543, by the general *Luis Lopez-de-Villalobos*, in honour to prince *Philip*, then heir to the crown of *Spain*; or as others will have it in 1564, when he was actually reigning, when the *Adelantado Michael-Lopez-de-Logujpi* came to conquer the islands. What their ancient name was is uncertain, yet some authors affirm they were call'd, islands of *Luzones*, all of them taking the name, as the *Canaries* have done, of the biggest, which is *Manila*, or *Luzon*; which in the *Tagala* language signifies a mortar, as if they had express'd the country of mortars. *Luzones* are certain wooden mortars a span deep, and the same diameter, in which the *Indians* pound their rice, which they afterwards sift through sieves they call *Biluas*. There is no *Indian*

but has one before his door. The inhabitants of the island *de los Pintados* cut out three upon one same piece of timber along one by another, that so many people may work at once, for the inhabitants of all the islands feeding on rice, they first bruise it in a mortar, before they boil it. Others, call them for instance the *Portuguese*, call them *Manilas*, a name known ever since *Ptolemy*, as some will have it.

The ships that come from *America* to the archipelago of *St. Lazarus*, or *Philippines*, when they discover land, must of necessity see one of the four islands of *Mindanao*, *Leyte*, *Ibabao* and *Manila*, from the cape of *St. Augustin*, because they front the vast ocean, which they call of *Spain*, for above 600 miles, lying in a semicircle. *Manila* is seated north-east; *Ibabao* and *Leyte* south-east, and *Mindanao* south. To the west of them is *Paragua*, the biggest next to *Manila* and *Mindanao*, with the which it makes a triangle, but the point of it next to *Borneo* belongs to that king, and the other to *Spain*. In the midst of this sort of triangle, besides the five islands already nam'd, there are five others, large and populous, viz. *Mindoro*, *Panay*, *Isla de Negros*, or the island of blacks, *Sebu* and *Babol*. So that the most remarkable islands of this archipelago are but ten, the number mention'd by *Ptolemy* in the place above-mention'd. Among these ten there is the same number of small ones, all peopled, which beginning to reckon them as they fall in the way the ships take that are bound for *New Spain*, are *Luban*, where the galeon *St. Joseph* was cast away, *Marinduque*, *Isla de Tablas*, *Rom-*

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It is no easy matter to give a distinct relation of all other small ones, partly inhabited, and partly desert, but all known by the *Indians* that go to gather their product; I can only say in general that opposite to the island of *Manila* on the north-side, between two capes call'd *Boxador* and *del Engano*, at 24 miles distance, are the islands *de los Babuyan*, the first inhabited by christian *Indians*, who pay a tribute; the other by savages near the *Iequios*, and island of *Formosa* on the west. Near *Paragua*, opposite to *Manila*, there are three islands call'd *Calamianes*, and then eight or nine more, all inhabited. Then turning to the southward, ninety miles from *Calamianes*, opposite to *Caldera*, and point of *Manilano*, are *Taguima*, *Xolo*, with other small ones about them.

The island of *Cuyo* lie between *Calamianes* and *Panay*, in the province of *Ota* and *Muras*. The island of *Fugas*, or *Ficos*, is near that of *Negros*, or *Blacks*. There is also *Bantayan* not far from *Zebu*; *Panglo*, near *Bobol*; *Panamoa*, *Maripipi*, *Camigui*, *Sargao*, and *Puzon*, which lie between *Mindanao* and *Leyte*, and many others whose fix'd number it is hard to know. This shews their mistake, who say the *Philippine* islands are forty, for if they mean the great ones, they are not so many; and of all forts there are many more.

All these islands are in the torrid zone, between the equinoctial and tropick of *Cancer*, for the extreme points of latitude in this archipelago are *Sarrangan* or cape *St. Augustin*, the point of *Mindanao* in five degrees and a half; *Babuyan*, and cape *de Engano*, the utmost points of *Manila* in twenty degrees; *Embocadero de St. Bernardo* in thirteen degrees; and the middle of the island and city of *Manila* in fourteen degrees and a few minutes. Their longitude according to the best maps, and carts is 155 degrees; though according to *Magellan's* account it be 161, and this because all men do not reckon from the same point. Now whereas *Ptolemy* places his islands *Manila* in 142 degrees, it plainly appears, that considering the different accounts, and rules of taking longitudes, the *Manila* are not the same, as the *Munilos*, either as to situation or number, and that they are much out of the way, who will have *Manila* to be built 160 years after the birth of Christ, when *Ptolemy* flourish'd; without being able to deduce any conjecture, from the antiquity of its structures, because those nations use no o-

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ther materials, but wood and cane, and their buildings are very weak.

There are sundry opinions concerning the original of these islands. Some say they were created with the world, when the author of nature discover'd the land, and divided it from the waters. Others think that they remain'd after the flood. Others affirm they were made by particular inundations of provinces, tempests, earthquakes, natural fires, and other accidents, which use to cause alterations both at sea and land; as, some say, happened to *Niobe*, which they conceiv was formerly contiguous to the continent of *Italy*; the island of *Cyprus* to *Syria*, and others. Lastly, others by the heaping of matter, and the natural alterations of these two elements; particularly occasion'd by rivers, which carry the earth from one place, and settle it in another, or else by the usual washing of rivers, which the sea with the motion of its waves, by degrees, heaps in one place or other, so that in process of time they come to be islands. All this may be said of all the islands in the world, as well as those; but the *Philippines* may be said particularly by the last means spoke of, because in several parts of them, there are burning mountains, and on the tops of others springs of hot water. The earthquakes are frequent and terrible at certain times; insomuch that they scarce leave any structure standing, as *Manila* can sufficiently testify. The winds call'd by the *Indians* *Baguyes*, by the *Spaniards* *Tifones*, and by us *Hurricanes*, are here so violent, that besides the wrecks they cause at sea, they root up mighty trees, and drive before them, vast quantities of water, which drown countries a great way up the land. Among the islands there is a shoal water, and many flats, especially near the continent; insomuch that in many places there is no sailing, and the ships are forced to seek out channels, which providence has left to keep up a communication from one country to another. These may be grounds to conjecture, that if any of these islands were at the creation join'd to the continent, several accidents, and especially the flood might have divided them into so many distinct parts, making of one great one, an archipelago of little islands.

It is not my business here to argue, whether *Ibarfis*, the son of *Javan* with his brothers, was the first that inhabited these parts; but when the *Spaniards* first came to *Manila*, they there found three sorts of people. On the sea coasts they liv'd and call'd *Malay Moors*, come, as they said, from *Borneo*, and the continent of *Malacca*; where a freight call'd *Malay*, has given

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GEMEL-its name to all the *Malayes* dispersed throughout the greatest and best part of that archipelago. From these are descended the *Tagalians*, which are the natives of *Manila* and the country about it, as appears by their language being very like the *Malayan*; by their colour, shape, habit they wore when the *Spaniards* arriv'd, and in short by their customs and manners, taken from the *Malayes* and other *Indian* nations. The coming of these people into the islands, might be accidental, occasioned by some storm; for we see by experience, that several other nations have been drove hither by storms. In 1690, some *Japoneſe* were drove ashore, who became christians, and lifted themselves in the king's forces, it being inevitable death to them to return home, after they had been in another country, though against their wills. I saw some of these *Japoneſe* in *Manila*, who wore two wide garments, with wide round sleeves. The under garment was girt with two girdles, one from the left, and the other from the right, as the *Spaniſh* clergymen wear them. Their breeches were long, and their shoes like recolets sandals. They were their hair short, but the forehead shav'd as far as the crown of the head. Besides, the *Malayes* might come design'dly to inhabit there, on account of trade, and for profit sake; or else being banish'd their country; but these are all uncertainties.

Bisayas
and *Pintados*.

The natives call'd *Bisayas*, and *Pintados*, of the provinces of *Camerines*; as also those of *Leyte*, *Samar*, *Pangy*, and other places, it is likely came from *Macassar*, where they say there are some people who trim and paint their bodies like these *Pintados*. In the relation, *Peter Fernandes de Quiros* gives of the discovery made in 1595, of the islands of *Salmon*, he says they found in ten degrees of north latitude, 1800 leagues from *Peru*, much about the latitude and distance of the *Philippine* islands, an island call'd *la Magdalena*, or the *Magdalen*, inhabited by well shaped *Indians*, taller than the *Spaniards*, who went naked, with all their bodies wrought, after the same manner as the *Bilayas*.

It is likely the inhabitants of *Mindanao*, *Xolio*, *Bobol*, and part of *Zebu* came from *Ternate*, by reason of their nearness, trade, and likeness of religion, to whom they still have recourse, in case of war. The *Spaniards* at their first coming, found they had the command in the aforesaid islands.

Negrillos.

The *Blacks*, by the *Spaniards* call'd *Negrillos*, who live on the mountains and in thick woods, whereof there is plenty in *Manila*, differ quite from all the rest. They are meer barbarians, and feed on such fruit and roots, as the mountains afford, and

upon all they can kill, even to monkeys, snakes, and rats. They go naked, except their privities, which they cover with the barks of trees, by them call'd *Bubiques*; and the women with a clout wove of the fibres of trees, call'd *Tapisle*. They use no other ornament, but bracelets made of rushes, and *Indian* canes of several colours. They have no laws, letters, or government, but that which kindred makes, for they all obey the head of the family. The women carry their children in wallets made of the bark of trees, and ty'd about them with a cloth, as some women of *Albania* do in *Italy*, or like the *Irish* women. When night overtakes them, there they lie, either in the hollow of a tree, or under mats, made of the bark of trees, set up like huts; and thus they live like brute beasts, only for the sake of liberty, that is, not to be subject to the *Spaniards*. This same foolish love of liberty, is the cause they will not suffer the *Blacks* of another mountain to come to theirs, and on this account they fight with one another desperately. They are such enemies to the *Spaniards*, that if they happen to kill one, they invite all their kindred, and rejoice for three days, drinking out of the Skull, clear'd for that purpose; by which means, they afterwards get wives the easier, as being more courageous. Their weddings consist only in touching of hands, the parents making their children hold them out.

This mixing with the wild *Indians* produced the tribe of *Mangbian*, who are blacks dwelling in the isles of *Mindora* and *Mundos*, and who peopled the islands of *los Negros*, or of *Blacks*. Some of them have harsh frizz'd hair, like the *African* and *Angola Blacks*, others long. The colour of some of them, is like *Ethiopian*; others more whitish, and some of these have been seen with a tail half a span long, like those islanders *Ptolemy* speaks of, *Cemen. lib. 7. Tav. 11. pag. 166.*

The *Sambali*, contrary to the others, *Sambali*, though wild, have long hair, like the other conquer'd *Indians*. The wives are delivered in the woods, like she-goats, and immediately wash themselves and the infants in the rivers, or other cold water; which would be immediate death to *Europeans*. These *Blacks* when pursu'd by the *Spaniards*, with the sound of little ticks, give notice to the rest, that are dispersed about the woods, to save themselves by flight. Their weapons are bows and arrows, a short spear, and a short weapon or knife at their girdle. They poison their arrows, which are sometimes headed with iron, or a sharp stone, and they bore the point, that it may break in their enemies body, and so be unfit to be shot back. For

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For their defence, they use a wooden buckler, four spans long, and two in breadth, which always hangs at their arm.

Though I had much discourse about it, with the fathers of the society, and other missionaries, who converse with these blacks, *Mangbians*, *Mandi* and *Sambali*, I could never learn any thing of their religion; but on the contrary, all unanimously agree they have none, but live like beasts, and the most that has been seen among the *Blacks* on the mountains, has been a round stone, to which they pay'd a veneration, or a trunk of a tree, or beasts, or other things they find about, and this only out of fear. True it is, that by means of the heathen *Chinese*, who deal with them in the mountains, some deformed statues have been found in their huts. The other three before-mention'd nations, seem'd inclin'd to observing of auguries, and *Mabometan* superstitions, by reason of their commerce with the *Malayes* and *Ternates*. The most receiv'd opinion is, that these blacks were the first inhabitants of the islands; and that being cowards, the sea coasts were easily taken from them by people resorting from *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Maccassar* and other places; and therefore they retir'd to the mountains. In short, in all the islands where these *Blacks* and other savage men are, the *Spaniards* possess not much beyond the sea coasts; and not that in all parts, especially from *Maribebes*, to cape *Bolinao* in the island of *Manila*, where for 50 leagues along the shore, there is no landing, for fear of the *Blacks*, who are most inveterate enemies to the *Europeans*. Thus all the in-land parts being possess'd by these brutes, against whom no army could prevail in the thick woods, the king of *Spain*

has scarce one in ten of the inhabitants of *GEMEL*-the island, that owns him, as the *Spaniards* often told me. See *Navarette*, who gives a much better account of this matter, and not by hearsay, but as an eye-witness. 1697.

The fathers missionaries, take much pains, to bring these people to salvation, going into the woods to preach to some of them, who are not altogether so fierce, and build little huts or houses, for the conveniency of the missionary, who sometimes prevails upon a few; but upon the least firmness of jealousy, they burn houses, churches, and all in them, and run into the thickest of the wood. This happens, because the christian *Indians*, that they may have all the profit of the wax, the *Blacks* gather in the woods, have persuaded them by all means to shun coming under the *Spanish* yoke, because they would be oblig'd to pay a tribute. Whoever catches one of them may keep him as a slave; but if he becomes a christian, when he has serv'd ten years he is to be made free, and then natural inclination prevailing, he certainly runs away to his native mountain.

There is another sort of people, not so polite as the first, nor so barbarous as these last, who live near the springs of the rivers, and are therefore call'd *Ilayas*, or *Tingbianos*, as inhabiting the mountains. There are others call'd *Zambales*, and *Igelos*, who converse with the *Tagalis*, and *Bisayas*. Some of these pay tribute, tho' they are not christians, and they are judg'd to be a mixt race of the other barbarous nations, and therefore resemble them in behaviour, colour, and manners. Yet all this does not make out, that inhabitants might not go over to these islands out of *China*, *Japan*, *Siam*, *Camboja*, and *Cochinchina*.

CHAP. VII.

A particular account of the island of Luzon, vulgarly call'd Manila.

HAVING spoke of the islands in general, it will be proper now to give the description of them in particular. Therefore to begin with *Luzon* or *Manila*, as the *Spaniards* call it, which is the chief of them. The middle of it is in 15 degrees of latitude, the east point in 13 degrees and 30 minutes, and the most northerly point in 19 degrees. The shape of it is like an arm bow'd, but unequal in thickness, for in the east it is so narrow that it is but one day's journey over; and in the north it stretches so large, that the narrowest part from sea to sea must be 30 or 40 leagues. The whole length is about 160 *Spanish* leagues, and the circumference 350.

At the elbow of this arm looking towards the south east, a great river falls into the sea, and makes a noble bay 30 leagues in compass, call'd *Babia* by the *Spaniards*, because it flows from a great lake, call'd *Babi*, eighteen *Italian* miles from *Manila*. In this place the *Indians* had their principal village, consisting of about 3500 houses, towards the east, in the angle made by the river and the sea. Behind it were many ponds, which made the place naturally strong, and the soil was fruitful of all things, necessary for the life of man; for which reason *Michael Lopez*, the first conqueror of the island, thought fit to found the principal city in this place, under the ancient

GEMEL-ancient name of *Manila*. This was done, L.I. as has been said before, on the feast of St. John baptist 1571, five days after the conquest, which falling out on the 19th of 1697. the month, being the feast of St. Potenciana, she was chosen patroness of the island.

Cavite
Port.

In sight of *Manila*, and three leagues from it, is the port of *Cavite*, upon the lime bay, which for the most part is deep, and abounds in fish, and the shores are cover'd with many trees and villages. Directly against the mouth of the bay, eight leagues from *Manila* is *Maribebes*, a little island three leagues in compass, and half a league in length, but high. Here is a renown'd officer, with six souldiers upon guard, he is also *Corregidor*, or chief magistrate of a village of 50 houses, seated on the side of *Manila*. The greatest profit he makes is by the *Blacks*, who bring him store of wood, for a little tabacco and rice, which he sells at good rates in *Manila*. This shews the *Blacks* are such enemies to the *Spaniards*, as he speaks of before. There are three mouths to come out of the sea, into the bay; the first is most us'd, by reason of its depth, and being half a league over, and lies between the said island, and *Punta del Diablo*, or the *Devil's Point*; the second is a quarter of a league wide, lying between the opposite shore, and the rock call'd, *de las Cavallos*, or of the *Horses*, it is unsafe, as having little water and some rocks under it; the third is wider, being three leagues over, and lies between the aforesaid rock, *de los Cavallos*, and the point of *Marigondon*, but it has flats, and there must be much care in sailing up it.

Without the said bay, on the left hand, the way the ships go to *New Spain*, at 14 leagues distance, is the bay of *Balayan* and *Bombon*, three leagues in compass, behind which is a lake well peopled round about. Sailing on still eastward, is the point of *Batangas* *Azufre*, or *Brimstone*, and the bay of *Batangas*, inhabited round about by *Indians*; near the point wherof, there is a small island call'd *la Coza*, as abounding in game. Between this and the point before mentioned, is the port of *Malacaban*; fatal for the death of the governor *Gomez Perez de las Marinas*, murder'd by the *Chinese* that row'd the *Cassiana* galley, with several other persons.

Batayan
province.

Beyond the bay of *Batangas*, are the villages of *Labo* and *Galvan*, about which there are signs of mines. Here ends the province of *Balayan*, beginning at *Maribebes*, and inhabited by about 2500 tributary *Indians*. It abounds in cotton, rice, and palm-trees. Then follows the province of *Calilaya*, or *Tayabas*, which reaches to *Cape Bondo*, and up the country to *Mau-*

Tayabas.

ban, on the opposite coast of the island. It has more inhabitants, and is larger than the other. Next is the province of *Camarines* in which are *Bondo*, *Pasigao*, *Ibalon*, metropolis of the government of *Catanduanes*; *Bulan*, where the ship call'd the *Incarnation* was cast away, returning from *New Spain* in 1649, *Sorsocan*, or *Bagatan*, where the king's great ships are built; and *Albat*, a large bay without the strait, where there is a high burning mountain, which is seen at a great distance by the ships coming from *New Spain*. In this mountain there are some springs of hot water, and among the rest one of such nature that whatsoever falls in, whether wood, bone, leaf, or cloth, is turn'd into stone. The governor *D. Francis Tello* had a crab presented him half petrify'd, care having been taken, that it should not all be converted. At the village of *Tivi*, two leagues from the side of the mountain, there is a great spring of luke-warra water, which has the same quality of petrifying, even living creatures, as crabs, serpents, and crocodiles. One of these was found converted into stone, as long as a man's arm, by *F. John de Santa Cruz*, whilst he was curate there. But particularly the woods *Molave*, *Binanuco*, and *Nuga* turn stone. The same is to be seen in other islands.

Beyond *Albat* eastward, is the cape of *Busfagay*, and then the island runs northward, leaving the isles *Catanduanes* on the right hand. Coasting from them westward, they meet the river *Bico*, which flows from a lake and runs by the city *Caceres*, founded by the second governor, and proprietor of these islands *D. Francis de Sande*. Here resides the bishop of *New Caceres*, under whom are the provinces of *Calilaya*, *Camarines*, and *Ibalon*. Next to the province of *Camarines* is that of *Paracale*, where there are rich lines of gold, and other metals, and of excellent loadstone. In it dwell about 7000 tributary *Indians*. The soil is good and plain, producing *Cocoa* and palm-trees, from the last of which, they get much oil and wine. Three days journey from *Paracale* along the coast, is another bay call'd *Mauban*, where the island winds, and makes as it were the bowing of the arm, opposite to the elbow where *Manila* stands. Sometimes the ships coming from *New Spain* have left their Money here, to be sent to *Manila*. Without this bay, is the port of *Lampoon*, like that of *Manila*.

From *Lampoon*, to cape *Ergano*, the *Camarines* coast is inhabited by none but infidels, and *New* barbarians. Here begins the province, and district of *Gagayan*, which is the largest in the island, being 80 leagues in length, and 40 in breadth. The metropolis of it, is the city call'd *New Segovia*, founded by the

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land. It is larger than that of Camarines, Ibalor, of Catagan, call'd the river from Bagatan, built, and the freight, mountain, once by the river. In this place, the mountains of hot springs of such nature wood, into stone. It had a crab care having all be- con- two leagues, there is a water, which silying, even rrpents, and and convert- m's arm, by he was cut- the woods turn stone. er islands. the cape of d runs north- lances on the en westward, ch flows from ceres, found- and proprietor Sande. Here aceres, under ilaya, Cama- e province of where there other metals, in it dwell a- The soil is ao and palm- ney got much ourney from another bay land winds, owing of the here Manila coming from oney here, to this bay, is of Malabon. Ringano, the Caran- inihelds, and or No- province, and Sigat- the largest in in length, ropolis of it, founded by the

the governor *D. Gonzalo Ronquillo*, and in it the cathedral church, to which *D. Miguel de Benavides*, was chosen bishop in 1598. The city is founded on the bank of the river of the same name, flowing from the mountains of *Santor*, in *Pampanga*, and runs almost across all the province. There resides the chief alcalde of the province, with a garrison of *Spanish* foot, and of other nations. A stone fort was built here, and other works made of gabions and wood, for a defence against the revolted *Indians*, call'd, *Irayas*, who live on the sides of high mountains, which divide the whole island. In this province, the parishes belong to the *Dominicans*. The most northerly cape, is that call'd *del Engano*, dangerous by reason of the northern winds, and great currents.

Fifteen leagues from *New Segovia*, eastward is cape *Boxeador*, and then turning the cape, and coasting along from north to south, 20 leagues ends the province of *Cagayan*, and begins that of *Ilocos*. The peaceable *Cagayanes*, who pay tribute, are about 9000, besides those that are not subdued. The whole province is fruitful, the natives able of body, inclin'd to tillage and arms, and the women to several sorts of work in cotton. The mountains produce plenty of wax, without any trouble; there being such abundance of honey-combs, not only in this province but throughout all the island, that wax is exceeding cheap, and all the poor burn it instead of oil. They make their candles in a hollow stick, after this manner. They leave a small hole at each end, for the wick to run through, and then stopping the bottom, fill it with wax at the top, and thus the candle is made in a moment of any size whatsoever, which when cold, they break the mould and take it out. On the mountains, there is abundance of the wood we call brazil, ebony and other sorts of great value. In the woods there is store of wild beasts, as boars, but not so good as ours, and deer, which they kill for their skins and horns to sell to the *Chinese*.

The province of *Ilocos*, is counted the richest, and best peopled in the islands. Its coast runs 40 leagues. On the bank of the river *Bigan*, the governor *Guilo de Laccazaris*, successor to the *Ablantado*, in the year 1574 built the city *Fernandina*. Up the country the province is not above 8 leagues in breadth, for thither come the mountains, and woods inhabited by the *Igoloti*, a tall warlike people, and by *Blacks* not subdued. Yet the extent of the country was view'd, when the army march'd seven days, travelling 3 leagues a day, always among trees of wild nutmegs, and pines, and at length came to the top of the

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mountain, where were the principal habitations of the *Igoloti*. They live there, because of the rich gold mines in those parts, which they gather, and exchange with those of *Ilocos* and *Pangasinan* for tobacco, rice, and other commodities. Besides gold, this province produces much rice, and cotton, whereof they make quilts and other furniture.

Next follows the province of *Pangasinan*, for about 40 *Spanish* leagues along the coast. Its breadth is about 8 or 9 leagues, and plain like *Ilocos*. The mountains and plains produce much brazil wood, call'd by the *Indians* *Sibucan*, and us'd in dying red and blew. The inland is full of wild *Indians*, who, like brute beasts, wander naked up and down the woods and mountains, only covering the privities with a leaf. They sow a little in their valleys, and what more they want, they get in the conquer'd country, in exchange for small bits of gold, they gather in the river. In the province of *Ilocos*, there are 9000 that pay tribute, and 7000 in that of *Pangasinan*. On the coast of this province, is the port of *Bolinao* and *Playabenda*, famous in the *Philippine* islands, for the victory there obtain'd by the *Spaniards* over the *Dutch*.

The next is the province of *Pampanga*, *Pampanga* where the diocese of *New Segovia* ends, and begins that of the archbishop of *Manila*. This province is large, and of great consequence; because the natives being well instructed by the *Spaniards* help to defend the island, and have stood by them upon all occasions, serving not only in *Manila*, but in *Ternate* and other provinces. Besides the soil is very fruitful, particularly for rice, by reason of the great plenty of water, so that it furnishes *Manila*. It also yields timber for building of ships, the woods being on the bay, not far from the port of *Cavite*. It contains about 8000 *Indians*, who pay their tribute in rice. In the mountains of this province dwell the *Zambali*, a fierce people, and *Negrillos*, like the *Blacks* of *Angola* and such curl'd hair. These are always fighting among themselves, and defend their woods from their neighbours, and secure their game, and pasture.

The province of *Babi* lying east of *Ma-Babi*, is no less important for building of ships. About the bay of this name, of which we have spoke before, and in the neighbouring farms grows the best fruit that is eaten in *Manila*, especially the *Bonga* or *Arecca*, and the *Buyo*, which is the same as *Belle*. This is an aromatick, and delicate fruit, whereof enough has been said, when I spoke of the *Portuguese* dominions in *India*; but it must be observ'd that this of *Manila* exceeds all good, and

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GEMEL- the *Spaniards* from morning, till night, never cease chewing of it. The fruit this
 1697. plant bears, is call'd *Taclove*. This province suffers very much, by the continual labour the natives are put to, of selling timber for building ships, two hundred, and sometimes four hundred being employed every month in this work on the mountains, or at the port of *Cavite*. The king allows them a piece of eight a month, and rice enough. The whole province contains six thousand tributary natives.

Bulacan. There is also the province of *Bulacan*, lying between *Pampanga*, and *Tondo*. It is small, its inhabitants *Tagalians*, and abounds in rice, and *Palm* wine. The number that pays tribute, three thousand.

Product. All the island of *Manila* produces gold, abundance of wax, civet, cotton, sulphur, wild cinnamon, cocoa, rice, even on the mountains which want no watering, good horses, cows, buffaloes, and on the mountains deer, wild boars, and wild buffaloes.

Catanduanes Having gone round *Manila*, it remains to say something of a small province, near the mouth of the channel, which was designedly omitted; because though its metropolis be on the land of *Manila*, yet the rest of it is made up of several islands, as *Catanduanes*, *Masbate*, and *Burias*. *Catanduanes* is 30 leagues, in compass, ten in length, and its shape is almost a triangle. It is one of the first met with, in the way to the islands, and so near the *Embocadero*, or mouth of the channel of *St. Bernardine*, that some pilots mistaking it, have lost their ships there; for believing they were entering the aforesaid mouth of the strait, they found themselves among dangerous flats, which are all round the island a musket-shot from the shore. Its being expos'd to the north wind; makes it always stormy;

for which reason there is no sailing thither, but from the 15th of *June*, to the middle of *September*. It abounds in rice, oil of palms, cocoa, honey, and wax. There are several rivers, dangerous to cross, in whose channels there is gold found, brought down from the mountains, by floods running down deep trenches. The biggest of them is call'd *Catandagan*, and by the *Spaniards*, *Catanduanes*, whence the island took its name. The natives chief employment is carrying wood; making very little boats, and carrying them to sell at *Mindoro*, *Cadaya*, *Balayan*, and other places. They first make one very large, without any deck, and not nail'd, but few'd together, with *Indians* canes, and then others less and less, one within another, and thus they transport them an hundred leagues. The people are warlike, and paint themselves like the *Bisayas*; they are excellent sailors, and leaping into the water, in a moment turn a boat again that has been overtaken. For fear of such accidents, they carry their provisions in the hollow of canes close stop'd, and ty'd to the sides of the boats. Their habits is only a *Bagab*, or waistcoat which reaches down to the knees. The women are masculine, and apply themselves as much as the men to tillage, or fishing. They are modestly clad, in a coat or jerkin, after the manner of the *Bisayas*, and a long mantle. Their hair they tie on the crown of the head, making a knot of it like a rose. On their forehead, they wear a plate of massive gold, two fingers broad, lin'd with taffeta; in their ears three gold pendants, one in the place where the *European* women use it, the other two higher. On their ankles they have rings, which make a noise as they go.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Islands of *Capul*, *Ticao*, *Burias*, *Masbate*, *Marinduque*, *Mindoro*, *Luban*, *Babuyanes*, *Paragua*, *Calamianes*, *Cuyo*, *Panay*, *Imaras*, *Sibuyan*, *Romblon*, *Batad* and *Tablas*.

Capul. WITHIN the aforementioned archipelago, are *Capul*, and other little islands, which make the channel narrow, and the current stronger, their force being such, that sometimes they hurry ships about two or three times, though they be three deck'd. *Capul* is three leagues in compass, the soil fruitful, pleasant, and commodious for the *Indians*, who have good dwellings in it after the manner of the *Bisayas*. Eight leagues north-west from the mouth of the strait is *Ticao*, an island eight leagues in compass, inhabited by *Indians*, for the most part savage. There is in it a

good port with the conveniency of fresh water and wood, and is therefore the last land the ships bound for *New Spain* touch at.

Four leagues west of *Ticao* is *Burias*, five *Burias* miles in compass. It has but few tributary *Indians*, who are allotted to the parish of *Masbate*, which is another larger island south of it, and not far distant from *Ticao*, brought under the obedience of the *Spaniards* in 1569. They say *Masbate* is thirty leagues in compass, eight in breadth, and proportionably long. Its ports are commodious for any ship to water. In it live about

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about 250 Indian Families, which pay tribute in wax, salt, and civet. But those that dwell in the mountains, and came from other parts are numerous. Here are such rich gold mines, 22 carats fine, that the mate of the galeon *St. Joseph*, aboard which I went over to *New Spain*, going ashore in one of them, in a very short time dug out an ounce and a quarter of pure gold. They do not at present work at these mines, for want of industry in the *Spaniards*, who having commission every year from *New Spain*, to lay out some hundred thousand pieces of eight, with an allowance to them of ten per Cent. take no care to look for gold in the mines. As for the *Indians*, if they have but a dish of rice, they never mind that precious metal; and if ever they gather any in the rivers, it is when they are press'd for their tribute, and then they gather as much as serves to pay it. The shores of these islands are often enrich'd with precious ambergris, call up by the current of the channels that run upon them.

Leaving *Ticao*, *Masbate*, and *Burias* behind, and holding on the same way as the ships that came from *Acapulco*, is the island of *Marinduque*, 15 leagues from *Manila*. It is 18 leagues in compass, high, and abounding in cacao and other fruit-trees, which the inhabitants live on, because there is but little rice. There is a great deal of Pitch made, but little wax. The peaceable inhabitants are about 500, incorporated in the nation of the *Tagalians*; tho' they are of another race, as appears by the peculiar language they have among them.

Mindoro is about eight leagues from *Manila*, and five from *Marinduque*. This island is fifteen leagues long, eight in breadth, and seventy in compass. The broadest part of it is that which looks towards the south, where together with another high and round small island, call'd *Ebin*, it makes a streight between it and *Panay*, which they call *Potol*. There is another known by the name of *Calabite*, between it and *Luban*. The inhabitants of *Mindoro* presently submitted themselves, upon Capt. *John de Salzedo's* assuring them, he would do no harm. And therefore as an acknowledgment they gave him some ornaments of gold they then us'd, and call'd *Oimos*. The land of *Mindoro* is high and mountainous, abounding in cacao, and all sorts of fruit-trees; but rice grows only in some parts. Along its channels, and the mouths of its rivers there dwell peaceable *Indians*, who pay tribute; and on the east, north-east, and side opposite to *Manila* are *Tagalians*; and so towards *Panay* and *Bijay*. Up the inland live the *Mangbiani*, who, though differing in language,

agree in having no form of government. They go naked, only covering their privities with barks of trees, call'd *Bobagues*; and change their habitations according to the season of the year, because they live upon wild fruit. Though they are not far from *Manila*, they have not lost their simplicity in exchanging the wax of their mountains, for nails, knives, needles, rags, and other baubles. Some fathers of the society of great credit told me, that these *Mangbiani* have a tail a span long. In other respects they are brave, and pay tribute, but have not as yet embraced the christian faith, except some few of the territory of *Naubon*, and this because they live remote on the tops of mountains. *Baco* is the metropolis of the island, where the *Alcayde*, or governor resides; which place abounds in wholesome waters, running from the mountains, which produce abundance of *Salsaparilla*. Not far from *Baco* is a place they call *Old Mandoro*, from which all the island took its name. One cape of it call'd *Varadero*, stretches out towards *Tal*, a village on the coast of *Manila*, between the two bays of *Bombon*, and *Batangas*, and a small island call'd *Verde*, or green island lying between them; the channel for the ships going to, and from *Cavite*, is not above a mile over, and this narrowness is the cause of the whirlpools and currents which endanger ships when they have not a fair wind and current at their entering the channel. In *Mindoro* and *Luban* they reckon there are 1700 inhabitants who pay tribute in wax, and a thing like black hemp, which the cacao trees produce, and serves to make cables for the king's ships built at the village of *Tal*.

Luban is a small low island, 5 leagues in compass. Near it is the little isle of *Anbil*, in which is a high round mountain seen at a great distance by the *Indian* galiots by reason of the flames it casts up. The people of *Luban* are passionate, and given to drunkenness. It was the first that opposed the *Spaniards* with a few small pieces of cannon planted on a fort. The galeon *St. Joseph*, before-mention'd, bound for *Acapulco*, and loaded with 12000 bales, worth about two millions, was cast away upon this island, and nothing sav'd but a few men.

Beyond *Luban* northwards there is no island of note, only beyond cape *Boneador*, opposite to *New Segovia*, at eight leagues distance from it, are the low little islands of *Babuyan*, stretching out to the island *Formosa* and *Lequios*. In the nearest, which is conquer'd, there are about 250 natives that pay tribute. It produces wax, ebony, botaras, cocoas, plantans, and other things

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Babuyanes was deriv'd.

Fourteen, or fifteen leagues south-west of *Luban* are the *Calamianes*, a province made up of seventeen islands all subdued, besides many others not yet reduced, among the first of which is a great one called *Paragua*, partly belonging to the *Spaniards*, and partly to the king of *Borneo*. This island of *Paragua* is the third in bigness among the *Philippines*. Its shape is long like a strait arm, by means whereof *Manila* and *Mindoro* seem to shake hands with the great island of *Borneo*. The compass of it is 250 leagues, the length 100, but the breadth not above twelve in some places, and fourteen in others. The middle of it lies between nine and ten degrees of latitude: its furthest cape call'd *Tagusau*, towards the south-west, is fifty leagues distant from the island of *Borneo*, in which interval there are many low islands that almost join the two lands. The inhabitants of the coasts of these islands, and of *Tagusau* are subject to the *Mabometan* king of *Borneo*; but up the inland there are wild *Indians* unconquer'd, barbarous, lawless, and subject to no king; and therefore all their care is not to be subdu'd by the king of *Borneo*, or the *Spaniards*. Two parts of the island are in their possession. The *Spaniards* have in it about 1200 tributary *Indians*, *Black*, like those of *Africk*, who range from place to place, without any certain place of abode. In cold weather they make one great fire, and all the multitude gets about it. They are very faithful to the *Spaniards*, who keep a garrison there of 200 men, part *Spaniards*, and part *Indians*, with an *Alcayde*, or governor, whose residence is at *Taytay*, on the opposite point to *Borneo*, or as the *Spaniards* call it *Bornei*, where there is an indifferent fort. The *Lampuan*, or governor for the king of *Borneo* resides at *Lavo*. The island is almost all over mountainous, and full of abundance of sorts of trees and wild beasts; and produces abundance of wax on the mountains, but very little rice. Captain *Emanuel de Arguelles* of *Oviedo*, a person of great worth on all accounts, told me, that he going upon some business to confer with the *Lampuan*, he, after entertaining him five days very courteously to bind their friendship the firmer, drew a drop of his blood, and gave it him to drink in a glass of wine; which the captain in the same manner did to him. The *Moor*s after performing this ceremony, are so faithful, that they will sooner wrong their brother than their friend. Another barbarous custom is practis'd by the christians of *Paragua*, subject to the

Spaniards, which the missionaries have never been able to abolish (as I was inform'd by the same *Arguelles*, who was there two years *Alcayde*, or commander in chief) which is, that when a child is born blind, halt, lame, or decrepit, so as to be unfit to work; they put it alive into a hollow cane, and so bury it, destroying it, as useless to its parents, and the world. Besides the aforesaid garrison, the *Alcayde* formerly commanded a small fleet of galleys to defend himself against the people of *Borneo*; but this was put down upon the conclusion of the peace in 1685, by *D. John Morales*, governor of the castle of *Manila*. Having several times discours'd the said *Morales* concerning the ceremonies us'd in that embassy, for concluding the peace, he told me, the king of *Borneo* receiv'd him in publick, sitting after the *Mabometan* manner, on a throne rais'd upon several steps; causing him to sit upon cushions on a carpet; but that this reception was singular, that king using to give others audience from behind a curtain. Nor is this to be wondered at, for he is so haughty, and reserv'd, that he suffers only his prime minister to see his face upon important affairs; nor is it in his power to do other, having taken an oath to be so retir'd at his accession to the crown. The said *Morales* staid three months at *Borneo*, and was well entertain'd at the king's expense.

Not far from this northern cape of *Paragua*, are the three islands call'd *Calamianes*, which give their name to a province or government. These, and nine others near them, all small, are inhabited by peaceable *Indians*. In some of them there are 150 that pay tribute, in others less. The chief product of their mountains is wax; which they gather twice a year. In the rocks over the sea are found those so highly valu'd birds-nests, before spoken of, and about the shores there are very fine pearls taken.

Beyond the *Calamianes*, in sight of the high mountain of *Mindoro*, are the five islands of *Cuyo*, not far distant from one another. In them there are about 500 tributary families, more civiliz'd, and better affected to the *Spaniards* than those of *Calamianes* and *Paragua*. They are very laborious, and therefore gather abundance of rice, grain, and other fruit. The mountains abound in all sorts of beasts and fowls. At these islands ends the province of *Calamianes*, and begins that of *Panay*, the first land whereof is *Polol*. As *Paragua* is the biggest next to *Manila* and *Mindoro*, so *Panay* is the best peopled, and most fruitful in all the archipelago. Its shape is triangular, and its compass 100 leagues. The

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names of its principal capes are *Nasfo*, *Nasfo*, and *Bulacabi*. The coast from *Bulacabi* to *Potol* lies east and west; from *Potol* to *Nasfo* north and south; from *Bulacabi* to *Ililo*, another cape less than the three great ones, is also north and south; from *Ililo* to cape *Nasfo* east and west. The middle of the island is in the latitude of ten degrees. On the north side, almost in the middle between the two capes of *Potol*, and *Bulacabi* the famous river *Panay* falls into the sea; and as soon as out, meets with a small island call'd *Lutaya*, in which port the *Spaniards* had a safe retreat before they discover'd and conquer'd *Manila* and *Cavite*. The fertility of *Panay* is caus'd by the many rivers that water it (so that there is no travelling a league along the coast, without meeting a river that runs into the sea) but more particularly by the already mention'd *Panay*, which gives its name to all the island, and runs forty leagues. *Spaniards* of credit told me, that when it thunders in this island, instead of thunderbolts there fall crosses of a greenish black stone, which have great virtue. As for the crosses, I have seen them in the hands of *Spaniards*; it is possible they might make 'em of the stones that fell; but they affirm they are natural, and fall in that shape from the sky. The island for the better administering of justice is divided into two jurisdictions. The first call'd of *Panay*, contains all that lies from cape *Potol* to *Bulacabi*; the rest of the island is subject to the *Alcayde* of *Oton*, who resides at *Ililo*, and point of land running out into the sea on the south side, between the two rivers of *Tig-Bawan*, and *Jaro*, and forms a streight, not above half a league over, with the island *Imaras*, or rather an open harbour. On this point the governor *D. Gonzala Ronquillo* caus'd a fort to be built in the year 1681. The island contains about 16361 tributary *Indians*, partly belonging to the king, and partly to particular *Encomienderos*, or lords; but they all pay in rice, the island producing 100000 bushels *Spanish* measure, and but little other grain. The inhabitants are corpulent, and good country-men and hunters, the island being full

of wild boars and deer. The women make GEMEL-cloth of several colours. There are in the island 14 parishes belonging to the fathers of the order of *St. Augustin*, three benefices of secular priests, and one college of the society of *Jesus*, where they administer the sacraments to the garrison of *Ililo*. Besides the tributary *Indians*, there are here of those *Blacks* the *Spaniards* call *Negrillos*, who were the first inhabitants of the island, and afterwards drove into the thick woods by the *Bisay* who came to conquer it. Their hair is not so curl'd, nor they so big, as the *Guinea Blacks*. They live in the most uncouth parts of the mountains with their wives, and children all naked, like wild beasts. They are so swift that they often overtake wild boars and deer. They stay about the dead beast as long as it lasts, for they have no other harvest but what they reap with their bow and arrows. They fly from the *Spaniards*, not through hatred, but for fear. Eight years since, *D. John de la Sierra*, a gentleman well qualified, and a very zealous and upright minister, going to visit the island, some of the *Blacks* came down to ask missionaries of him to instruct them in our holy faith; and brought him in a basket, a *Black* woman twenty years of age, and but two spans and a quarter high, who being baptiz'd was call'd *Mary*.

Among the islands lying about *Panay* *Imaras*; is *Imaras*, opposite to *Ililo*, and about a quarter of a league distant from it. It is long and low, ten leagues in compass, and three in length; the soil fertile, abounding in *Salsaparilla*, and good water. On the mountains there are wild boars, deer, and good trees. It has the port of *St. Anne*, three leagues from *Ililo*.

Ten or eleven leagues to the northward of the point of *Bulacabi*, is an island call'd *Sibuyan*, equal to the last. Two leagues to the northward, are *Romblon* and *Batan*, and then the island of *Tablas*, larger than the others, and five leagues distant from the point of *Potol*. In it there are many *Indians* of the same language, and little differing from those of *Panay* in other respects.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Islands of Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Sibu, Bantayan, Camotes, Negros, Fuegos, and Panamao.

Samar.

BETWEEN the two great islands of *Manila* and *Mindanao* are those of *Leyte*, *Samar*, and *Bohol*, which one after another make a part of the semicircle formed by them altogether. The first of the three, and nearest to *Manila* is call'd *Sa-*

mar, on the side shut up by the isles, and *Ibabao* on that side next the main ocean. Its shape is like the trunk of a man's body, without head or legs; its greatest length from cape *Baliquaton* (which with the point of *Manila* makes the streight of *St. Bernardine*)

GEMEL-dine) in thirteen degrees, and thirty minutes of north latitude, to that of Guignan in eleven degrees, towards the south. The other two points representing the elbows of the body, and making the greatest breadth of the island, are *Cabo de Spiritu Santo*, or

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cape *Holy Ghost*, whose high mountains are the first discover'd by the ships coming from *New Spain* into those eastern parts, and that which lying opposite to *Leyte* westward, makes another freight, scarce a stone's throw over; and yet the ship *S. Juanillo*, or the *Little St. John* coming from *New Spain*, pass'd through it. The whole compass of the island is about 130 leagues. Between *Guignan* and cape *Spiritu Santo*, is the port of *Borongan*, and not far off, those of *Palapa*, and *Catubig*, the little island of *Bin*, and the coast of *Catarman*. Vessels of unknown nations are often cast away on the aforesaid coast of *Palapa*. To which purpose persons of credit told me, that some years since, there arriv'd people there, who said they came from islands not far distant, one of which was inhabited by none but women, and that men go over to them at certain times to lie with them, and bring away the male children. The *Spaniards* by fame call it the island of the *Amazons*. They also reported there were such vast quantities of ambergris found there, that they made use of it instead of pitch about their boats; which seems the more probable, considering, the abundance of it thrown up by storms on the said coast of *Palapa*. *F. Antony Borgia* of the society of *Jesuits*, and general procurator for the *Philippine* islands, told me further, as did *Michael Martinez*, commander of the *Galeon*, that carry'd me to *New Spain*; that a christian *Indian* had there found a piece of a vast bigness; which, he not knowing the value of, us'd as pitch, about his boat; but the curate, who was of the society, hearing of it, bought it at a small rate. *F. Borgia*, and the commander *Martinez* were of opinion, that the aforesaid islands, not yet discover'd, might be those of *Solomon*, rich in gold and amber, which the *Spaniards* have several times sought after.

Within the freight of *St. Bernardine*, and beyond *Baliguaton*, is the coast of *Samar*, on which are the villages of *Ibatan*, *Bangahon*, *Catbalogan* (where the military commander, and *Alcayde* reside) *Paranos*, and *Calviga*. Then follows the freight call'd of *St. Juanillo*, or *Little St. John* (whose coast looks to the south) without which standing eastward, appears the point and little island of *Guignan*, where the compass of the island ends. It is mountainous and craggy, but fruitful in the few plains there are. The fruit is much the same as that of *Leyte*, but here is one peculiar sort,

call'd by the *Spaniards* *Chicoy*, and by the *Chinese* (who put a great value on it) *Sey-zu*, without kernels. There also grows near *Catbalogan* another plant of a prodigious virtue, little known among the *Europeans*, as having been discover'd by the fathers of the society, but of late years. The *Dutch* are also acquainted with it, as trading at *Batavia*, and therefore at first would give double the quantity in gold for it. The plant is like ivy, and like it twines about a tree. The fruit, which grows out of the knots and leaves of the plant, resembles a melocoton in bigness and colour, and within has eight, ten, or sixteen kernels, as big as a hazel-nut each, green and yellow, which when ripe drop out of themselves. Some call them fruit of *Catbalogan*, others of *St. Ignatius*, and the *Indians* *Bisay-Igajur*. These also grow in the islands of *Bantajan*, *Ilabao*, *Igajur* and *Caragas*; but those of *Panamao*, and *Leyte* are most esteem'd. They work their effect better, adding to them another fruit the *Indians* call *Ligazo*, and the *Spaniards*, *Pepinillo de S. Gregorio*, much like the balsam plant, but full within of a substance like a bundle of hemp. I brought of both sorts into *Europe*, that the curious may make trial of the rare virtues ascrib'd them in those countries. What they are the reader will perceive by the following account given me word for word by the apothecary of the fathers of the society, who told me it was no more than what *F. Moleco* of the said society had found by experience.

The dose must be proportionable to the patient's strength, and distemper, but the most usual is the weight of half a royal, that is, the 16th part of an ounce, powder'd, and mix'd in wine, or water. If it has no effect the first time, the dose may be repeated. In the first place it is a powerful antidote against any poison either of venomous herbs, or by blowing, as is us'd by the *Indians* of *Borneo*, the *Philippines*, and other islands; for being carry'd about one, the person so carrying is not only safe from being hurt by the poison, but it hurts him that designs to destroy another. This is so certain, that *F. Alexius*, a *Jesuit*, having one of these nuts he found in the garden accidentally, in his pocket, and an *Indian* coming to poison him with a blast of venomous herbs, instead of doing the father harm, he himself drop'd down in his sight. Inquiring into the occasion of this accident, other *Indians* own'd the truth, as being very well acquainted with the virtue of their herbs, and thus discover'd the wonderful power of that fruit. Being drunk in wine, as aforesaid, it is excellent to bring up any poison. Secondly, It is good against the colick, and windy distempers being

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being carry'd about one, like *Tumbaga*, or drunk in wine. Thirdly, It takes away all pains in the belly and stomach, drank in water. Fourthly, It is good against convulsions drank, and laid upon the part. Fifthly, It helps women in labour, and has such power that being apply'd before the time, it may cause miscarriage. Sixthly, It is good against the gripes. Seventhly, Against the bite of venomous creatures, both apply'd to the place, and drank in liquor. Eighthly, Against the sting of the insect *Bajul*, found in the *Philippine* islands, taken the same way. Ninthly, Against *Tertain* and *Quartan* agues given when the fit comes on. Tenthly, Being apply'd to Wounds it stops bleeding, either whole or in powder. Eleventhly, It helps catarrhs, tooth-aches and pains in the gums. Twelfthly, Carry'd in the mouth it settles the belly and stomach, especially if the party swallows its spittle. Thirteenthly, Worn about one it is good against witchcraft. Fourteenthly, Against all sorts of fluxes, either proceeding from a hot cause, or a cold. Which virtues here mention'd are certain, and try'd; but 'tis believ'd it has many more, which will be found by experience, having been in use but a short time. It has been also found by experience, that the oyl these nuts are fry'd in, has all the aforesaid virtues, either taken inwardly, or apply'd outwardly; and it further helps hearing, and dimness of sight.

The island of *Leyte* takes its name from a village call'd *Gleyte*, seated on a bay opposite to *Panamao*. From the point of this bay, northwards, one side of the island runs as far as the streight of *St. Juanillo*, or *Little St. John*, twenty leagues in length. Then turning down from north to south, is the island of *Panaban*, at about 30 leagues distance, where there are two points, 3 leagues asunder. The first is call'd *Cabalán*, the other *Motavan*, a name taken from a rock directly opposite, now call'd *Sogor*. *Ferdinand Magalhaens*, the first discoverer of these islands in 1521, entered through this streight of *Panaban*. He that gave him the best entertainment, was the lord of the little island of *Dimassavan*, who conducted and guided him to *Cebu*, and there was baptiz'd, together with the king of that island. In the villages of *Cabayan* and *Abuyog* dwelt *Tendaya*, a great lord, who was the only refuge of the *Spaniards*, and of *Villalobos's* fleet in 1543, whose tract was afterwards follow'd by the captains of *Michael Lopez de Legaspi*.

From *Dimassavan* or *Sogor* westward, there are 40 leagues to the point of *Leyte*, and so ends its compass of 90 or 100 leagues. It is well peopled on the east side, that is, from the streight of *Panamao* to that of *Panaban*, by reason of the fruit-

ful plains, which yield an hundred, and two hundred for one. Vast high mountains cut it almost through the middle, and occasion so great an alteration in the air, that when it is winter on the north side (at the same time as with us in *Europe*) it is summer in the southern coast, and on the contrary. Thus when one half of the island reaps, the other sows, and they have two plentiful harvests in a year; to which the rivers running down from the mountains, do not a little contribute. These mountains abound in game, as deer, wild cows, and boars, and several sorts of fowl; as also mines of yellow and blew minerals. The earth produces great store of roots, on which the inhabitants feed as much as upon bread, grain, cacao-trees, and good timber to build ships. Nor is the sea inferior to the land, yielding plenty of good fish. The island contains about 9000, that pay tribute in rice, wax, and quilts. The fathers of the society have the charge of them. The people are susceptible of any learning, and have two good customs, the one to entertain one another interchangeably when they travel, the other never to alter the price of provisions upon any dearth, and this under severe penalties. The Air is fresher in *Leyte* and *Samar*, than at *Manila*.

On the side of *Bay-bay* and *Ogmua*, *Babol*. *Leyte* is, next to *Babol*, the third island under the care of the fathers of the society. Its length from north to south, is 16 leagues; its breadth, 8 or 10, and its compass 40. The south coast looking towards *Mindanao* is best peopled; that is, from *Lobog*, the metropolis, to the little island or peninsula of *Panglao*. There are three others, with fewer inhabitants, but in all they do not make above 1200 that pay tribute. The soil does not produce rice, but is rich in gold mines, and abundance of *Cocos*, *Batatas*, and several sorts of roots, which serve instead of rice. There is abundance of cattle in the mountains, and fish in the sea; which the natives exchange with those of the neighbouring islands, for cotton. The people speak the *Bisayan* language, but are whiter, and better countenanced than those of *Leyte*, *Samar*, and *Panay*, and bolder both at sea and land. Their haughtiness appears by his fir-name, who commanded them before the coming of the *Spaniards*, which was *Baray Tupueng*, that is, non-such. But their pride was humbled by the *Ternater*, *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* successively; and this was foretold them by a *Baylona*, or priestess of theirs call'd *Caripa*, in a lamentable tone in verse.

Sogbu, *Sibu*, or *Zebu* might have de-
serv'd the first place in this description, had the order of conquest been follow'd; this being

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GEMEL-being the first island, on which his catholic majesty's royal standard was set up by L. I. Ferdinand Magalbaens in 1521, and whence afterwards in 1564, they set out to subdue Manila, and all the islands before mentioned; but I taking them in their natural order, as they lye going from the east, will speak of it after Manila, Samar, Leyte and Bobol. Its shape is longish, not extending above 15 or 20 leagues, the breadth 8, and the circumference 48. The chief point of it looking towards the south-east, is call'd *Burulaque*, and hence its two coasts, run the one from north-east to south-west, to the streig' of *Tarawa*; and the other from north to south to the island of *Matta* (four leagues from *Burulaque*), and the city of the holy name of *St. Augustin* is seated on a point in the latitude of 12 degrees, almost in the middle of the island, and distant from the aforesaid isle of *Matta* a musket-shot on the east, and a cannon-shot on the west, where *Magellan* was kill'd, with his father-in-law the chief pilot, and captain *John Serrano*. Between these two islands is a port shelter'd from all winds, and with two ways into it, that is, one from the east and one from the west, but there are flats at both the entrances. Here *Magellan* found many vessels of several nations at anchor, and the king of that place demanding of him the duties for merchandize and anchorage, he excus'd himself alledging the greatness of the Spanish monarch. There were at that time in *Zebu* 3000 families of warlike people; and in it was afterwards founded the first town of *Spaniards*, with all magistrates of note. In 1598, the king made it a city, sending *F. Peter de Aguirre* of the order of *St. Augustin* to be the first bishop. It was then permitted to *Zebu* to send ships into *New Spain*; as at this time only *Manila* can send two: 'Tis true, that *Manila* to save paying twice 70000 pieces of eight, builds one so big, that it is as good as two, and thus the king is defrauded. This island in process of time increasing in trade, *Zebu* decay'd, and came to be a small village, where at present resides the bishop, the chief justice, two *Alcaldes* and other officers. The cathedral and houses of the chief men are in the parade, opposite to which is a good stone triangular fort with three bastions, to defend the port, city and country. In it is a garrison of two companies made up of *Spaniards*, *Pampangi* and *Cagayani*. The ancientest monastery is that of the barefoot *Augustinian* fathers, who were the first preachers of the gospel here, and is call'd of the infant *Jesus*. This image of an infant was found among the spoils of those that were defatall, on the day of the conquest by a soldier that had been in *Magel-*

lan's fleet. The *Indians* afterwards declared, that the said image (which must be suppos'd to have been left there at the first discovery by *Magellan's* men) was by them held in great veneration, and always anointed with oyl, as they did their own idols; and that they had recourse to it in their distresses. Here is also a college of fathers of the society. Of two hamlets or villages, that of *Paryan* is inhabited by *Chinese* merchants and artificers; the other by native *Indians*, free from any tribute, because they were the first that submitted to the *Spaniards*, and helped them to discover the other islands. In *Zebu* there are about 5000 houses all in the parish of the fathers of *St. Augustin*. The chief product of all the country about is *Borona*, which the people make use of for want of rice. Its colour is like *Millet*, but smaller and different in taste. It also produces much white *Abaca* to make cables for ships, and cloth of the finest part. This plant is like an *Indian plantain*, and is sow'd; when ripe it is beaten to spin for the uses aforesaid. The same is done with the *Gamuto*, taken out of the heart of some palm or cocoa-trees, to make black cordage, but not so lasting in water. There grows also a great deal of cotton, tobacco, onions, and other things; and in the mountains they find much wax and civet. Of the cotton they make fine quilts, as also of the thread of the cocoa-tree, a sort of cloth they call *Madrenaque*, with the warp of cotton.

The neighbouring islands to *Zebu* are on the north-east, near cape *Burulaque*, *Bantayan*, a small isle encompassed by 4 or 5 leagues, in all which there are only 300 that pay tribute, and employ themselves in fishing, and making cotton cloth and hosiery. Eastward, between *Zebu* and the coast of *Ogmuich* and *Leyte*, are other islands call'd *Camotes*; the chief of which is *Camotes*, *Poro*, subject to *Zebu*. Its point of *Tanion* stretches out to the island of *Negros*, 100 leagues in compass, and is separated from it by a small channel a league over, but dangerous because of the current. This island extends northward from nine to ten degrees and a half. It is fruitful in rice, in which its tribute is paid, and it supplies *Zebu* and other adjacent parts. The mountains are inhabited by *Blacks* with curl'd hair (who by reason of their numbers gave the name to the island) and who live in their brutal liberty, like their forefathers. The land is divided among them; some living on the tops of mountains, others on the sides; but they fight fiercely among themselves, if one party attempts to go into the liberties of the other. This happens very often; for it is the custom among them, that those above can take but one wife, and her they must take by force from them below,

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low, and on the contrary; and consequently every day there is blood-shed, and some kill'd, especially with poison'd arrows. These are headed either with iron, flint, bone or wood hardened at the fire. At the mouths of rivers dwells a third sort of Blacks who have no commerce with the other two, and are such enemies to the Spaniards that they give them no quarter. Nevertheless if the island happen to be invaded by pirates of *Mindanao* or *Xolo*, they run with their arms to defend it, and this done they retire to the mountains. They behave themselves in this manner, as still looking upon themselves to be the first lords of the island. The *Bisays*, 'tis true, as an acknowledgment for having been by them receiv'd into the island, supply them with rice, and the Blacks requite them with wax. These *Bisays* live in the plain, and the greatest number of them is on the west side, under the charge of the fathers of the society. In the island there are about 3000 that pay tribute govern'd by a *Corregidor*, or civil magistrate, and a military commander. Here grows a great deal of cacao lately brought to the *Philippines* from *New Spain*, as also much rice, which the mountains produce without watering.

The island *Fuegas*, otherwise call'd *Si-GEMEL-quior*, is near the last and *Zebu*. Tho' small, 'tis inhabited by people of valour, 1697. and dreaded by those of *Mindanao* and *Xolo*.

The island *Panamao* lies west on the further coast of *Carigara*, and not above a musket-shot from *Leyte*. Its compass is 16 leagues, the length four, and the breadth proportionable. It is mountainous, watered by several rivers, and full of sulphur and quicksilver mines. Formerly it was desert; but of late the king has suffer'd it to be inhabited, and be under the government of *Leyte*.

In all the islands here mention'd there are about 250000 Spaniards and Indians subject to the crown of Spain; tho' scarce the 12th part of them to be conquer'd, as has been said elsewhere. Marry'd men pay 10 royals tribute, others 5, from 18 to 60 years of age; as also maids from 24 to 50. Of this number about 100000 are tributary to the king, the others particular lords. However the king's revenue does not amount to 400000 pieces of eight, which not being enough for the pay of 4000 soldiers there are in all the island, and the extravagant salaries of ministers, he lays out 250000 that come from *New Spain*.

CHAP. X.

The wealth, trade, and climate of the Philippine islands.

THESE islands are rich in pearls (especially *Calamians*, *Pintados* and *Mindanao*) excellent ambergris, whereof there was once a piece found at *Xolo* weighing an hundred pounds, cotton and choice civet. This is taken from a sort of cats that are in the mountains, which they take with snares. The males, after taking away their civet, they turn loose; the females they keep because more can be made of them.

But gold is the chief and greatest treasure; for in the mountains there are rich mines, and the rivers have it mix'd in their sand. The governor of *Manila*, discoursing with me several times, upon this point, told me, that in all there is to the value of 200000 pieces of eight a year gather'd, without the help of fire, or quicksilver; by which may be guess'd what a prodigious quantity would be found, did the Spaniards apply themselves to it as industriously, as they do in *America*. The first tribute paid the king in gold by the provinces of *Illocas* and *Pangasinan* amounted to the value of 109000 pieces of eight; for then the Indians apply'd themselves to gathering it more industriously, than they do at present, for fear it should

be taken from them. The province of *Paracale* abounds in it above any other, as do the rivers of *Butuan*, *Pintabos*, *Catanduanes*, *Malbate*, and *Bohol*, for which reason formerly abundance of ships resorted to *Zebu*, to trade for it. The same provinces call'd of the *Bisayas* have plenty of amber, civet and wax.

As for *Manila*, the author of nature placed it so equally between the wealthy kingdoms of the east and west, that it may be accounted one of the greatest places of trade in the world. The Spaniards coming west about, and the Portuguese east about, conclude their voyage at the *Molucco* islands, which were formerly under the government of the *Philippine* islands; and generally the middle participating of the extremes as being that which unites them; hence it was that the *Philippines* had share of the best of both the *Indies*. For here are found the silver of *New Spain* and *Peru*; and for the east, the diamonds of *Golconda*, the rubies, topazes, sapphires, and precious cinnamon of *Ceylon*; the pepper of *Sumatra* and *Java*; the cloves and nutmegs of the *Moluccos*; the pearls and rich carpets of *Persia*; the fine silks and stuffs of *Bengala*; the camphire of *Borneo*; the

GEMEL-benjamin and ivory of *Camboia*; the musk of *Leguos*; the silks, mullins, calicoes and quilts, with the curious porcellane, and other rarities of *Cbina*. When there was a trade with *Japan*, there came from thence every year two or three ships, and brought pure silver, amber, silks, chests, boxes and boards of precious wood, delicately varnished; in exchange for hides, wax, and the fruit of the country.

It is easy to perceive how advantageously *Manila* is seated to gather vast riches by trade, because a vessel sailing thence to *Acapulco*, returns loaded with silver, the profit being four hundred *per cent*. I am of opinion there are no such plentiful islands in the world. For where shall we find mountains that will maintain such a number of savage men with their fruit and roots naturally produced by the trees and soil; for they apply themselves to nothing but shooting, and their number is ten times more than the subjects of the *Spaniards*.

The air of the *Philippine* islands is hot and moist. The heat is not so violent as in the dog-days in *Italy*, but more troublesome by reason of the sweat and weakness it causes. The dampness is greater, because the land is generally water'd with rivers, lakes, and pools, and there fall great rains the most part of the year; so that tho' the sun twice a year, that is, in *May* and *August*, be in their *Zenith*, and consequently darts down his rays perpendicularly, and therefore most powerful, yet the heat is not so great as to make the place uninhabitable; as *Aristotle* and other ancient philosophers imagin'd of the places under the torrid zone. This I observ'd which is wonderful, that first it rains and lightens, and the thunder is heard after the rain is over. During the months of *June*, *July*, *August*, and part of *September*, the west and south winds blow, which they call *Vendavales*, bringing such rains and storms that the fields are all flooded; and they are forced to have little boats to go from one place to another. From *October* till the middle of *December*, the north wind prevails; and from that time till *May* the east-south-east, which winds are there call'd *Breezes*. Thus there are two seasons in those seas, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Monzoens*, that is, the *Breezes* half the year with a serene dry air and the *Vendavales*, the other half wet and stormy.

It is further to be observ'd, That in this climate, no lice or other vermin breed upon *Europeans*, tho' they wear dirty shirts several months; whereas 'tis otherwise with the *Indians*, who have great store. Besides, they never know what snow is, nor do they use to drink any liquor cold, unless perhaps some person, who has no care of his health,

will cool it with salt-petre, in those months when the north wind prevails, which makes the water somewhat cool. In the *Philippines* the weather can never properly be said to be cold, for the reasons aforesaid, and because the days and nights are there always of an equal length; for which reason at *Manila*, they never change the hour of dining, supping, doing business, studying, or praying; nor do they change their cloaths, or wear cloth, but only against the rain. The air being here, as has been said, hot and moist, is not wholesome, and hinders digestion; yet is worse for young men that come from *Europe*, than for the old. Providence has provided against this inconvenience by furnishing the natives with provisions easy of digestion. They use no other bread but rice, but that not so nourishing as what we have in *Europe*. The oil, wine and vinegar comes from the palm, or cacao-trees which grow in great numbers, by reason of the predominant moisture. True it is, there are all sorts of flesh, but those who live plentifully eat flesh only at noon, and fish at night; and the poor for the most part have no other diet but fish ill dress'd; nor do they ever taste flesh except on festivals. The great dews that fall in fair weather contribute towards making the country unhealthy; for it is such, that shaking a tree sometimes it falls like rain. This does no harm to the natives who live to 80 or 100 years of age, but the *Europeans* who are us'd to better food, and have stronger stomachs live there but indifferently. In both *Indies* the hilly country is better than the plain. At *Manila* there is no eating, or sleeping, without sweating; which is not so much in open places where there is an agitation of the air; and for this reason the richer sort have their little country-houses to live at from the middle of *March* till the end of *June*, whilst the heat lasts. Though the heat be violent in *May*, very often at night it thunders and lightens with mighty rains. The occasion perhaps is because the clouds, carry'd towards the mountains by the winds they call *Vendavales*, there meet the opposite *Breezes*, which drive them back to the plain; which contrary motions and agitation set on fire the sulphureous and nitrous matter, making it go off in that manner, as I observ'd whilst I was writing this fame.

Manila is also subject to great earthquakes, especially when they happen in the fair weather. Many attribute it to the subterraneous concavities, the waters, vapours, and exhalations; without considering there is no part of the world but has many such concavities, waters, vapours, and exhalations; and yet no earthquakes. Secondly, they mistake the word exhalations,

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ons; as if exhalation were a thing lock'd up in the bowels of the earth, and not that which goes from it, thrust out by some other thing that is mov'd, or drawn by some outward cause. If I may give my opinion, I believe it to proceed from the fires, which give a vehement motion to several minerals there must needs be about them, and they having no room to dilate themselves, push forward with great force against the neighbouring solid bodies, which, by reason of the good connexion of the parts, not being able to break and give way (for in that case the earth would open in many places) are shaken, so that the motion is communicated to all that is over it, even to the superficies of the earth; and thus happens the earthquake. This is sufficiently made out by the force of the salt-petre in gunpowder; and by experience, which shews us those places are more subject to earthquakes, which abound most in minerals and subterraneous fires; as to our sorrow is observ'd in *Campania*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*.

To return to *Manila*, there was such a terrible earthquake there in *September* 1627, that it levell'd one of the two mountains call'd *Carvallos*, in the province of *Cagayan*. In 1645, the third part of the city was overthrown, with the slaughter of 300 souls; and the like happen'd the next year after. The old *Indians* say they were yet more dreadful in former times; and that

for fear of them they built all timber houses; not as the *Spaniards* have them now, of timber above the first floor.

The many burning mountains about the island confirm all that has been said; for at certain times they cast up flames, and shake the earth, producing all those effects *Pliny* ascribes to the burning mountains in *Italy*, that is, driving from them the neighbouring rivers and sea, scattering ashes round about, and rending the stones about, which give a report like cannon. On the contrary, there is no soil more pleasant, or fruitful. The grass grows, the trees bud, blossom, and bear fruit at once all the year round, and this as well on the mountains as in gardens; and the old leaves seldom fall before the new ones are come. For this reason the *Tinguiani*, that is, mountaineers, have no particular place of abode, but always live under the shelter of the trees, which serve them instead of houses, and furnish them with food, and when the fruit there is eaten up they remove to a fresh place where there is a fresh fort. The orange, lemon, and other *European* trees bear twice a year. If they plant a sprig, within a year it becomes a tree, and bears fruit; therefore without any hyperbole I may say I never saw such a verdant soil; nor woods full of such old and thick trees; nor trees that yield more sustenance to man.

GEMEL-
LI.
1697.

A Voyage round the World, by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part VI.

Containing the most remarkable things he saw
in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the language, characters, and customs of the Indians of the Philippine islands.

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LI.
1697.
Writing.

THE ancient inhabitants of these islands receiv'd their language and characters from the *Malays*, of the continent of *Malacca*, whom they also resemble in shallowness of judgment. In their writings they make use of three vowels, tho' they pronounce five, and have thirteen consonants. They write upwards beginning at bottom and going up to the top, placing the first line on the left, and so proceeding towards the right; contrary to the *Chinese* and *Japoneſe*, who write from top to bottom, and from the right to the left. Before paper was us'd, and now in places where there is none, they write on the smooth part of canes, or on palm or rather cocoa-tree leaves with the point of a knife. But when it is a letter that must be folded they can only use the leaves; and the same is still practis'd in *Siam*, *Pegu* and *Camboja*. In the *Philippine* islands, the *Indians* have almost forgot their way of writing, making use of the *Spanish*.

Language.

The languages are so numerous, that there are six in the only island of *Manila*, which are the *Tagalian*, *Pampangan*, *Bisayan*, *Cagayanian*, *Pangasinaman*, and that of *Illoas*. Though they all differ, yet with the help of the one the rest are soon understood, by reason of their likeness. The *Tagalian* and *Bisayan* are generally understood. The language of the *Negrillos*, *Zambalos*, and other savage nations is not understood.

Customs.

As for their customs they salute one ano-

ther courteously; which was formerly done by taking off their heads a cloth, call'd *Potang*, and in the *Tagalian* language *Manapulon*, which they wear wrapp'd about like a cap; and this I saw done in my time by the common sort of *Indians* among themselves; but when they met any persons of greater quality, they bow'd their bodies low, clapping one or both hands on their jaws, and at the same time lifting up one foot with knee bent. At present when they meet with any *Spaniards*, they make the *Torre*, or obeisance, taking off the afore-said cloth, bowing their bodies, and stretching out their hands clapp'd together towards him.

The *Tagalians* always speak in the third person, and say my lord, or my master; they sit without any seat, upon their legs, that is, all their weight on their feet, without any other part coming to the ground, as people do to ease themselves in the fields; and they expect to be first spoke to that they may answer; looking upon it as ill manners to speak before their superiors.

Formerly the mothers gave their children their names, and those generally taken from some circumstance at their birth; as for instance, *Malivag*, which signifies difficult, because it was brought forth with difficulty; *Malacas*, that is, strong, because it appear'd such at first coming into the world; which custom the *Chinese* still observe. Other times they gave it the name of the first thing that occur'd, as *Dian*, a chimney;

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chimney; *Dama* the name of an herb; and by this only name they were known, without using any surname, till they were marry'd. Then the first son or daughter gave the name to its parents, as *Amani-Malvoag*, *Imanani-Malacas*, that is, the father of *Malvoag*. The mother of *Malacas*. The difference between the names of men and women consisted in the addition of the syllable *in*, as for instance, *Iloge* is a man's name, and *Ilogin* a woman's.

Persons of the Islands.

The *Indians* are of a middle stature, well shap'd, both men and women, of a purplish colour inclining to black. The *Tagalians* wear their hair long down to their shoulders; the *Cagayanians* longer; those of *Illoco* shorter; and the *Basayans* shortest of all. The *Sambalians* cut all close before, and wear the rest of their hair loose. They are not so intelligent and quick as those of the *East-Indies*, who are excellent at any business; but particularly in trade and writing. The women of all the islands differ but little in colour, except the *Basayans*, who in some parts are white; but all wear their hair without breeding, yet handsomely ty'd. The general colour being black, those that are not, endeavour to make themselves so, by the help of bark of trees, and oyl mix'd with musk and other scents. The women's chief care and pride is to file and order their teeth so in their youth that they may grow even. They cover them with a black dye to preserve them; and the ladies of quality adorn them with little plates of gold. The men formerly took no care of their whiskers and beard, and pull'd them with nippers. Both men and women in some countries delighted in wearing pendants in their ears; and the bigger the hole in the ear was, the handfomer it was counted; some of them had two in an ear. No man might be clad in red that had not kill'd another, nor in strip'd stuff till he had been the death of seven. The men's habit was a thin doublet, that scarce reach'd the waist with short sleeves; the lower parts they wrapp'd in a piece of stuff, sometimes adorn'd with gold, which wound about between their legs; as the *Indians* on this side *Ganges* use at present. On their arms they wore bracelets of gold and ivory, or strings of jewels; about their legs black cords; on their hands abundance of rings. The uppermost garment was a little mantle, thrown up under one arm. At present men and women, young and old, smoke abundance of tobacco all the day. Their head they cover with the *Manpaton*, above describ'd, and the greatest beaus among them let the end of it hang down on their back. They also wear a short garment, call'd *Cbinina*, to which the women add a long piece of

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stuff, call'd *Saras*, which serves instead of a petticoat, and when they go abroad a little mantle. But their greatest pride is in the jewels they wear on their fingers, at their ears, and about their necks, according to every one's ability. They wear neither shoes nor hose, because of the heat; but the women of quality who are clad after the *Spanish* fashion, wear as they do. Besides all these sorts of garments, it is still in use among them to have their skins wrought after several manners; first, pricking themselves till the blood comes, and then strewing powder on it, that the impression may last. For this reason the *Spaniards* gave the island of *Bisay* the name of *Pintados*, those people delighting in this above the rest, as if it betoken'd valour and nobility. They did it not all at once, but by degrees, as they perform'd any noble actions. Therefore the men painted their very beards and eye-brows; the women only one hand, and part of the other. In the island of *Manila*, at present, only the people of *Illoco* paint themselves, but not so much as those of *Bisay*.

L.I.
1697.

They sit very low when they eat, and accordingly their table is low, either round or square. There are as many tables as guests; and they drink more at them than they eat; for the common food is rice boiled in fair water; and flesh only upon festivals. Their wine or liquor is drawn from the palm, or cocoa-tree, cutting a bough before it blossoms; and thus the moisture that should go to feed the fruit, drops into vessels, set for the purpose; as our vines would do, if cut at the proper season. This liquor being somewhat sharp or acid, the poor put into it some bark of trees which give it a colour, and a hotter taste, and then it is called *Tuba*. The rich distill it before it is sour, more or less, according as they would have it stronger or weaker; and keep it as we do brandy, which is clear, and of a very drying nature. The liquor call'd *Cbilang*, is nothing but the juice of sugar-canes, boil'd a little over the fire, so that it looks like wine, and tastes like sugar. The *Bisayans* make another sort of rice, and call it *Pangati*. They first put some herbs into a pot, with some leaven, then cover it with rice, till the vessel be half full, and then pour on water. Thus it works or ferments and the water grows strong and thick, so that to use it they must pour a great deal more water on it, till it is thin enough to draw. When they have a mind to drink they suck it through a trunk or hollow cane from the bottom of the vessel.

Liquors.

Their musick and dancing are after the *Musick Chinese* fashion, that is, for singing, one and dances through and the other repeats the song.

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stanza,

GEMLL-Itanza, to the sound of a metal drum.

LI. The dancing is an imitation of fighting, but all the motions and actions regular.

They also have many actions with their hands, sometimes holding a spear or javelin, with which they assault one another, retire, grow hot, and cool again; charge up close, and fall off very gracefully; so that the Spaniards do not think them unworthy to be admitted to their festivals. The compositions in their language are pleasant and elegant enough. But their greatest delight is cock-fighting, whereof we have spoke before, a sport once us'd by the Roman emperors.

Bathing. Bathing is so much in fashion among them, that the children new born, and the women just deliver'd use it, and this is cold fresh water, before sun rising, and after its setting. For this reason their dwellings are all on the banks of rivers and lakes; and there is a washing trough before every house for those that go in, to wash their feet.

Cures. Having observ'd the extravagant method of curing the sick, practis'd by the physicians in the Portuguese conquests in India, I cannot but give an account of those of the Philippine islands. Among the rest two cures of diseases seem'd to me wonderful. The first of these by the Indians is call'd *Sutan*, by the Spaniard. *Tabardillo*, and is no other but a violent pain in the head and stomach, and is certain death unless the patient be well beaten on the arms, thighs, legs, and right breast. Then the bruises are rub'd hard with salt, till they grow black; that the blood being thus drawn to the skin, may flow abundantly when cut with the lancet. Then they are wash'd with vinegar, and the patient has nothing given him to eat for three days, but rice boil'd in water without salt. (*Tabardillo in Spain is a malignant distemper breaking out in spots, if black incurable, if red to be cur'd so they do not fall in, and is cur'd another way, but this in the Philippine islands is another distemper, and another cure, tho' the Spaniards, because so dangerous, have given it the same name.*)

The other disease peculiar to the isles of *Negros*, *Pobol*, *Panay*, *Onton*, and *Xolo*, makes the tongues and privy parts both of men and women sink in so violently, that it endangers their lives. They say cold is the cause of it, and it is cur'd by giving the patient the genitals of the woman-fish, concerning which see the chapter of birds and fishes, or of a crocodile, powder'd in wine or water.

Religion. Nothing has hitherto appear'd in writing, either of these people's religion, their government, or history; but only some traditions, deliver'd from father to son, and preserv'd in songs, concerning the ge-

nealogy and heroick acts of their gods. By these it appears they had one principal god call'd by the *Tagahians*, *Barbala-may-capal*; that is, the god-maker. They ador'd birds and beasts, like the *Egyptians*; and the sun and moon like the *Affrians*. There was not a rock, stone, promontory, or river but what they sacrific'd to; nor any old tree to what they did not pay divine honours; and it was look'd upon as a sacrilege to cut it down on any account whatsoever. This superstition continues among them still; so that no force would prevail with the *Indians*, to make them cut down a certain great old tree, call'd *Balette*, whose leaves are like those of a chestnut-tree, and its bark good for some wounds, nor some ancient tall canes, vainly believing the souls of their ancestors dwell in them, and that the cutting of those trees or canes would put them into a fever; and that therefore an old man, they call *Nana*, would appear to complain of their cruelty. This is to be understood of such as are not christians or not well instructed. This vain belief continues among them, because sometimes they fancy they see several apparitions, call'd *Tibalong*, on the tops of the trees; and they are fully persuad'd, that the same appear to children in the shape of their mothers, and carry them to the mountains without doing them any harm. They say they see them vastly tall, with long hair, little feet, long wings, and their bodies painted, and that their coming is known by the smell. Be it as it will, for I will not take upon me to argue the point, 'tis certain the Spaniards do not see them, though the *Indians* tell them they are then actually present. The *Tagahian* dictionary compos'd by a *Franciscan*, gives a large account of these phantomes.

In *Pampanga*, and particularly on the mountain call'd *Bondo*, or *Kalaya*, which is a league and a half high, and belong'd once to the petty kings, *Sinoquan*, and *Minggan*, there are *Plantans*, *Betles*, and other sorts of fruit. These they say may be eaten upon the spot; but if any man attempts to carry them from the place, he certainly either falls down dead, or some way lam'd. Perhaps the devil, by God's permission may cause some such strange accidents, to keep those people in paganism; however it is, the *Indians* themselves have a good share in it, for they are notable forcerers, and are said often to convert themselves into crocodiles, wild boars, and other fierce creatures.

They also ador'd some particular Gods, left them by their ancestors, and call'd by the *Bisayans*, *Davata*, by the *Tagahians*, *Anito*. One of these was believ'd to keep in the mountains and fields, to assist tra-

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vellers; another to make the seed sprout
 up, and they left him things in certain places,
 to gain his favour. There was also a
 sea *Anito* for the fishery, and another be-
 longing to the house, to take care of the
 children. Among these *Anitos*, were placed
 their grandfathers, and great grand-
 fathers; whom they call'd upon in all their
 troubles; keeping little ugly statues of stone,
 wood, gold, and ivory, in memory of
 them, which they call'd *Licbe*, or *Lara-
 van*. They also accounted among their
 Gods, all those that dy'd by the sword, or
 were kill'd by lightning, or eaten by cro-
 codiles, believing their souls ascended to
 heaven, by way of an arch they call'd *Ba-
 langao*. For this reason, the eldest among
 them, chuse to be buried in some remark-
 able place on the mountains, and particu-
 larly on the promontories that run into the
 sea, that they might be ador'd by sailors.
 They tell abundance of fables, concerning
 the creation of the world, and the first
 men that inhabited it.

Govern-
 ment.

There were no kings, or lords of any
 great note, throughout all the archipelago;
 but in the continual wars they had among
 themselves, the little ones join'd in confederacy
 with the greater. In *Manila* the
 uncle and nephew, were lords, or chiefs,
 and had equal authority. Every several
 precinct, or petty dominion, was call'd
Barangai; for as the families came hither
 in a *Barangai* or bark, to seek dwelling
 places; so they remain'd subject, either to
 the commander of the vessel, or to the
 head of the family, and from him took
 their name. Then they apply'd themselves
 to tilling of so much land, as they could
 defend against the neighbouring *Barangais*;
 and though, when they were once settled
 in the place, they were in their turn assist-
 ing to the others; yet they might not up-
 on any account mix with them, that is,
 one go into the tribe of another (especi-
 ally marry'd people) unless they paid a
 certain quantity of gold, and made a feast
 to all the *Barangais*; otherwise they would
 cause a war. If two persons of different
Barangais marry'd, the children were to
 be divided, as if they had been slaves.

Nobility.

Nobility was not hereditary, but ac-
 quir'd by industry and force; that is, by
 tillage, working in wood, gold, or other
 matter, and such like trades, so as to ex-
 cel in them; and then such a one was
 call'd *Dato*, or chief, and among the *Taga-
 lians*, *Manguinao*, and all his kindred
 and friends follow'd his party. If this
 man afterwards lost what he had, he lost
 his reputation; and his children remain'd
Origuin, or in the *Tagalian* language *Ali-
 pin*, signifying as much as slaves. Those
 were reputed the common sort, who got

their living by digging, fishing and hunt-
 ing. Since the *Spaniards* rule over them,
 they are grown lazy; they are good at
 mechanicks, as for instance, at making
 small chains, and curious beads of gold,
 and other things. In *Camarines* and other
 parts, they make boxes, cases, and chests
 of several colours, curiously wrought out
 of *Indian* canes, for there are excellent
 ones throughout all the islands, and 50
 spans in length, which twine about trees
 like ivy. The women make purls not in-
 ferior to those of the *Low-countries*, and
 admirable silk embroideries. It is their la-
 ziness, that makes them appear less ingeni-
 ous; and they are so entirely addicted to
 it, that if in walking they find a thorn run
 into their foot, they will not stoop to put
 it out of the way, that another may not
 tread on it.

The chief *Indians* had formerly a great
 number of slaves of their own nation, some-
 times an hundred. The cause why so ma-
 ny fell into slavery, was usury, so much
 us'd among them, that neither the father
 would lend his son any thing, nor one brother
 the other, though he saw him in never
 such distress, without bargaining to re-
 store it double. Now if the debtor could
 not perform at the time agreed on, he be-
 came a slave to the creditor, till he pay'd
 the debt; and in the mean while the longer
 it was unpay'd, the more the interest in-
 creas'd, till it far exceeded the principal;
 and so they and their off-spring remain'd
 slaves, without redemption. To this day
 debtors pawn their children of both sexes;
 and in some places sell them, especially the
Bisayans; notwithstanding the king has
 prohibited that barbarous custom, under
 severe penalties. Sometimes the masters
 will add to their interest, the value of a dish,
 the slave has happen'd to break, that he
 may have the less hope of redemption. All
 prisoners of war were also made slaves;
 though it were among people of the same
 race and dominion. Besides, the great ones
 tyrannically enslav'd the common sort, ei-
 ther because they had happen'd to break,
 the morning silence, or thrown some dirt
 on them; or for passing some place, where
 they were bathing; or some such slight oc-
 casion; and these slaves they afterwards
 sold at pleasure. These remain'd in their
 houses to live upon their labour, but the
 master took from them one harvest in the
 year, or part of it, according as he was,
 more or less, rigorous. Another sort of
 slaves serv'd their masters, when they en-
 tertain'd any body, sow'd, reap'd, or went
 any where by water. These were call'd
Nomana Bay; by the *Tagalians*, *Sangai-
 guilir*; and by the *Bisayans*, *Halan*. Some-
 times the same man happen'd to be slave

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GEMEL- to several persons; or else half free, and
 LI. half a slave. This was when he came of a
 1697. father that was free, and the mother a
 slave, or the contrary, and he was the third
 son; for the first follow'd his father's fortune, whether free or a slave; the second the mother's; and the third was half free. When the mother was free, that son was only a quarter free. The *Sambalians* pretend that the *Tagalians* are their slaves.

It is us'd to this day, when there happens an eclipse, to make a great noise with drums, and other instruments, to fright

the dragon they imagine swallows the moon, and make him vomit her up again. They us'd formerly to swear before a wild beast, or a lighted candle, wishing they might be devour'd by such a beast, or consume like the candle, if they broke their promise; or be torn in pieces by a crocodile, or swallow'd up by the earth. It is impossible to force an *Indian* to curse the devil, and if he is press'd to do it, he will answer; he is not to curse one that has done him no harm.

CHAP. II.

The government, weapons, marriages, sacrifices, auguries and funerals of the Indians of the Philippine Islands.

Punishment of murderers.

THE first law among them, was to respect and honour their ancestors, and especially father and mother. The head of the *Barangai*, with some of the ancient men of it, judg'd of all causes whatsoever. Civil controversies were decided after this manner. The parties were summon'd, and endeavours us'd to make them agree. If this did not take effect, they made them swear to submit to the sentence; and they examin'd the witnesses. If the proofs were equal, what they contended for was divided; if not, judgment was given to him that had the best evidence. If the party that was cast was dissatisfy'd, the judge became a party; for he took from the person who lost the suit, the value appointed or adjudg'd, whereof a good part he kept to himself; then he pay'd the plaintiff's witnesses, and gave him the rest, which was the least part. In criminal cases sentence of death was never given in form of law, unless the person kill'd, and the murderer were both poor; for when any such had no money to satisfy'd the party griev'd, then the *Dato*, or chief, and other great men of the *Barangai*, came with spears, and binding the criminal to a post, kill'd him. If the person kill'd was of note, then all his kindred made war upon the murderer and his; till some mediator interpos'd to declare, what quantity of gold he promis'd to make amends for the other's death. Of this money, the one half was given to the poor, and the other to the wife, children and kindred of the party kill'd.

Theft.

As for theft, if the fact were made out, but the person not known, all the parties accus'd were oblig'd to lay something under a cloth, after which, if the thing stolen, was not found there among the rest, they had two ways of purgation. The first was to place them all near any deep river, with spears in their hands, and then

make them run and cast themselves into it. He that came out first was reputed guilty, and therefore many for fear of the punishment were drown'd. The other was to command them one after another to take a stone out of a basin of boiling water, which whosoever refus'd to do, pay'd the value of the thing stolen.

The punishment for adultery, was paying a fine; and the quantity of gold agreed on, or appointed by the elders, once pay'd, the adulterer was clear, and the husband restor'd to his honour; so that he return'd to his wife. But the children got in adultery, did not inherit their parents nobility, no more than those born of slaves, but were accounted of the common sort. The legitimate children inherited nobility, and the eldest succeeded his father, if he was lord of the *Barangay*. The first failing, the others succeeded orderly, that is, the 2d, 3d, &c. after them the females, and then the next of kin. Incest us'd to be severely punish'd.

Their arms offensive, were bows and arrows, and lances, or pikes with the spears of iron of several shapes, or else of wood hardened at the fire; broad daggers with two edges, well shap'd; and trunks with which they us'd to shoot poison'd arrows, like those of *Borneo* and *Sumatra*. To cover their bodies, they use a long narrow shield.

These nations are much given to sensuality, so that their women, either marry'd or unmarried, are seldom continent. When they marry'd, the man found the portion, and then they contracted settling a penalty, in case of divorce, which when it happen'd was not look'd upon as any dishonour, so the forfeiture agreed on were paid. But this was, during the life of the sureties, that is, the parents; for when they were dead, the children were free. At present their

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expences are exorbitant, for on the wedding day, they make the bridegroom pay for admittance into the house, which they call *Passava*; for speaking to the bride, call'd *Paiengog*; for eating and drinking with her, by the name of *Passalog*; and lastly for consummating the marriage he pays to her kindred, which they term *Ghinapuang*; all according to their quality. Formerly the portion was paid to the father-in-law, who at his death dispos'd of it as he pleas'd, among the children; and if the bride had no father, her kindred receiv'd it, to be restor'd to the children born of her. The marriage was solemniz'd by the *Catalona*, or priests, with a sacrifice; after which the gossips gave the marry'd couple to eat and drink, out of the same dish; and then the bridegroom told the bride he took her for his wife, and she receiv'd him. Then the *Catalona* gave her blessing, after which some beast was kill'd, and next follow'd the entertainment, and making themselves drunk. If there was any falling out between the marry'd couple, another sacrifice was offer'd, the bridegroom slaying the beast so sacrific'd, and after dancing spoke to his *Anito*, or ancestor, desiring him to grant peace according to his desire. They took care not to marry out of their own tribe, and always the nearest of blood, except in the first degree. There was no difficulty in being forced; for the wife restor'd the portion, if it was through her fault, and the man lost it if it were through his, and he took another wife. Polygamy was not us'd among the *Tagalians*; but if any man had no children by his wife, he might, with her consent, have to do with his slaves. The chief of the *Bisayans* had two or more lawful wives, and the children born of them, all inherit'd as legitimate; but those by the first fire had double as much as those of the second. The children by slaves had something given them out of the moveables, at the pleasure of the legitimate, and the mother was free. The gold given in portion was measur'd, not weigh'd. Adoption was also us'd, the person adopted paying a certain sum, which, if he dy'd first, fell to the person adopting; but if otherwise, he that was adopted recover'd double the sum out of the other's estate.

Place de
Paris

Formerly there were men that made it their trade to deflow maids that were to be marry'd; and they were paid for it; because the maidenhead was look'd upon as an obstruction to the bridegroom's pleasure. At present (as some missionaries of the jesuits told me) some of the *Bisayans*, if they find, when they marry, their brides are maids, say they have got bad ones; because no man has had a mind to, and debauch'd them.

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As for their religion, it has been mention'd before, that there was no temples found among them, but only certain little idols, in caves near their houses, to which they offer'd sacrifice, by means of priests, call'd by the *Tagalians*, *Catalonan*; by the *Bisayans*, *Babayan*. The manner of sacrificing was thus. They all assembled in a hut or cottage made of wattles for this purpose, and having danced awhile caus'd a handsome young girl to give the first stroke with a spear to the victim, which was always some four-footed beast. The sacrifice being slain, they cut it in pieces, and when dress'd eat it in a respectful manner. If the sacrifice was not upon any occasion of rejoicing, but for some sick body; they made a new hut of wood, and laid the patient in it upon a mat on the ground, together with the offering. Instead of an altar they cover'd several Tables with variety of meat. Then the *Catalona*, being the same handsome young girl, came out dancing to the noise of instruments, and having wounded the beast, the sick person, and some of the standers by were anointed with the blood. Having slain the beast, they all came again before the patient, and the *Catalona* muttering some words betwixt her teeth, open'd, stretch'd and view'd all parts of his body; winding herself into sundry shapes, and foaming at the mouth. Then she stood awhile besides her self; and at last having cover'd her senses (as is writ of *Sibyls*) she prophesied concerning the party's life or death. If she sat down to eat or drink, it was a sign of life; if not, of death; but for fear of frightening the sick person, she us'd to say the *Anitos*, or their predecessors had chosen him for their companion. Then the patient recommended himself to her, that she might persuade his kindred to put him in the number of the *Anitos*; and lastly the sacrifice ended in eating and drinking; but the guests were oblig'd to leave an offering of gold, cotton, birds, or some other thing for the priests.

They were so superstitious, that if they Superstitious found a snake on their garments, they would never wear them again, tho' they were new; and the same if an owl sat in the night on their house. If they found a snake on the way; or anybody sneez'd, a dog bark'd, or a rat made a noise, they turn'd back. The fisher-men made no benefit of fish they took the first time with a new net; believing if they did, they should catch no more fish for the future. Nor was any body to talk in a fisherman's house of new nets; nor in a huntsman's of young dogs, till they had taken a prey, positively believing if they did, the virtue of the nets and value of the dogs would be lost. They that went by sea, were to take nothing that be-

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longed

GEMEL-longed to the land, nor so much as name it; nor those that travell'd by land, any thing of the sea. To conclude, they undertook nothing without casting lots.

F. *Xuaquin Affin*, minister of *St. Peter*, of the society of *Jesus*, told me, that he having serv'd as missionary several years among the *Tagalians*, observ'd, that they never eat alone, but will have one companion at least. That when the wife dies, the widower keeps with a mat before him, and is serv'd during three days by widowers, for marry'd men and batchelors would be accounted unlucky. The wives do the same when their husbands die.

When the women are to be deliver'd, they will allow no maids to be present, because they say it would make them have hard labour. When any body dies, not only the kindred and friends, but hired people come to lament and make a dismal song. Then the body, being wash'd and perfum'd with *Storax*, *Benjamin* and other sweet gums found on those mountains, is wrapped up in more or less silks, according to its quality. Formerly they anointed and embalmed the bodies of persons of note, with aromatick liquors, aloes and eagle-wood, and put into their mouths the juice of betle, that it might sink into their body.

The poor were bury'd in a grave in their own house; the rich in a coffin made of one piece of precious wood, and clos'd so artificially, that no air could get into it. They left on the body gold bracelets and other rich ornaments. Then they placed the coffin, lifted up from the ground, in a corner of the house, with the dead person's best apparel, and his arms if a man, or her necessities for work if a woman. At certain times, they placed before them several

sorts of meat, in token of affection and respect; but the greatest sign of loving the dead, was to make much of the slave that had been his favourite, and then kill him to bear his master company. Others bury'd the dead in the fields, and made fire in the house for many days, that the dead might not come to take them that were left alive. When the body was bury'd, lamentation ceas'd, but not the gormandizing, which lasted more or less, according to the dead man's quality; but the widow and children fasted to express their sorrow, eating neither fish nor flesh, but only grain or herbs. This fast the *Tagalians* call *Sipa*.

The *Tagalians* mourning is black; the *Bijayans* white, but these last over and above shave their heads and eye-brows. Formerly, if any man of note dy'd, they were to keep silence many days, and not to strike any place, nor go upon the neighbouring rivers. To this purpose they set up a certain sign, that all persons might know it was a time of silence, and none should presume to pass by upon pain of death, which was severely executed. In honour of those that dy'd in war, they added sacrifices and offerings, to the usual obsequies. If the person had been basely kill'd in war, or treacherously murder'd in peace, the mourning was never laid aside till his kindred had made the *Balata*, that is, taken revenge, killing a number, not only of the enemies with whom they were at war, but of all strangers, not their friends, that came before them. In the mean while they wore a list of leather about their neck, and spent all the day by land and water, in search of men to destroy, and satisfy their rage. This done, they broke silence with great rejoicing, and then the mourning was left off.

CHAP. II.

Of the beasts, bird, and fishes of the Philippine islands.

WILD cat- THERE is so great a number of wild tle, buffaloes, like those of *China*, grazing about the plains, that a good hunter a horseback with a spear, may kill ten or twenty in a day. The *Spaniards* kill them for their hides; the wild *Indians* to eat them. The woods abound in deer, boars, and wild goats, like those of *Sumatra*, which last are so numerous, that they have given their name to one of the islands, called *de las Cabras*. The *Spaniards* have carry'd thither out of *New Spain*, *Japan*, and *China* horses and cows, which have much ply'd considerably; but not the sheep, by reason of the excessive moisture of the earth.

There are also in the mountains, innumerable monkeys, and baboons so monstrous big, that once at *Samboangen*, they say some of them defended themselves with sticks, against a *Pampango* soldier that assaulted them; so that the soldier in a few days dy'd with the fright. The little apes are diverting in the house. My friend *D. John del Poco* had a white one; but so old, that it held its paw over its eyes to see any thing, as a man does, when he would observe something at a distance. He told me, he once had another of *Borneo*, which cry'd like an infant, and went upon two feet, carrying a mat under its arm, to change its sleeping place. These monkeys seem to be sharper in some respects

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spects than men, for when they can find no fruit on the mountains, they go down to the sea-side to catch crabs, oysters, and the like. There is a sort of oysters, call'd *Talovon*, the fish whereof weighs some pounds, and it commonly lies open on the shore. The monkey fearing it should close and catch its claw in, puts in a stone first, that it may eat the oyster without fear of its shutting. One sort of them, that they may take the crabs, put their tail in to their hole, that when the crab lays hold of it, they may draw him out.

Civet-

cats

There is in the islands, a great multitude of civet-cats; and this is chiefly to be observ'd, that if their civet is not taken away every month, the heat they receive from it, is so great, that they tumble about the ground, till the bladder break, wherein it is contain'd, and so ease themselves of that pain.

Flying

cats

There is another sort of cats, as big as hares, and of a fox colour, call'd *Taguan*. They have wings like bats, but hairy on both sides, by the help of which they leap from one tree to another, sometimes above thirty spans, that is, seven yards and a half distant.

Mice

In the island of *Leyte*, there is a peculiar sort of creature, call'd *Mago*, about as big as a mouse, with a tail like it, and so the long hairs on the snout, but the head is twice as big as the body, and it eats nothing but coals.

Snakes

There are snakes of a prodigious bigness. One sort of them are call'd *Ibitin*, which are very long, hang themselves by the tail down from the body of a tree, expecting deer, wild boars, or men to pass by, to draw them to them with their breath, and swallow them whole; and then winds it self round the tree to digest them. Some Spaniards told me, *The only defence against them was to break the air between the man and the serpent*; and this seems rational, for by that means, those magnetick or attracting particles spread in that distance are dispers'd. Another sort of snakes call'd *Aji-gua* eats nothing but hens. That they call *Olopong*, is venomous. The biggest are call'd *Babes*, which sometimes are 20 or 30 spans long.

Insects

Another sort of four-footed creature, which is also found in *America*, and devours hens, is call'd *Iguana*. It is like an *Alligator*, the skin purple, speckled with yellow spots, the tongue cloven, but the feet close and with claws. Though a land creature, it passes over rivers swiftly. The *Indians* and some *Spaniards* eat it, and say it tastes like a tortoise.

Birds

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Among the birds of the islands the *Tavon* deserves to have special mention made of it, as well for its quality, as because it

is not known whether there are any of the *GEMEL*-species elsewhere. It is a sea fowl and black.

As to its size it is less than a hen, but has

a long neck and legs, and lays its eggs in

a light sandy ground. These eggs are

wonderful; for besides their being as large

as a goose's, when boil'd there is very lit-

tle white found in them, but all yolk, yet

not so well tasted as a hen's. The strange-

ness of them is, that contrary to all others,

when the chickens are hatch'd, the yolk ap-

pears whole and sweet as it was at first

with the chickens beak fast, and without

any white. By this it appears that it is

not always true, that the generative virtue

of the feed makes the yolk fruitful, and

that in this case the yolk serves for the

same use as *Placenta Uterina* does to an in-

fant. The chickens roasted before they

are flogg'd, prove as good as the best pi-

geons. The *Spaniards* very often eat the

chicken and the yolk of the egg together

in the same dish. The old bird is eaten by

the *Indians*, but is tough. The hen lays

about 40 or 50 eggs in a trench near the

sea and covers them with sand. For this

reason it is call'd *Tavon*, which in the lan-

guage of the islands signifies to cover with

earth. There the heat of the sand hatches

them, and the chickens feed on the yolk,

till they gather strength to break the shell,

throw up the sand and get out. Then the

hen which keeps about the neighbouring

trees, runs about them making a noise, and

the young ones hearing her, labour the

harder to get out to her. This is no less

wonderful than what the scripture says of

the ostriches eggs, *Job 39*. We see the

disposition of providence, in giving this

bird that instinct to bury its eggs so deep,

and the chicken such long claws, as to make

its way. They make nests in *March*, *A-*

pril, and *May*, like the *Halcions* the an-

cients make mention of; because at that time

the sea is calmest, and the waves do not

swell so high as to spoil them. The sailors

go in quest of them along the shore, and

where they find the sand has been thrown

up they open it with a stick, where they

sometimes find eggs and sometimes chick-

ens, which are equally valuable and nour-

ishing.

There is also a sort of turtle-dove with

gray feathers on the back, and white on

the breast, in the midst whereof is a red

spot, like a wound with the fresh blood up-

on it.

The *Colin* is a fowl as big as a black-*Colint*,

bird, black and ash-colour'd; without any

feathers on its head, but instead of it a

crown of flesh. That is yet stranger which

the *Spaniards* call *Paloma-Torzac*; it is of *Torzac*,

several colours, as gray, green, red and

white on the breast, with the same spot like

a wound.

GEMEL-a wound on the breast; and the beak and feet red. These and other sorts of birds I

1697. saw in *D. John del Pozo's* volery at Manila. There was also a black-bird brought from *Suratte*, as big as a turtle-dove, with a yellow beak, and a list of the same colour like a collar. It endeavour'd to speak like a parrot. He had also some little birds of the coast of *Coromandel* less than a linnet, their breast white and red, their wings gray with little white spots, and the end of their tail red, so that they were most beautiful to behold. Besides a great number of white doves with their tails always lifted up like a graceful femicircle, which he told me were brought out of *Perfia*.

Salangan. The *Salangan* is a strange bird of the islands of *Calamianes*, *Xolo* and others. It is as big as a swallow, and builds a little nest on the rocks over the sea-shore, cleaving to the rock as the swallows do to the wall. These are the so famous birds nests, whereof we have spoke in the foregoing volume.

Herrero. The *Herrero* is a green bird, as big as a hen. Nature has furnish'd it with such a large and hard beak, that it bores the bodies of trees to build its nest. From the noise it makes at this work, which is heard at a great distance, the *Spaniards* took occasion to give it this name of *Herrero* or smith. Others think it was so call'd for its knowledge of an herb, which lay'd upon iron breaks it; for it is known by experience, that the hole on the tree being cover'd with an iron plate to save the young that are in the nest, it seeks out this herb, and laying it on the plate, breaks it, and so clears the way; but I will not vouch for the truth hereof.

Colo-Colo. There is another rare bird call'd *Colo-Colo*, little less than an eagle, black, and half fish half bird, for it equally dives under water, and flies in the air. It overtakes any fish and kills it with its beak which is half a yard long. The feathers are so close that as soon as out of the water it shakes them dry.

Peacocks, &c. In the island of *Calamianes* there are abundance of peacocks. The wild mountain cocks supply the want of pheasants and partridges, and well dress'd are excellently tasted. The quails are half as big as ours, and have a red beak and feet.

In all the islands at all times there are green birds, call'd *Volans*, and several sorts of parrots, and white *Cacatuas*, which have a tuft of feathers on their heads.

Camboxa. The *Spaniards* carry'd turkeys out of *New Spain*, but they did not thrive or increase, by reason of the dampness of the soil, as is believ'd. The want of them is supply'd by a hen call'd *Camboxa*, because the first of them were brought out of that

kingdom, whose legs are so short that the wings trail on the ground. The cocks of another sort, call'd of *Xolo*, which have long legs, are not inferior to turkeys. Besides the common hens like ours, there is another sort that have black flesh and bones, but are well tasted.

Another bird that breeds about the lakes, especially that of *Babi*, has the feet and beak red, and the colours of several colours, as big as a hen, and would be as well tasted did it not eat fish.

The *Oydore* or judge, *D. John Serra*, Bird of shew'd me another dead bird that had most beautiful feathers, as big as a black-bird, brought him from the island of *Borneo*, where it was taken. It had no feet, but only great wings to bear it up, and is therefore call'd the bird of paradise. *F. Comber* in his history of the island of *Mindanao*, says there are such there.

We have spoke before of the great bats of the island, so that it is needless to say more in this place; only that in the island of *Mindanao*, they extract a great deal of salt-petre from their excrement by the means of fire, but it is not so strong as the common sort.

The very fish of the island have some thing singular. One of these is the *Dugong*, by the *Spaniards* call *Pee-Muger*, that is, woman fish, because it has breasts and privities like a woman, and there never was any male seen. The bones of it have a notable quality of stopping bleeding and curing a cough. The flesh of it eats like pork.

The sword-fish differs not from ours, only that there are some there 20 spans or 13 foot long, and the sword 9 or ten spans in length. We gave an account of the fighting with the crocodiles when we spoke of the lake of *Babi*. The damage they do to some small boats will appear, if we observe that their swords have been found broken upon great ones.

As for the crocodiles, providence has figur'd it self after several manners in them. For in the first place the females of these monsters being extraordinary fruitful, so as to bring sometimes 50 crocodiles, the rivers and lakes would have been full of them in a very short time, to the great damage of mankind, had not nature caus'd it to lie in wait where the young ones are to pass, and swallow them down one by one; so that only these few escape that take another way. Secondly, the crocodiles have no passage for excrements, but only vomit the small matter that remains in their stomachs after digestion. Thus the meat continues there a long time, and the creature is not hungry every day; which if they were, they could not be fed without the utter ruin of infinite numbers

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numbers of men and beasts. Some of them being open'd, there have been found in their bellies men's bones and skulls, and stones, which the *Indians* say they swallow to pave their stomach. The female lays her eggs out of the water that they may hatch. They are twice as big as a goose-egg, whiter and as hard as a stone. The yolk in them is but small, like that of the tortoise's egg. The *Spaniards*, as well as the *Indians*, eat the little crocodiles. The same *Indians* affirm there are little bladders of excellent milk sometimes found under their jaws. *Engelbuis* in his history, lib. 22. cap. 5. mentions the same thing, and experience has often verifi'd it.

There is another species of crocodiles found in their lakes, call'd by the *Indians* *Rubaya*, by the *Portuguese* *Caynanes*, and also those we call *Alligators*. The difference between them and the crocodiles is, that they have no tongue, and have a difficulty in turning. For want of a tongue it can make no noise, nor swallow in the water, but it must tear and devour its prey on the bank. The *Indians* say it has four eyes, two above and two below, by help whereof it easily discovers the fishes and stones, which it takes from the bottom with its paws; but that on land it is short-sighted. Besides that the male can go but half out of the water, and that only the females go out to seek something to eat in the fields, because it appears that all those kill'd on land are females. It is a most assured defence against the *Caymans* or *Alligators*, to carry about one the *Bonga* or

Nang-kau-Vagan, a sort of fruit growing on a cane, which I have by me. It hinders the *Alligator* from coming near, as has been try'd with a dog, and is also a preservative against witchcraft.

In the sea of *Mindanao* and *Xolo* there are abundance of large whales, and sea-horses like those of the land, but without feet, and with a tail like a crocodile.

The sea-shells in the same island are so large that they serve for holy-water pots, and to give water to the *Buffaloes*. A religious man told me, *That as he was going to the island of Pintados, the sailors took one so large from a rock it was struck to, that the meat in it gave them all a belly-ful.* These shells are every where valued, but especially by the *Chinese*, who make several curiosities of them.

There are two sorts of tortoises found in those seas. The great ones are eaten, and their flesh tastes like beef, but the shell is not valued. The flesh of the lesser sort is not eaten, but the shell is good for several uses. Some of them are an antidote, it being found by experience that rings or beads made of them would fly in pieces like a glass, if they touch or come near any poison.

The thornbacks are mighty large, and their skin esteem'd by the *Japanese* to make scabbards for their scimitars. To make short concerning this matter, I must declare that of all the sorts of fish mention'd by *Pliny*, there are very few wanting in these seas.

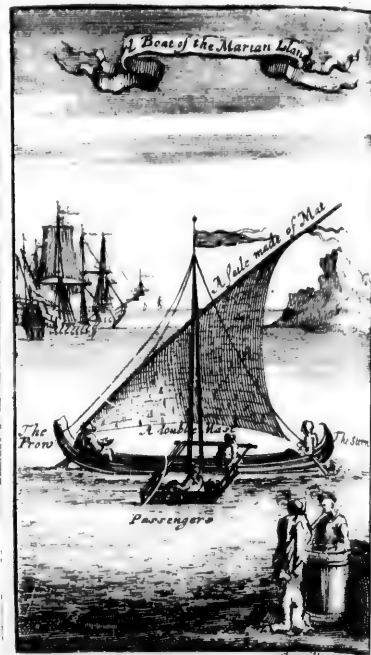
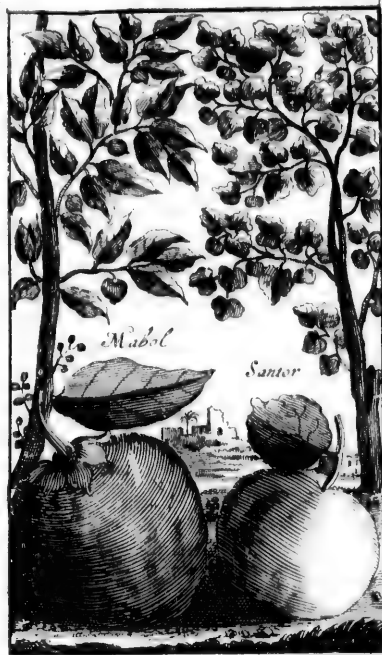
CHAP. IV.

Of the trees and fruit of the Philippine-islands.

THE most valuable sorts of fruit in the islands are of two sorts, and both of them grow in the woods without any improvement. The first of them is call'd *Santor*, in bigness, colour and shape like to a ripe peach, but somewhat flatter. When gather'd in season the rind is sweet, but open'd, there are in it five kernels, like the seeds in an orange, and as four and white. The *Spaniards* esteem it equal to a quince, and therefore preserve it after the same manner. It is also good pickled with vinegar, and gives a pleasant relish in pottage when half ripe. The woods being full of these trees, and sugar at about four shillings and six pence the hundred weight, all the

friers in the *Philippine* islands preserve a great quantity to eat after dinner and supper. Besides the leaves are medicinal, and the wood excellent for carving. The tree is like the walnut, but has larger leaves.

The other sort of fruit, which they call *Mabol*, is somewhat bigger than the other, but downy like a peach, and of the colour of an orange. The flesh of it is ill tasted, hard of digestion, and contains six kernels. The tree is as tall as a good pear-tree, has the boughs thick, the leaves large, long and green like the laurel. The wood when wrought is little inferior to ebony. Both of them may be seen in the following cut.



GEMEL-LI-1697. Here are also *Bilimbines*, which the Portuguese call *Carambolas* (as I observ'd in the third volume) but as in the *East-Indies* they are sharp, so here they have a mixture of sharp and sweet. They are eaten with sauce raw, and prepar'd with vinegar and sugar.

The *Macupa*, call'd by the Portuguese *Giamba*, is bigger than that which grows at *Goa*. There are also *Banchilins*, which the Portuguese call *Bilimbines*; *Giaccas*, call'd by the Spaniards *Nancas*, *Tanpays*, by the Portuguese call'd *Giambas-de-Malaca*; *Cassuis* or *Caguis* and others, which being describ'd in other places are therefore here purposely omitted.

There are also *Mangas* of *Siam*, by the Portuguese call'd *Mangas-de-Papagalbo*, brought but of late years; and *Camies*, the fruit and tree like the Portuguese *Carambolas*, but without kernels, and more sharp.

Lumboy. All hitherto mention'd are as it were garden fruit, but there are other sorts wild, not inferior to them in taste, if gather'd in season. The *Lumboy*, by the *Tagalians* call'd *Dobat*, is a tree in all respects like the pear-tree; it puts out a pretty, but small white blossom, the fruit like a cherry, only long'h like an olive. The Portuguese give it the name of *Giambulon*.

The *Dottoyan* is a scarcer tree, whose fruit is in all respects like the *Giambulon*, red, and with a kernel, the flesh of it is white, and the taste sweet and sour.

The *Panunguan* is a very large tree, producing a fruit, as big as a pigeon's egg, with a red shell, in shape and hardness like our pine-apples. Within it there are kernels, and a transparent flesh of good taste and helping digestion. Others have given this fruit the name of *Licias*, for its likeness with those of *China*, but they differ from them.

The *Carmon* is good boil'd and sharpens the appetite. It is as large as an apple, and has a rind like an onion, and the flesh within sharp and sweet. The tree is as big as an apple-tree, and thrives well on the banks of rivers.

In some of the islands there are the so much celebrated *Duriones*. The tree is large, and the fruit grows to the thick part of the boughs, like our pine-apples. At the first tasting it sends up an ungrateful taste of onion to the nose, but when grown familiar it becomes most delicious to all strangers.

There are also *Maranes* like the *Duriones*; and *Lawzones* or *Boufhas*, which for taste and other qualities may be call'd grapes.

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Paxos. Instead of olives, there grow *Paxos* in the mountains of the islands, which differ but little from olives when gather'd young. Green they are eaten with vinegar, and ripe they have an exquisite taste.

Pine-trees. On the high mountains of *Illocos* and *Cagayan* there are vast wild pine-trees. They do not bear pine-apples like ours, but *piles*, not unlike them, which taste like almonds, and serve for all uses as almonds do among us.

Lumbon. The *Lumbon* produces some small nuts, with a hard shell, the kernel whereof tastes like pine-apple kernels. But this being hurtful to the stomach, the general use the *Chinese* make of it is to extract oil, which serves instead of tallow for ships.

Oranges. Their oranges are of several sorts, all differing from, and bigger than those of *Europe*. There are great and small lemons, but for the most part sweet.

Jamboas. The *Jamboas* are twice as big as a mans head, round and yellowish. Some of them have white, some red and some yellow seeds. Their taste is like a lemon, with a mixture of sweet to the four. The tree is also like the lemon-tree in bigness and leaves.

Of the fruits of *New Spain* there are brought hither *Aies*, *Anonas*, *Zapotes-prietas*, *Chicos Zapotes*, *Aguacatis*, *Papayas*, *Mameyes*, and *Goyavas Peruleras*; of which last there is such plenty in the mountains that they are a great support to the poor. They make preserves of it, and wine better than that of the cacao-tree, or the fider of *Tirol*. This fruit eaten green is astringent, and when very ripe is laxative. The leaves of it boil'd are good for swell'd legs; and the *Indians* reducing them to powder heal themselves therewith of the disciplines they take in the holy week. The *Islanders* know nothing of the *European* fruit, because the soil will not produce it; and tho' in the castle of *Cavite* there are some vines of muskadinge grapes, they never come to maturity, no more than the figs and pomegranates in the monastery of the *Je-fuits* in the same place.

All those hitherto mention'd, serve only to please the palate; but the trees that yield both profit and pleasure, and wherein for the most part the estates of the chief men in the *Philippine* islands consist, are the palm-trees. They reckon there are 40 several kinds of them; but among the best, which give daily sustenance, that is the choicest, which the *Tagalians* call *Toro*, the *Pinatas Landan*, and the inhabitants of the *Malucco* islands *Sagu*. This, to distinguish it from the others, grows naturally without any improvement on the banks of rivers. It runs not very high but is thick. All of it from top to bottom is a soft substance like a radish, cover'd with a bark

only an inch thick, not very hard nor smooth. They use it after this manner: 1697. they cut it in pieces and lay it a soaking in water, then they take only a narrow slice of the bark, that the remaining part may contain the inward substance, and cut the white within it extraordinary small; then they press it with their feet in baskets made of cane, near the river, so that the best of the juice may run through, by pouring on water, into a vessel set under full of water. Then they take up that substance so bruised and put it into moulds made of palm-tree leaves, like our cheese-fats, where it hardens a little, like soft starch, which being afterwards dry'd in the sun, without any oven serves instead of bread, and is very nourishing, and will keep.

The second sort of palm-trees is that which yields their wine and vinegar. The *Tagalians* call it *Sasa*, the *Bisayans* *Nipa*. They do not grow big enough to deserve the name of a tree, for they are generally in places that abound in salt water, and especially where the waves of the sea come. The fruit would not be unlike the date, but it never comes to maturity, because the *Indians*, as soon as ever it blossoms, cut off the bough, as has been said before, that the liquor may run into the cane-trough placed under it. One of these troughs will hold ten *Neapolitan* *Ciraffas* or bottles, and is often fill'd in a night. When it is not distill'd or prepar'd as has been mention'd before, that is, with the bark of *Calunga*, which is like cinnamon, it grows as sour as vinegar. The leaves of these palm-trees, interwoven with small canes, serve to cover houses instead of tiles, and will last six years.

There is also wine, vinegar, and *Tuba*, ^{Cocao tree.} made of the cacao-tree, which besides are of great use to the islands because of the oyl drawn from them, which when fresh is good to eat. From the middle of the same cacao comes a water as sweet as sugar, and a sort of sugar made of the same water condens'd. The outward rind serves to make ropes, match, and to caulk ships. The shell within it to make cups, and for other uses elsewhere spoken of.

There is another sort of palm-trees call'd *Burias*; *Burias*, from which the islands of *Burias* towards the streight of *S. Bernardine* took their name. The tree is thicker than the cacao; the fruit are perfect dates, of the stones whereof they make good beads, and the leaves are like those of the common palm-trees in *Africk*. About the beginning of the year the *Bisayans* cut the stem or stalk, and so they gather the liquor, as is done with the *Nipa* and cacao-tree. Of this liquor, besides vinegar, they make over the fire

Instead

GEMEL. fire a sort of honey, and black sugar, which they call *Pacassas*, and sell in little boxes, as a thing much valu'd among the islanders. I tasted it and found it was somewhat saltish and easy to dissolve. They also make *Sagu*, after the same manner as it is made of the other trees; and in times of dearth they make a sort of meal of the fruit ground; but not so wholesome as that of the *Sagu*.

Bonga. The other palm-tree call'd *Bonga*, has large leaves like the *Buri*, but the tree and fruit unlike. The body of the *Bonga* is tall, slender, strait and knotty all the way. The fruit is like a large acorn, highly valu'd, because of it, the leaves of *Belle* and chalk, they make a composition as big as a small acorn, which they and all the *Indians* value at a great rate, as a thing that comforts the stomach, fastens the teeth, causes a sweet breath, and makes the lips beautiful and red; yet immoderately us'd, it turns the lips and teeth black, as most of the *Indians* find by experience, who never cease chewing it from morning till night. Some of them will pass a day or two without eating, believing they are nourish'd by it.

Yonsta. The last sort of profitable palm-trees (to say nothing of the rest tho' they bear fruit) is the *Yonsta*. It furnishes the islanders with wool, call'd *Baroz*, to make quilts and pillars; and with black hemp, call'd *Jonor*, or *Gamulo*, to make cables for ships. Its threads in length and thickness are like hemp, in blackness like horses hairs, and they are thought to last long in sea-water. Both the wool and hemp are taken from about the trunk of the tree. It produces some small cocoas in long bunches or clusters; but of no use. The *Indians* from the young branches draw sweet *Tuba*, which when grown four makes them drunk. The tender tops are eaten, but are not so good and well tasted as those of the cocoa, which they eat boil'd.

The leaves of all these palm-trees in general will bear weaving, as well to make hats or hoods, as to cover houses, make mats for rooms, sails for ships and other uses; so that in them the poor people find meat, drink, cloth and houses, as *Pliny* in his natural history, lib. 13. cap. 4. writ above 1500 years since.

Tamarines. The *Tamarines* or *Sampalos* are a wild fruit, and grow in pods like green beans. They have a biting taste, and are therefore eaten with salt, and preserv'd with sugar. The tree is tall and thick, the leaves small, and the wood serves for several works like ebony.

Cassia. The islands produce abundance of *Cassia*. The tree is not so large as the *Tamarine*, but much thicker of boughs. The leaves are of a beautiful green, and bigger than

those of the pear-tree, and being boil'd with the blossoms, in the nature of a conserve, work the same effect as the fruit, and are less nauseous. So the young fruit, made into a preserve, is safe, and a good laxative. The mountains do so abound in it, that in *May* and *June* they fit the swine with it, especially in the island of *Minlora*.

There are so many other sorts of great trees on all the mountains, which serve to build ships and houses, and are always green, that those whom long experience has not made well acquainted with the ways, cannot by any means go far among them, as I saw with my own eyes going a hunting. Among the best of them is the black ebony, the red *Baliyong*, the *Alana* or *Naga* of which they make dishes to drink out of, for the water grown blewith with standing in them is very wholesome, and not ill tasted, as I found by experience; and cutting a slit in the bark of the tree there runs a liquor from it, call'd dragon's blood. There is besides the *Calingak*, sweet scented, and with an aromattick bark call'd cinnamon; and many more all very useful, as well for dying, as for their smell, and a bundance of other uses, whereof the hundredth part is not yet known to those people. Those call'd *Tigas*, that is, hard, are excellent for building of ships, and there is one kind so hard, that it cannot be cut but with a saw, and water, like marble; and therefore the *Portuguese* call it *Ferro*, that is, iron.

On some of the mountains in the island of *Manila*, there is abundance of wild nutmegs, of which no use is made. But in the island of *Mindanao*, there are on the mountains many cinnamon trees. The most wonderful thing of all, is that the leaves of some trees, when they come to a certain pitch of ripeness, become living creatures, with wings, feet, and tail, and fly like any bird, tho' they remain of the same colour as the other leaves. The body is made of the hardest fibres, in the middle, bigger or less according to the leaf, that part joining to the tree becomes the head, the other end the tail; the side-fibres the feet, the rest the wings. *F. Joseph de Omense*, a recollect, provincial of the province of *St. Gregory* in the *Philippine* islands, told me that when he was a minister in the province of *Camarines* in the village of *Camulo*, he was actually an eye-witness to this, and gave it me under his hand, in form before a notary, as I have it to shew by me. *D. F. Gines Barrientos*, bishop of *Troy*, and coadjutor to the archbishop of *Manila*, confirm'd the same. I have here inserted the following figure of the leaf for the satisfaction of curious persons. But were it my business to

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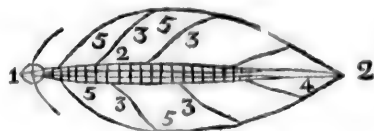
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VOL. IV

defiant upon this subject, I should say, there was but one way to make this out, which is, the said leaf breeding a worm, which afterwards takes wing, as we daily observe in flies, gnats, silk-worms, and many other sorts of worms.

GEMLL-
11.
1697.



1. The head.
2. The body.
3. The feet.
4. The tail.
5. The wings.

The cocoa plant, has been carry'd out of New Spain into the islands; and the increase is so great (tho' it proves not altogether so good) that in a little time they will have no need of any from America.

Those ancient woods, which for many and many ages have not felt the stroke of an ax, are very beneficial and profitable to the islanders; because there are in them, infinite multitudes of bees, which furnish them with vast quantities of honey and wax, without their taking any pains about it. There are sundry kinds of them. Those the Indians call *Pocoytan*, are bigger than ours in Europe; and make their combs, which are full four spans in length, and proportionably in breadth, under the boughs of high trees; and sometimes six or seven in the same place, which continue whole notwithstanding the mighty rains. Those call'd *Liguan*, are as big as the Europeans, and make their combs in the hollow of trees. Another sort of little ones no bigger than flies, call'd *Locot*, have no sting, but make four honey, and black wax, and seek about for the honey of the others. There is another sort they call *Camomo*, which like those call'd *Pocoytan*, settles upon high trees. Besides all this, the trunks of these trees put out several sorts of gums all the year. One kind, which is the commonest, by the Spaniards call'd *Brea*, is us'd instead of pitch; of the others some are medicinal, others odoriferous, and others for other uses. There is such vast plenty of them, that not only the trees, but the ground is cover'd with them; and there

are plants that have it on their leaves, in the months of April and May. Thus we see the ancients had reason to say, the trees in these countries distill'd honey and other precious liquors.

We must here pass by the tree, call'd *Ai-Aimit*. It is indifferent large, and so full of moisture, that when the hunters and wild people want water, they cut a hole in it, and in a very short time draw from it a hollow cane full of pure water. It also bears some fruit in clusters, which when ripe, are not altogether unfavoury.

I will here conclude this chapter with the Twining Indian cane, by the Spaniards call'd *Vexuco*, growing among the trees, and running up to the tops of them, twining like the ivy. It is all cover'd with points, which being taken away, it remains smooth. If cut, it will yield as much fair water, as is enough for a draught, so that the mountains being full of them, there is never any want of water. The thickest part of them serves for several uses, as covering walls, roofs, and other things; that part which is somewhat thinner, being very strait, and not apt to be worm-eaten, serve to make pikes, and the royal armoury at Manila is altogether furnish'd with them. In the province of Camarines, they make pillars of them, so that all the house is made of cane. The thinnest part serves for captains canes, after the Spanish fashion, and walking sticks, as every body knows; and when split, to bind, make baskets, boxes, chests, hoods for Franciscans, and many other uses the Indians put it to.

CHAP. V.

Of the plants and flowers in the Philippine-islands.

Those the Portuguese call Indian figs, are by the Spaniards call'd *Plantans*, and for quantity are next to the palm-trees. Their plant withers as soon as it has bore the fruit. It has no branches, but leaves to long and broad, that there is no doubt but Adam might have made himself a cloak with a couple of them; this being thought

to be the fruit that made him fall in paradise. There are several sorts of it, all differing in taste. One of them is call'd *Obispo*, or bishop, because it is fit for a prelate's table; another is call'd *Plantano de Pepita*, and the Indians have them about their houses, not only for the sake of the shade of the leaves, but to make use of

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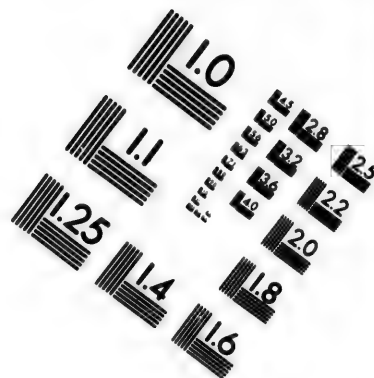
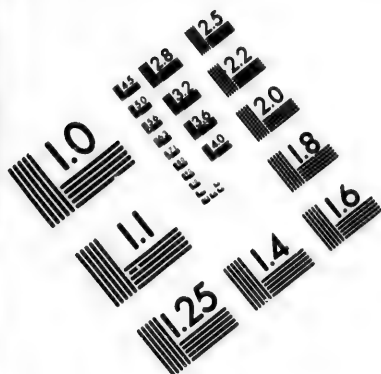
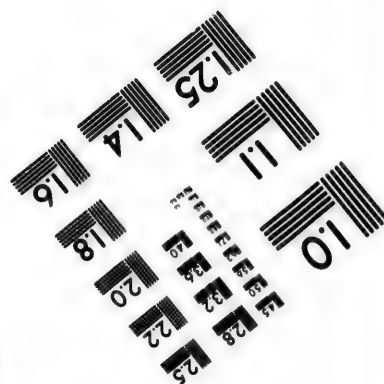
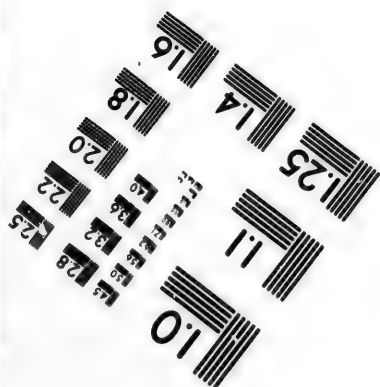
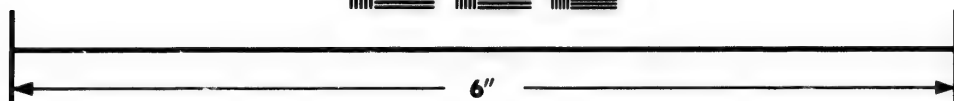
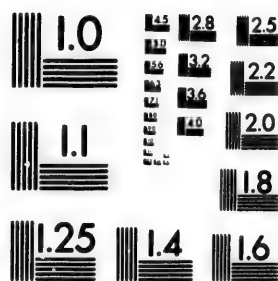


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GEMEL-them. instead of napkins and plates, and
 L.I. of the fruit for vinegar. The choicest and
 1697. most nourishing, are the *Tunduques*, a span
 and half long, and as thick as a man's arm,
 which they eat roasted, with wine and cin-
 namon, and they taste like the quinces of
Europe. Those they call *Venti coxol* are
 also excellently well tasted; but those they
 call *Dedos de dama*, or *Ladies fingers*, are
 much better. An hundred, and sometimes
 two hundred plantans hang by one twig,
 so that it must be propp'd up. The *Indi-
 ans* think it so wholesome, that they give it
 to the sick; and tho' they be somewhat
 hard of digestion, they are good for the
 lungs and reins; and cordial, if we may be-
 lieve *Avicenne*. The *Arabs* call them *Mu-
 sa*, and the *Malabars* *Palar*.

There are also abundance of sugar canes,
Batatas. ginger, indigo, and tobacco. The *Bata-
 tas*, very nourishing to the *Indians*, and much
 valu'd by the *Spaniards*, are of several
Camotes. kinds; as are the *Camotes*, which look like
 great radishes, and have a pleasant taste and
Glabis. smell. The *Glabis* are like great pine-apple
 nuts, and boil'd serve the *Indians* in-
 stead of bread, and the *Spaniards* instead
 of turnips in the pot, and the leaves make
Ubis. soups. The *Ubis* is as big as a pompon,
 and the plant like ivy. The *Xicamas* taste
Xicamas. like the *Ubis* and *Batatas*, are eaten prefer-
 red or raw, with pepper and vinegar, like
 cardoons; for when fresh, they are juicy and
 wholesome. The wild *Carots* taste like a
Carots. pear, and the plant is like ivy. The wild
Taylan. *Taylan* has great leaves, and tastes like the
Batatas. There is such vast plenty of all
 these roots throughout the islands, that ma-
 ny thousands of savage men live on them,
 as has been said elsewhere.

Pinnas. The *Pinnas*, by the *Portuguese* call'd
Ananas, have the first of these names, from
 their likeness, with the pine-apple nut.
 They are much valu'd for their smell, co-
 lour, and taste; and they are preserv'd to
 eat after dinner. At that time they help
 digestion; but eaten fasting, tho' they cre-
 ate an appetite, they are not wholesome.
 A knife stuck for half an hour in one of
 these *Pinnas*, loses its temper.

There are abundance of odoriferous
 herbs and flowers in the islands, growing
 of themselves naturally in the fields, with-
 out any labour of the *Indians*, who make
 their benefit of them. It is no wonder they
 do not apply themselves to improve them,
 since they can scarce be persuaded to sow
 their rice; and for this reason there are not
 such fine gardens in *Manila*, as in *Europe*,
 and but few flowers in those of the mona-
 steries, and belonging to the *Spaniards*.

Flowers. The first place is due to the flower of
Zampaga, Zampaga. It is like the *Portuguese* *Mogo-
 rin*, that is, like a little white rose, with

the three rows of leaves, much sweeter than
 the jessamin of *Europe*. There is another
 call'd *Solasof* of a sweet scent, and two sorts
 of it; besides a wild one, call'd *Locoloco*,
 which smells like cloves. The *Balanay*, o-
 therwise call'd *Torongil*, and *Damoro* has a
 small seed that smells like baum. It is good
 for the stomach, and the richest persons mix
 it with the *Belle*. The *Dajo* has an aroma-
 tick root, smelling like ginger, and the fields
 are full of it; as also of the other kind of
 it, which is hotter and stronger, call'd
Langeovas. The *Cabling* is sweet green,
 but more when dry. The *Talo* is also an
 odoriferous herb, and more fragrant than
 the *Calaton-lon*; of which they make sweet
 water. The *Sarasa* or *Oja de S. Juan* is
 slightly, and has long leaves, with white
 and green stripes.

As for medicinal herbs, no island in the *Medi-
 cal*
 world abounds in them so much as the *Pbi-herbs*.
lippines, for besides sage, *St. Mary's-cori-*
baum, house-lick, and others known in
Europe, they have many peculiar. The
 herb call'd *del Pollo*, is like porcelaine, and
 grows every where. They have given it
 this name, because in a very short time it
 cures any wounds their game-cocks receive.
Panlipan is a taller herb, with a white flow-
 er like the bean blossom. Pounded and
 laid on wounds, it soon draws out any poi-
 son, and cleanses all corruption. The *Go-
 londrina* and *Celidonia*, speedily cure the flux.
 There is also the herb *del Sapo*, and many
 others of great virtue. In the islands of
Mindanao and *Xolo*, there are also many
 herbs peculiar to them, to heal wounds in
 a short time; for drinking a decoction of
 them, and applying the herb to the wound,
 it heals in 24 hours. There is another they
 use after the same manner as the *Turks* do
 opium, to put them besides themselves, be-
 fore they join battle. It takes away the
 right use of reason, so that there remains no
 fear of any danger; and the enemies swords
 and spears are made no account of. The
 greatest wonder is, that the wounds of those
 who have taken it, will not bleed; if the
 governor of *Samboangan* spoke truth, in
 the account he gave of it, to him of *Ma-
 nila*, as did several *Jesuit* missionaries that had
 been with him. They added that there
 were two other wonderful herbs; one of
 which apply'd to the reins, makes a man
 sensible of no weariness; the other held in
 the mouth, prevents fainting, and gives a
 man such vigour, that by the strength of it,
 a man may travel two days without eating.

The island being hot and moist, and not *Venous*
 well cultivated, abundance of venomous *creatures*
 creatures breed in all parts; and the ground *and veg-*
 produces herbs, flowers and roots of the *tables*
 same vile quality; insomuch that they not
 only kill those that touch or taste them, but
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even infect the air about them; and for this reason it is that so many die, at the time that such plants and trees blossom. But on the other side, providence has furnish'd those same islands with several sorts of excellent antidotes, among which the preference must be given to the *Bezoar* stone, found in the belly of deer and goats. The *Malungal* powder'd, and given in lukewarm water, and in oyl of cocoas, is a most powerful remedy, against malignant and pestilential fevers. The leaves of the *Alipayon*, which are like those of the *Plantain*, purge or cleanse any fore wonderfully, making the flesh grow up, without any other help, but now and then, changing new leaves. The root of the *Dilao*, which is like ginger, has an admirable virtue for healing of wounds and venomous thorns, applying it bruised and boiled with oil of cocoas.

An herb by the *Spaniards* call'd *de Colebras*, or of snakes, and by the *Tagalians* *Tarogtong*, is excellent for joining together, and knitting of parts that have been fever'd, so that the snakes sometimes cut in two, heal themselves with it. The like virtue is in a sort of wood, call'd *Doñon*. The *Amuyon* bears a fruit like a nut, of a biting taste, like pepper, and good for any distempers in the belly, proceeding from cold. The *Pandacague* bruise'd, and apply'd hot, helps women in labour. The tree *Camandag* is so venomous, that the *Pilchards* eating the leaves that fall into the sea, die and kill those that eat of them. The liquor flows from the trunk of the tree, serves those people to poison the points of their arrows. The very shadow of the tree is so destructive, that as far as it reaches no herb, or grass grows, and if transplanted, it kills all the other trees in the place, except only a small shrub, which is an antidote against, and always with it. A bit of a twig of this shrub, or a leaf carry'd in a man's mouth, is a security against the venom of the tree, and therefore the *Indians* are never without it. The earth of *St. Paul* has also been found to be a powerful antidote.

The *Maca Bubay*, which signifies giver

of life, is a sort of ivy, which grows about any tree, and grows as thick as a man's finger. It casts out some long twigs, like vine-branches, whereof the *Indians* make bracelets, to wear against any poison. The juice of this plant is very bitter. The root of the *Balet* taken on the east side, and apply'd bruise'd to any wound, heals it in 24 hours, better than any balsam. This tree grows among buildings, and does so pierce them with its roots, that it overthrows palaces. It also grows on the mountains, and because it there grows to an excessive bigness, it is much honour'd by the *Indians*.

There are many other trees and plants in the islands, that have notable virtues, of which brother *George Carrol*, a *German*, and apothecary to the college of the *Jesuits* at *Manila*, has given an exact description, in two volumes in *Folio*, with the draughts of them, so exactly to the life, that any man having the book, may easily know them in the field. He has also set down their virtues, and the manner how they are to be prepar'd. This is the work and labour of fifteen years, he having gain'd the knowledge of them, by means of the *Indians*, who are extraordinary *Botanists*; and it very well deserves to be printed for the publick benefit, which I do not omit to declare to the father, vice-provincial, and the brother himself.

Among the sensitive plants, which are a sensitive medium between plants and animals, as plant.

Pliny observes, *lib. 9. cap. 45*, besides the *Struga* and sea-nettle, there is one in the islands, in all respects like a cole-wort. This was found out in the year 1642, by a soldier of the garrison of the coast of *Tabao*, who going to pull it up, saw it fled from his hand, and drew back to the rock, which was under water in the sea. There is another more wonderful, which grows on *St. Peter's* hill, about *Manila*, not very tall, and with little leaves, which, whenever it is touch'd, though never so lightly, draws back, and closes all its leaves hard together. For this reason the *Spaniards* call it, *la Vergon Cosa*, that is, the *Bashful*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the islands of Mindanao and Xolo.

Mindanao islands.

MINDANAO, and *Xolo* being reckoned among the *Philippine* islands, and we having omitted before to relate some particular circumstances concerning them, it will be proper before we proceed any further, to give a short account of them. *Mindanao* is the next island to *Ma-*

nila in greatness, its shape almost triangular, ending in the three famous promontories of *Samboangan*, cape *St. Augustin*, and cape *Sulago*. Between *Sulago*, and cape *St. Augustin*, which lie north and south, is the province of the warlike *Caragas*. Between *Sulago*, which points to the north-east,

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GEMEL-east, and *Samboangan*, is the province of
 L. I. *Iligan*, the jurisdiction of *Dapitan*, and
 1697. the people call'd *Subanos*. *Samboangan*,
 and cape *St. Augustin* lie east and west, and
 the people of them, on the one side, and
 the other, border upon the provinces of
Bubayen, and *Mindanao*. Its situation is in
 the latitude of six degrees, in which lies
 cape *St. Augustin*, to ten and a half where
 is cape *Sulago*. Its compass is about 300
 leagues, but has so many long points run-
 ning out into the sea, and deep bays, that
 a man may go across it in a day and a
 half. It lies south-east of *Manila*, and 200
 leagues from it. About it there are many
 islands; among those that are inhabited,
 is *Xolo*, thirty leagues distant from *Sambo-
 angan*; *Balijan*, divided by a strait of 4
 leagues; *Sanguil*, the peninsula of *Santran-
 guan*, and others.

Mindanao being so far stretch'd out and
 divided, partakes of several climates, and
 is encompass'd by stormy seas, especially
 on the coast of *Caragos*. That part which
 is subject to the government of *Samboan-
 gan* is most temperate, the winds pleasant,
 storms rare, and rain scarce. The pro-
 vinces of *Mindanao* and *Bubayen*, subject
 to two *Moorish* kings, are boggy and uneasy
 to live in by reason of the gnats. There
 are throughout the island about 20 naviga-
 ble rivers, and above 200 little ones. The
 most remarkable are *Bubayen* and *Butuan*,
 both flowing from the same spring, but the
 first runs towards the coast of *Mindanao*;
 the other towards the north, and falls into
 the sea in sight of *Babol* and *Leyte*. The
 third river, call'd *Sibuguey*, rises near *Dap-
 itan*, and with its waters divides the ter-
 ritory of *Mindanao* from that of *Samboan-
 gan*. There are also two lakes, and one
 call'd of *Mindanao*, which in that language
 signifies, a man of a lake, and gives its
 name to all the country. This is very large,
 and cover'd with a sort of herbs they call
Tanfon, that spread themselves in many
 branches over the water. The other, be-
 ing eight leagues in compass, is in the op-
 posite side of the island, and known by the
 name of *Malanao*. All the country, ex-
 cept near the sea, is mountainous, yet a-
 bounds in rice, and produces very nourish-
 ing roots, as *Batatas*, *Ubis*, *Gaves*, *Aperes*
 and others. There are infinite numbers of
 the palm-trees call'd *Sagu*, of whose meal
 they make bread and bisket, throughout
 all the island of *Mindanao*, but especially
 on the coast of *Caragos*, near the river
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Its pro-
 duct.
Durions. *Mindanao* produces all the sorts of fruit
 the other islands do, and the *Durion*, be-
 fore spoke of, over and above. But it is
 to be observ'd, besides what has already
 been said of it, that its rind is not very

hard, and opens as it ripens. Within it
 are three or four kernels, cover'd with a
 soft white substance; and a sort of nut,
 like the kernel in a prune stone, which is
 eaten roasted like chestnuts. It is of the na-
 ture of the fruit of the east; viz. That it
 is gather'd green, to ripen in the house.
 There are abundance of them all the way
 from *Dapitan* to *Samboangan*, for 60 leagues
 in length, more especially on the high land
 of *Dapitan*, but above all in the islands of
Xolo and *Basilan*. They say the tree stands
 20 years before it bears.

The cinnamon is a tree peculiar to *Min-Cin-
 danao*, grows on the mountains without any
 improvement, and has no owner but him that
 first finds it. For this reason every one, to
 prevent another's making his advantage of
 it, takes off the bark before it is ripe; and
 so though at first it be strong like that of
Ceylon, yet in a small time, and at farthest
 in two years, it loses all its taste and virtue.
 It is gather'd in 25 villages, and about as
 many rivers of the coast of *Samboangan*,
 towards *Dapitan*, on high and craggy moun-
 tains; and in one village of the province
 of *Cagayan*.

The inhabitants of *Mindanao* find good Gold,
 gold digging deep into the ground, as also
 in the rivers making trenches, before the
 flood. There is sulphur enough in the Sulphur
 burning mountains, the ancientest of which
 is *Sanxil*, in the territory of *Mindanao*. In
 1640, a high mountain broke out, and so
 clouded the air, land and sea with its ashes,
 that it look'd like doomsday.

In the sea of this island and that of *Xolo* Pearls
 there are large pearls taken. It has all the Birds
 birds of the other islands, and among the best
 rest *Carpintera*, which, as I said before,
 finds out the herb that makes iron fly.
 There are also multitudes of all sorts of
 beasts, as wild boars, goats and rabbits,
 but above all lascivious baboons, which
 suffer not the women to go far from their
 habitations.

Thirty leagues south-west of *Mindanao*, *Xolo*
 is the famous island of *Xolo*, govern'd by
 a king of its own. All the ships of *Bor-
 neo* touch there, and it may well be call'd
 the mart of all the *Moorish* kingdoms. The
 air is wholesome and fresh by reason of the
 frequent rains, which make the land fruit-
 ful in rice. This only island of all the
Philippines breeds elephants; and by rea-
 son the *Islanders* do not tame them, as they
 do in *Siam* and *Cambaya*, they are mighti-
 ly increas'd. There are also goats with
 fine spotted skins like leopards. Among
 the birds, that which builds a nest like a
 sparrow, call'd *Salangan*, is the rarest. For Fruit
 fruit it produces the *Durion*, abundance of
 pepper, which they gather green, and a pecu-
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Spaniards, the king's fruit, because it is found no where but in his garden. It is as big as a common apple, of a purple colour, and has little white kernels like cloves of garlick enclosed in a thick shell like a piece of sole-leather, and is of a delicious taste. As for herbs, either wholesome or venomous, it produces all that have been describ'd above; but the natives make special use of one call'd *Uosbamban* to sharpen the appetite. Choice pearls are taken here, and the divers, before they sink to the bottom, anoint their eyes with the blood of a white cock. The sea throws up abundance of amber on the shore, whilst the winds call'd *Vendavales*, which are south and south-west do not prevail, that is, from May till September. Some say the whale vomits it up, others that it is the excrement of a greater fish, call'd *Gadamina*, others that it is the root of a large odoriferous tree.

The island of *Basilan* is three leagues from *Mindanao*, and twelve leagues in compass. Being opposite to *Samboangan*, it may be call'd the garden that furnishes it with *Plantains*, sugar-canes, *Gaves* and *Lavonzes*. The fruit in the island *de los Pintados*, call'd *Boaba*, is no bigger than a nut, and within its shell has three or four very sweet kernels, so delicious that a man may eat a prodigious quantity without being cloy'd. The *Durion*, or duriun, as the islanders call it, is here found in great plenty. The *Maron* in the island of *Leyte*, call'd *tugap*, has a downy rind; when ripe it is as big as a melon, and within contains small kernels, like the *Alas* and the *Cirimajas* of *New Spain*; the flesh is soft and savory. The *Balono* without is like a quince, and within it is a kernel with the thickness of a finger of flesh about it. When green, it is pickled in vinegar. The island abounds in rice, differing in colour, smell and quality; thanks to the rivers, which are great and troublesome to cross, tho' the island be small. In the woods there is no want of wild boars and deer, nor of good timber for building. The sea, besides some fishes known in *Europe*, has other peculiar to it; good tortoisés of the 2d sort, that is, such as are valuable for their shell, and two sorts of jett.

There are four principal nations in *Mindanao*, which are the *Mindanaos*, *Caragas*, *Lutaos* and *Subanos*. The *Caragas* are brave both by sea and land. The *Mindanaos* faithless, as being *Mahometans*. The *Lutaos*, a new nation in all the three islands of *Mindanao*, *Xolo* and *Basilan*, live in houses built on the tops of trees, on the banks of rivers, which at flood cannot be cross'd a-foot; for *Lutao* in their language signifies a man that swims on the water. These men are such enemies to the land, that they

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take no pains for sowing, but live the best GEMEL-
they can upon fishing, wandring about the U.
sea of *Mindanao*, *Xolo* and *Basilan*. Yet 1697.
they are cunning traders, and wear turbants, and use the same weapons the *Moors* do, as trafficking, and being in amity with those of *Borneo*. The *Subanos*, that is, dwellers on rivers, for *Suba* signifies a river, are the least look'd upon of any people in the island, as being base and treacherous. They never depart from the rivers, where they build upon long timbers, so high, that there is no reaching their nest with a pike; they climb up to it at night by a pole fastened to it for that purpose. They are as it were vassals to the *Lutaos*. The *Dapitans* surpass all the four nations before-mention'd for valour and wisdom; and there is no doubt but they were very assisting to the *Spaniards* in conquering the islands.

The inland is subject to the mountain people, who being fond of sloth and liberty, keep there without any inclination to come down to the sea, or love of tillage; and being thus grown wild for want of commerce, gave strangers an opportunity of possessing themselves of the forsaken shore and rivers.

There are also in *Mindanao* some *Blacks*, like *Ethiopians*, who own no superior, no more than those of the island of *Blacks*, and mountains of *Manila*; but live like beasts conversing with none, and doing harm to all they can. They have no settled place of abode, and in all the bad weather have no shelter, but the trees. Their cloaths are such as Nature gave them, for they never cover so much as that which ought to be hid. Their weapons are bows and arrows. They reap no other fruit of their barbarity but liberty.

The generality of the inhabitants of these Religio-
islands are heathens; but from *Sansil* to *Samboangan* the people along the coast are *Mahometans*; more particularly in the islands of *Basilan* and *Xolo*, which are as it were the metropolis of that superstition, and the *Mecca* of the archipelago; because the first teacher of it is bury'd there, of whom the giddy-headed *Casikes* tell a thousand fables. The *Spaniards* at their coming destroy'd his tomb. However, to say the truth, they are generally atheists, and those that have any religion are forcerers. The *Mahometans* know nothing of their superstition besides eating no swines flesh, being circumcis'd and keeping many wives; tho' they all agree in giving their minds to observations and auguries upon every light accident. The devil appears to some of them, because they call upon him in time of need, and offer sacrifice to him. The mountaineers are absolute atheists, for they have not the least sign of a mosque or other place of prayer. They are very temperate,

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GEMEL- rate, contenting themselves with a little boil'd rice, and where that is not to be had, with roots of trees; without making use of any spice

LI. 1697. whether they are rich or poor; the better sort when they have a deer, goat, or fish, using no other seasoning but salt and water. Their

Habits. cloaths are plain, for being enemies to society, every man is his own taylor. One and the same garment serves for breeches, doublet and shirt. By their side they wear daggers after their fashion, with gilt hilts. Over their breeches they bind about them a piece of the country stuff; so broad that it hangs down to their knees, and on their heads wear a *Moorish* turbant. The women in the day time wear a sack instead of a petticoat, which at night serves for sheet, blanket and quilt, upon a fcurvy mat. Yet they wear rich bracelets.

Houses: The little wooden houses are cover'd with mats; the ground is all their seat; the leaves of trees, plates and dishes; the canes large vessels, and the cocoas drinking cups.

Customs. As to their manners they are more barbarous than the other *Mabometans*; for if the father lays out any money for his son, or ransoms him out of slavery, he keeps him as his slave; and the son does the same by his father. For any little kindness they do, they deprive him that receives it of his liberty; and for the crime of one man make slaves of all the kindred. They do much wrong to strangers that deal with them, and the purse pays for all. He that is taken in adultery buys himself off with money, this being look'd upon as no disgrace among them. They abhor theft.

Government of Xolo. Incest in the first degree is punish'd with death; that is, casting the criminal into the sea in a sack. Law-suits are soon decided without many formalities, either in civil or criminal cases. The king of *Xolo*, for the administration of justice, has a governor, whom they call *Zarabandal*, which is the supreme honour at court. The great ones oppress the poor, because the king is not absolute enough. There are degrees of nobility; as of *Tuam*, that is, lord; *Otancayas*, rich man; and lords of vassals. In *Mindanao* the princes of the blood-royal are call'd *Caciles*.

Of the Subapas. The *Subanos* of the mountains of *Xolo* and *Mindanao* have a more barbarous government than the rest. They do not go to war one nation against another, or one village against another; but, like enemies of human kind, they all endeavour to destroy one another; for they know no other power or authority but what is got by force and violence. They have no other way to try their causes, but the power of the party griev'd to take revenge, which yet in the most heinous cases is mollify'd with gifts. For this reason, when one of the

Subanos designs to commit a murder safely, he first heaps up a sum of money to pay for it; that he may afterwards be admitted to the number of brave men, and as such wear the red turbant. More cruelty is us'd among the *Caragas*, where to have the privilege of wearing a turbant of several colours, call'd *Baxache*, they must kill seven, as has been hinted before, and therefore for this inhuman vanity, they do not spare even their friends, whensoever they catch them sleeping or unprovided.

At the funerals of their dead they are very religious and bountiful considering their poverty, for they spend all they have, cloathing the dead body in new garments, and laying rich tissue over them. About the grave they plant palm-trees and flowers; and if the person deceas'd was a prince or king, they burn perfumes, and cover the tomb with a pavillion, placing four white banners on the sides. Formerly they slew others to bear the dead man company, and cast all the best things they had into the sea, particularly the *Lutao*. To put themselves in mind of death, they make their coffin whilst living, and always keep it in sight in their houses. A custom observ'd by the *Chinese*, and which ought to be imitated by christians.

The women are chaste and modest, a virtue much forward by their deformity. Their marriages are celebrated with much state; that is, treating the company a whole fortnight, or rather making them drink, wherein consists all the satisfaction. The bride is generally carry'd in state, in a palanquine or chair on men's shoulders; the kindred and friends attending her with their swords and bucklers, and music. The bridegroom comes to meet her with his company; and when they have accepted of one another, the bride remains clad in white, and the husband changes his garments into red. When they come to the house, they all make merry with modesty and plenty.

The boats of these islanders are few'd together with canes split, and on the sides have fences made of cane, that they may not overset.

Their weapon in the town is a dagger with a flaming blade. The great men have ivory, or gold hilts. In their wars by land they use a lance, and round buckler; whereas in all the other islands it is long and narrow, to cover all the body. Upon sea, besides the weapons already mention'd, they use *Bugacayes*: These are small canes, about the thickness of a finger, hardened and made sharp, which darted strike through a board.

The *Mabometans*, whose original is from *Borneo*, brought thence the use of the trunk, through which they shoot little poison'd arrows,

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which, if they make but a slight wound, are
mortal; unless the antidote be presently ap-
ply'd, and particularly human dung, found
by experience to be a sure preservative.

The people of *Xolo*, call'd *Xembanos*, are
resolute, and wear white armour. The
Mindanaos, besides the lance, dagger, and
buckler, carry a heavy cutting scimitar,
like the inhabitants of *Ternate*.

About the lake of *Malanao*, there are
several villages of *Moors* and *Gentiles*, go-
vern'd by a petty king independent of him

of *Mindanao*, who could never subdue
them. Their food is rice, and some roots;
their poor garments of hemp, dy'd blew.

The commonalty are heathens; the better
fort *Mabometans*, and have no communica-
tion with the others. This lake is triangu-
lar, seated on a pleasant place, between the
coast that looks towards *Bobol*, ten leagues
distant, and that of *Mindanao*, an hundred
leagues distant by sea, and fifteen at most
by land. It has a point of land running
out four leagues eastward, and another three
leagues southward, both well peopled.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Molucco islands, and others in the archipelago.

THE *Molucco* islands lying within the
line of the *Spanish* conquests, and hav-
ing been formerly under the governor of
Manila (of whose jurisdiction we have here
propos'd to speak) whilst the crown of
Portugal was united to that of *Castile*; it
will be proper to give some account of
them.

Moloc is a Malay word, deriv'd from the
Hebrew, *Malach*, signifying the head of a
great thing; and the *Molucco* islands were
the chief of all the archipelago. They are
seated under the line, 500 leagues east of
Malaca, and as much south-west of *Ma-
nila*. There are five in number, and lie in
such order for 25 leagues north and south,
along the country call'd *Belucbina del Moro*,
that they are always in sight one of the o-
ther. The first and chief of them is on
the north side, and call'd *Terranate*, or
Ternate, six leagues and a half in compas.
Some place it in half a degree of north la-
titude, others in but twenty minutes. In
it is a burning mountain, whose largest
mouth on the top is a stone's throw over;
the other two are less, one on the east side
towards the *Malay* sea; the other on the
north-west over *Tacome*; about them all
three there is much sulphur gather'd. The
greatest quantity of fire, smoke, and ashes
usually gushes out in *April* and *September*.
Yet in 1648, on the 15th of *June*, it did
a vast deal of mischief, for three days with-
out intermission; casting out, besides flames,
smoke and ashes, burning stones for a great
distance, which burnt all that came in their
way; so that they reduced a village of
Moors, call'd *de la Sula*, to ashes. All the
while this lasted the island was continually
in motion, a dreadful noise being heard in
the subterraneous caverns, like the ham-
mering in a forge, and now and then like
firing of guns.

The country is all mountainous, and al-
most inaccessible by reason of its tall thick

trees, with abundance of *Indian* canes, and
roots almost wove together. The climate
is hot and dry. There are no rivers, nor
springs, but only one lake; and yet the
plentiful rains make it extraordinary fruit-
ful, and always green. On the hills the
winds are cold; and in the bottoms the
heat, considering the latitude, moderate.
The provisions are slender, and not nourish-
ing.

The south-west wind blows here without
its natural moistness; but on the contrary
passing over the burning mountain of *Ma-
chica*, and over *Montiel*, and *Tidore* at such
time as the clove is in blossom, and the
nutmeg ripening; it is rather hot and dry;
so that it causes distempers, especially that
they call *Berber*, a dangerous and incur-
able disease. The people of *Ternate* are of
the same colour, as the *Malayes*, that is,
a little darker than those of the *Philippine*
islands, handsome visag'd, and the men
better shap'd than the women. The great-
est price of both sexes is in decking their
hair, which they anoint with oil of *Ayon-
joli*, a certain herb growing in the *Indies*,
and in *Spain*, which has a very small insi-
pid seed, whereof they make comfits in
Spain, and put to other uses. The men
wear it down to their shoulders; the wo-
men, as long as they can. As for their
apparel the men wear a doublet of several
colours, a sort of breeches down to the
knee, and a girdle; all, even the best a-
mong them, being bare-footed, and bare-
legg'd. The women wrap a piece of cot-
ton cloth about their waist hanging down
to their knees; over which they have ano-
ther of better value which serves for an up-
per coat. The doublet is of the same sort
as the mens, but upon it they have a rich
piece of silk and cotton cloth, like a man-
tle. They live miserably, like all the o-
ther *Mabometans*, upon bread of *Sagu*, or
else *Maiz*, that is, *Indian* wheat, and *Ca-
motes*;

GEMEL-motes; and yet they live to an hundred years of age without being sickly. As to their behaviour, they are little troubled with religion, and less with honesty. The men are inclin'd to arms, the women to sloth. Their language is generally that of the *Malayes*; their weapons those of *Mindanao*. The chief, and almost only product of the island, before the *Spaniards* came into it, was cloves and nutmegs; but afterwards the islanders, in hatred to the *Spaniards*, went about destroying all the trees. At present there is but little *Maiz*, or *Indian* wheat, or other grain, because of the war; whereas otherwise the soil might produce abundance. The sea abounds in all sorts of fish; the mountains in wild boars, civet cats, and other creatures, as also an infinite multitude of snakes, of a prodigious bigness, whose gall is a medicine against fevers.

Among the other kinds of parrots, there is one tame and tractable enough, call'd *Cacatuas*, all white, talks little, and makes much noise. There are herbs of singular virtue, all well known by the natives, who make use of them in several diseases.

On the east side of the island towards the mountain, a lake stretches it self out for about half a league, its water good and sweet, and has no bottom in the middle. Being near the sea it flows and ebbs, breeds no sort of fish, and yet there are sometimes crocodiles seen in it. The *Moors* have thoughts of cutting a communication between the lake and the sea to make a good harbour, but never durst put their hands to so great an undertaking.

Tidore.

Two leagues from *Ternate* is the island of *Tidore*, which fails place in fifteen minutes of north latitude. It is more healthy than *Ternate*, as well by reason of the winds, as because the soil is more fruitful; which is in some measure the better, for not having been so much wasted with war as *Ternate*. It is somewhat bigger in compass, that is, seven leagues, and is four in length. On the south side whereof there flow several hot sulphureous waters, good for many distempers. The people are warlike, and can put to sea twenty or thirty great vessels with 6 or 7000 men. The king resides at *Tidore* or *Gamolamo*, which signifies great village, a place strongly situated. The little island of *Pulicaballo* is half a league distant from *Tidore*, and is two leagues in compass.

The principal product of *Tidore*, and natural to it, is clove, as at *Ternate*; but at present the natives do not improve it, because the trade is decay'd, and the king takes it from them by way of tribute. After they have gather'd in all the clove, follows the nutmeg, of which there is great

plenty. The *Moors* have apply'd themselves to sowing of *Maiz*, or *Indian* wheat, and rice; but their chief sustenance is *Sagu*. They have three peculiar trees; one of them they call *Atilobe*, that is, moist wood, because the body, branches and leaves are always dropping water, of a greenish colour, good to drink. The second is *Apilaga*, or good tree, from whose bark, cut like a spout, there runs so much water, that it supplies the want of brooks and springs. The third is of a pernicious quality, for the wind that passes between its leaves scorches what it meets, as does its shade. None of these trees bear any fruit, but their leaves are always green.

Mutid or *Timor*, the third of the five islands of *Ternate* lies directly under the line, and is a league from *Pulicaballo*. The land is high and desert because unhealthy, but produces clove.

The fourth island is call'd *Macbien*, and *Macbi* has a burning mountain of the same shape as that at *Ternate*. It yields the *Dutch* much clove, they having four forts and a factory there.

Bachian, sixteen leagues distant from *Macbi*, is the fifth and greatest island, being twelve leagues in compass. A burning mountain in it, is of the same nature as that in *Tidore*. It abounds in beasts and fowls; it of all sorts; tobacco; and *Sagu* for man food. It is govern'd by a king of *Macbi*, who pays tribute, and makes the *Saba*, that is, a sort of homage to the king of *Ternate*.

Besides these, and three other islands properly comprehended under the name of *Meluccas*, there are four more about eighty leagues north of *Ternate*. The nearest is that of *Meao*, five leagues in compass, and bearing nothing but only a little clove. It has no port, and the inhabitants live upon fishing.

Tajures is six leagues south of *Meao*, and *Tajur* scarce three leagues in compass. But it is very fruitful, abounding in cocoa-trees, *Sagu*, and other sorts of fruit; and has a great lake. At present it has no inhabitants, for they all went over to *Meao*, to avoid the hardships put upon them by the *Spaniards* in 1631.

Sixteen leagues to the northward is *Ta-Tagolanda*, a large island, being 6 leagues in compass. It has a burning mountain, which does not obstruct its abounding in cocoa-trees, *Sagu*, and fruit, and produces some rice and clove. There are two good ports in it, and a deep river on the south-side, with two small islands, convenient for fishing, with burning mountains in both. It is govern'd by a king of its own, whose power extends no further than to be able to put to sea eight or ten *Caracoas* for war, with

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The kingdom of *Siao* lies 4 leagues north of *Tagolanda*, and 30 of *Ternate*. It is an island with a burning mountain, from whose top issue abundance of burning stones; and on the other side a plentiful spring of water. The compass of the island is about four or five leagues, the inhabitants heathens. The king was a catholic when the *Spaniards* possess'd the *Moluccos*, and ever very faithful to them, and therefore always at war with him of *Tagolanda*, who was a *Mahometan*. This was the ancientest christian place in the archipelago, christianity having been planted from the time that *St. Francis Xavierius* went over thither. The kingdom is poor and small, containing but 3000 souls. It produces many cocoas, and but little rice, *sagu*, plantans, camottas, and popayas. In the places inhabited, there are hens, and several sorts of creatures on the mountains.

Twelve miles north of this kingdom is the burning mountain and kingdom of *Colonga*, lying east and west; and having but 6 or 7 leagues in compass. From the burning mountain flow many springs of warm water, which moisten the island, and make it produce several sorts of fruit. The inhabitants are about 5 or 6000, using fire-arms and other weapons. On the north side of it is a safe harbour.

Cauripa is a small kingdom, forty leagues from *Colonga*. On the south side it looks upon the great island of *Mateos*, and kingdom of *Macassar*. On the north side it has a deep river and good harbour. The king, and 4 or 5000 subjects he has, are heathens. The climate is temperate, and the soil produces such abundance of *Sagu*, that it sometimes supplies *Ternate*; and besides that, all the common fruit of *India*, cocoas, grain, and several sorts of beasts, among which one call'd *Caraboas*, or *Sibolas*. Nor do the sea and rivers abound less in fish. The people are indefatigable and warlike. Men and women are clad like those of *Tidore*. They set out to the number of fifteen *Caracoas*, or great barques.

The kingdom of *Bulan* is 7 leagues west of *Cauripa*, on the land of *Macassar*. It has more plenty of rice than *Cauripa*, and produces the same fruit. There are several rivers that lead up to villages, inhabited by about 3000 souls. This king sets out 10 *Caracoas*, and his men use fire-arms, and other weapons, being supply'd with salt-petre from the village of *Mogonda*, and with iron from mines. The province of *Manados* is twelve leagues east of *Bulan*, and forty from *Ternate*. It abounds in fruit, rice, and grain; and as for beasts, in *Sibolas*.

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bolos, buffalos, and swine. The inhabitants are at least 40000, among whom the greatest wealth is, iron, cotton and brass.

They go naked, covering their privities with clouts, and the women wear a sort of stuff, made of cane, from the waist to the knees. These are the whitest and best shap'd of any we have hitherto spoke of. These people use no fire-arms, and yet are very cruel, for they persecute one another, without sparing the lives of those that are overcome, for their greatest glory consists in hanging up the skulls of those they kill, at their doors. They are not so superstitious as the other heathens, but great observers of the singing of birds. In other respects they are affable, and lovers of trade.

All the islands, or kingdoms, here mention'd, either are comprehended in the *Molucco* archipelago, where formerly the arms of *Spain* bore sway; or were protected by them; or at least gave a helping hand to curb the enemies of the confederates, and keep the *Dutch* in awe; and therefore I have made mention of them alone, though there be many more, as the kingdom of *Macassar*, in the great island of *Celebes*, and others subject and tributary to the same king.

Beyond the island of *Gilolo*, is the land of *Papuas*, the queen of which place be-
coming a christian, was a long time maintain'd out of the king's revenue at *Manila*; because the leaving her idolatrous husband, and marrying the christian king of *Tidore*, came to *Manila* to demand succours. They will have this country to be part of *New Guinea*, for *Papuas* signifies *Blacks*, whence *New Guinea* had its name, which as yet is not known whether it be an island or continent, though some maps set it down as an island. So also between *Amboina* and *Ternate*, are the isles of *Banda*, being as many as the *Moluccos*, and as valuable for their nutmeg, and other spices, as those are for their clove. All five of them take the name of the biggest, and lie in four degrees, and thirty minutes of south latitude, and three leagues from *Amboina*. Here grows all the nutmeg and mace that furnishes the world, for though they grow in other places, yet they are not so good.

Banda, as it is the biggest, so it is also the most delightful and plentifullest of all things. Its shape is like a horse-shoo, the two points whereof running out north and south are three leagues distant. In the bay between them is the chief village frequented by many ships, and all the coasts about are cover'd with abundance of nutmeg-trees; whose blossoms spread such a fragrancy, as if nature had employ'd all her art to make them wonderful sweet. These trees by degrees quit the green, so natural

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GEMEL- to all vegetables, and put on a blew, mix'd with black, red, and gold colour like the rainbow; though not so regularly distributed. Beyond this delightful plain, there rises a little mountain in the middle of the island, from which flow some brooks that water the country; and then follows another plain, cover'd with the same trees, growing naturally out of the earth. The nutmeg-tree is like the pear-tree in height and branches; but the leaves are more like a walnut, as is the fruit, cover'd with such a rind, the soft inside whereof call'd mace, is as aromatick as the other. The natives of *Banda* extract a precious oil to cure cold distempers. Of these nuts they chuse the freshest, weightiest, largest, and full of moisture, without any hole; they are good to correct a stinking breath, clear the sight, comfort the stomach, and several other diseases. The trees they grow on are in common, and when the nuts are gather'd, which is in *August*, they are divided among the inhabitants of the villages.

The people are strong, but ill favour'd, melancholy, and wear long hair. They are all *Mahometans*; the men give to trade, the women to tillage. They have no king or lord, but obey the eldest, and these seldom agreeing in opinion, they often are at variance and quarrel; not to be reconcil'd, but by the nations, that resort to their ports to trade for nutmeg and mace. When these islands were discover'd by the *Portuguese*, the people of *Malaca* and *Java* traded to them.

Amboina. The *Portuguese* and *Dutch* count the island of *Amboina*, eight leagues north of *Banda*, one of chiefest. It lies in four degrees of south latitude, and is seventeen leagues in compass. This alone produces more clove than all the five *Moluccos*, but it is not so good. It also abounds in oranges, lemons, citrons, cocoas, sugar-canes, and the like. There are several sorts of beasts, and birds, and among the rest parrots of several colours, and one with red feathers, most beautiful to behold. The inhabitants are more docible than those of the *Moluccos* and *Banda*. They wear the same sort of apparel, and live on the trade of spice. Their hardiness both by sea and land makes them much valu'd for soldiers or sailors. Besides fire-arms, they use scimitars, and javelins,

which they dart very dextrously. The land is mountainous and well peopled, abounding in rice, palm-trees, to make wine, and very excellent fruit. It was once in the possession of the *Dutch*; but the inhabitants revolted with the assistance of the king of *Macassar*.

Having so often made mention of the clove, it will be proper to say something of it. Because of its being shap'd like a nail, the *Spaniards* gave it the name of *Clavo*. Its blossom is like that of myrtle, but the leaves extraordinary small, coming out between those four little teeth, which when dry remain like a star, and compose the head of the clove. Abundance of them grow in a cluster, like the myrtle, or elder, and yield the most fragrant scent. The tree is like the laurel, but thicker of leaves, and they thinner and narrower. Sometimes they are of several colours; but the cloves do not come out, or grow ripe all at once. The backwardest are white, then green, and when near ripe grow red; which variety is a very pleasant sight to strangers. They are gather'd in *February* and *September*, and do not grow every year, but every two, and sometimes three; but then the harvest is very plentiful, as if nature would make amends for the delay. They are gather'd like the olives, by shaking the boughs, after cleaning the ground about them. Then they are spread out in the sun, and in three days are dry enough, between black and ash colour. Fresh water roots, and the salt preserves them. Those that remain on the trees, and are call'd mother-cloves, within a year grow bigger and stronger, and are therefore more valued in *Java*. These falling to the ground produce other trees, without any help of art; and they after 8 years bear, and last sometimes to an hundred. It is commonly said that only the *Molucco* islands produce clove, because of the infinite quantity that grows there, and so good that it exceeds the clove of the other islands, but that of *Amboina* is larger, and little inferior to it. The virtue of clove is wonderful against all distempers proceeding from cold and dampness. When green, they extract from it a water of a most delicious smell, and very good for the palpitation of the heart.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Philippine islands were discover'd.

Magellan. PROVIDENCE made the choice for the discovery of these islands of *Ferdinand Magallians*, a *Portuguese*, knowing in the affairs of this archipelago, by

the relations he had from his friend *Francis Serrano*, who was the first discoverer of them round by the east. He was at *Malaca* in the year 1511, when *Alonso de Albuquerque*

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buquerque completed the conquest of it; after which, thinking he could better make his fortune in Europe, he return'd to Portugal.

In December, that same year, *Francis Serrano*, and *Anthony d'Aren* sail'd from *Malacca* towards these islands, and the second of them happen'd to discover the isles of *Banda*, where the nutmeg grows; and the other the *Moluccos* valuable for the clove. *Serrano* staid there, at the request of *Boleyse*, king of *Ternate*; but he sent *Peter Fernandez* to give the king of Portugal and his friend *Magellan* an account of the nature and importance of those islands.

Magellan, as we call him in *English*, hearing this news, and not being able to move his own king *Emanuel* to give ear to him; went over to the court of the emperor *Charles V.* in *Spain*, whom he made so sensible of the consequence of the undertaking, and that the conquest belong'd to the western part, assign'd the crown of *Castile*; and not to the eastern appertaining to Portugal; and the emperor, seeing the account written by *Serrano* and his map, furnish'd *Magellan* with five vessels well equip'd, for him to try to find a way westward.

He sail'd on the 10th of *August*, 1519, from the port of *St. Lucar*, well furnish'd with all necessaries for so long a voyage, as the finding a passage from the north into the south-sea. Having run along the coast of *Brazil*, and cut the line; in 50 degrees of south latitude he enter'd the river of *S. Julian*, and in 52 and some minutes found the strait of his own name. He enter'd on the 21st of *October*, and about the end of *November* came out into the south sea, without meeting with any storm in a run of 4000 leagues. Having again cut the line and being in 15 degrees of north, latitude he discover'd two islands, which he call'd *Los Velas*; in 12 degrees those known by the name of *Isas de los Ladrones*, or the islands of thieves, and a few days after the island of *Ibabao*, of the islands here describ'd. The first he met with was *Humunum* a little desert island, near cape *Guiguan*, now call'd *La Encantada*; where the first *Indians* that went to meet him were those of *Siloban*, now under the government of *Guiguan*. *Magellan* call'd this island *de Buena Senales*, or of good tokens, and all the archipelago of *S. Lazarus*, because he landed on *Saturday* before *Passion-Sunday*, in *Spain* call'd *Sunday* of *S. Lazarus*, in the year 1521.

On *Whitsunday* the first mass was said on the land of *Butuan*, a cross erected, and possession taken in the name of the most invincible *Charles* the 5th. The Lord of *Dimaassava*, kinsman to the king of *Butuan*

and to him of *Cebu*, was assisting to *Magellan*, for he brought the ships into that port on the 7th of *April*. Before mass was said on *Whitsunday*, that lord and the king of *Cebu* were baptiz'd, and by their means many men of note and others to the number of 500; and after dinner the queen with 300 more. The next day the royal standard being set up with great solemnity, the king and all his people took an oath of fidelity after the *Indian* manner, whereof speedy notice was sent back to *Spain*.

On *Friday* the 26th of *April*, *Magellan* and some of his men were kill'd in the first encounter, with the chief men of the island of *Matan*, opposite to *Cebu*. On the first of *May*, the treacherous king of *Cebu* at a bloody entertainment, cut off the heads of 24 of the principal men belonging to the ships, and among them *Duarie Barbosa*, kinsman and successor to *Magellan*, all the mischief being contriv'd by a *Black*, who was slave to *Magellan* and had serv'd as interpreter, in revenge for some injury done him by *Barbosa*. Upon the receipt of this news, *John Carvalho* put out of the port of *Cebu* with his ships and men steering east-four-east. Being come to the point of *Bobol* and *Panglao* he lay by; and then discovering the island *delos Negros*, directed his course to *Zuyit* on the coast of *Mindanao*. Thence he sail'd to *Borneo*, where he took *Molucco* pilots, and returning by way of *Cagayan*, *Xolo*, *Taguima*, *Mindanao*, *Sarragan* and *Sangul*; on the 7th of *November* discover'd the *Moluccos*, and the 8th anchor'd in *Tidore*. The king receiv'd him courteously, allowing him to trade, and set up a factory to buy clove and other spice; which was soon done. Whilst they were getting all things ready, the ship call'd the *Trinity*, which had attempted to sail directly back to *Panama*, came back and deliver'd it self up to the Portuguese at *Ternate*. The ship *Victory* took the same way home the Portuguese us'd, and having seen *Amboina* and the isles of *Banda*, and stay'd some time at *Solor* and *Timor*, sail'd along the east-side of *Sumatra*, keeping off from the coast of *India*, to avoid falling into the hands of the Portuguese, till it turn'd the cape of *Good Hope*, and arriv'd at the port of *S. Lucar* in *Spain* on the 7th of *September* 1522, three years and some days after it set out, with only 18 men out of 59 that sail'd from the *Moluccos*, *Sebastian de Cano* being captain. The account of the new and wonderful voyage of the ship *Victory* being known throughout *Spain*, with the information concerning the rich trade of spice; *D. F. Garcia Joire de Loaysa*, of the order of *S. John* of *Malta*, was sent thither with a squadron of seven ships, and *Sebastian del Cano* for his successor.

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GRMEL- successor. These sailing from *Corunna*, came to an anchor in the new streight of *L. I.* 1697. *Magellan* in *January* 1526, and in *May* following got out into the south-sea, after losing one ship in that narrow passage. In *June* a violent storm parted the ships, and sunk most of them. Aboard the admiral, which on the last day of *July* was in four degrees of south latitude, the commander in chief *Loayza* dy'd, and four days after his successor *Sebastian del Cano* and many more. On the 2d of *October* those that remain'd landed in *Mindanao*, and not being able to go over to *Cebu*, directed their course for the *Molucco* islands; where they were well receiv'd by the king of *Tidore* on the last day of *December* 1526. But as well he, as the king of *Gilolo*, were so threatened by the *Portuguese* for having receiv'd the *Spaniards* belonging to *Magellan's* squadron, that they seiz'd the four factors left there by the ship *Trinity*, and those that return'd now, and secur'd all the goods; whence ensued a war between the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* that lasted till 1527. In the mean while the marquis *del Valle* fitted out three ships in *New Spain*, under the command of his kinsman *Alvaro de Saavedra*, who sailing on the eve of all saints in the year 1527, on the day of the epiphany in 1528, being in the latitude of eleven degrees, discover'd some of the islands *de los Ladrones*, and thence sail'd to *Mindanao* in eight degrees of latitude. He there recover'd some christians, belonging to one of *Loayza's* ships which was cast away at *Sanguil*, and then going on to the *Moluccos* fought the *Portuguese*. Then coming to *Tidore* he there found 12 *Spaniards*, who had fortify'd themselves under the command of *Ferdinand de la Torre*. Having repair'd his ship, about the end of *May* he set out again for *New Spain*; and passing by some of the islands of *Ladrones* in the latitude of 14 degrees, was drove back

first to *Mindanao* and then to the *Moluccos*, whence he set out. Whilst it was here disputed by dint of sword, at the expence of the subjects blood, who had the best Title to the islands; the matter was controverted in *Spain* and *Portugal* with the pen, astrolabe, sea-charts, and other geographical instruments. Judgment being at last given for *Portugal*, the few *Spaniards* that remain'd in the *Moluccos*, left them upon condition they should be convey'd from *India* into *Spain*.

Ruiz-Lopez-de-Villalobos by order of the *Spanish* viceroy of *Mexico*, sail'd from the port of conquest the nativity on the day of all saints, in the year 1542, with five ships to conquer the *Philippine* islands, and instructions not to attempt any thing against *Moluccos*, or other conquests of *Portugal*. After two months sail in the latitude of ten degrees he discover'd the island call'd *de los Corales*, and then others of the number of those call'd *de los Ladrones*. Then the pilots varying, he came not upon the islands in eleven degrees of latitude, but in ten; and the winds starting up against him, in *February* he came to an anchor in the Bay of *Caraga*. Here he lost many of his men with sickness and famine, and all his ships, but the admiral, perish'd in storms. Then forced by necessity, as having but ten days provision, he steer'd his course for the *Moluccos* to supply his wants; and arriv'd at *Tidore* on the 24th of *April* 1544. The *Portuguese* oppos'd and would not allow him to take any provisions or other necessities, so that being there now in *February* 1545, without doing any thing, he came to composition with the *Portuguese* to give him a ship to return to *Spain*. But whilst this treaty was in hand he dy'd for grief at *Amboina*, and all the religious men of the order of *St. Augustin*, return'd afterwards to *Lisbon* in 1549, by the way of *Malacca*, *Cochin* and *Goa*.

CHAP. IX.

The conquest of the Philippine islands.

THE ill success of the attempts before-mention'd made the conquest of the *Philippine* islands be laid aside for ten years, till at the persuasion of *F. Andrew de Urdaneta*, of the order of *S. Augustin*, king *Philip* the second order'd the viceroy of *Mexico* to send thither four ships and a frigate, with 400 men, under the command of *Micbael-Lopez-de-Legaspi*, a native of *Mexico*. *F. Andrew* would go with him, and took four more of his order.

In *January* 1565, this fleet came to an anchor among the islands *de los Ladrones*;

on the 13th of *February* arriv'd at the island of *Leyte*, and running successfully thro' the streight, came to an anchor in the port of *Zebu* (by the direction of a *Moor* of *Borneo*, who was acquainted with those islands, taken near *Panaon*) on the 27th of *April*, being *Whitsunday*, and dedicated to *S. Vitalis* the martyr, who was therefore chosen patron of the city.

The fleet enter'd *Zebu* in peaceable manner, but perceiving that *Tupas*, who govern'd there, put off the *Spaniards* with good words, they plunder'd the place. The

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third day, among the plunder was found the image of the infant Jesus, before mention'd, and therefore the first church was by the fathers of *S. Augustin* founded under the invocation of the name of Jesus.

On the first of *June*, *Philip de Salzedo* captain of the admiral ship, sail'd in it with *F. Andrew de Urdaneta*, to discover the way back to *New Spain*. He arriv'd thither on the 2d of *October*, but found that *D. Alonso de Arellano* was come thither with his vessel two months before, to gain the honour of being the first discoverer. However, all is due to *F. Andrew*, for he took a particular account of the voyage, and made charts proper for it.

Tupas and his people submitted themselves to the king of *Spain*, promising to pay tribute; but whilst *Legaspi* was building the city *Zebu*, the *Portuguese* came with several pretences to disturb him. He sending advice to the viceroy of *Mexico*, had a supply of 200 men sent him, in the year 1567, under the command of *John de Salzedo* and *Philip de Salzedo*, his nephews; so that *Gonzalo Pereyra* coming afterwards with the *Portuguese* fleet to expel the *Spaniards*, was forced to return with disgrace.

In 1570 came the first letters from court to *Legaspi*, approving of all that had been done in the islands, and commanding him to proceed in the conquest, constituting him *Adelantado*, or lord-lieutenant of the same. In 1571 the *Spanish* arms reach'd *Manila*, reduced it without any expence of blood. On the 24th of *June*, being the feast of *St. John* baptist, the foundation of the city was solemnly laid, and trade settled with *China*, so that the first *Cbiampan*s came thence to traffick in *May* 1572. The governor of *Legaspi* died in *August* that same year; and *Guido de Labazaris*, entring upon the government, continued the conquest of the island, giving Soldiers that had serv'd well several *Encomiendas*, or parcels of *Indians*, to be their tenants, which was afterwards confirm'd by the king. In *November* 1574, *Limabon*, a *Chinese* pirate, assaulted *Manila* with a fleet of 70 barques, but was bravely repuls'd.

In *August* 1575, *Doctor Francis de Sande*, alcade of the court of *Mexico*, was sent governor. He 'twas that undertook the famous expedition against the king of *Borneo*, in which that king was overthrown, and his court plunder'd, the islands of *Mindanao* and *Xolo* oblig'd to pay tribute, and he and other governors afterwards continued the conquest. In 1597, the marquis *Stephen Rodriguez de Figueroa* undertook the conquest of *Mindanao* upon his own coast, by the king's leave. He also made war on the side of *Tampuan*, against the kings of

Malana, *Silongan*, and *Buayan*, and against *GEMEL-Bubisan*, father to *Coralt* king of *Mindanao*; but he died in the enterprize at the hands of *Obal*, uncle to the king of *Mongey*; and colonel *D. John de Romquillo* was sent by the governor of *Manila* to prosecute it.

The fathers of the society of *Jesus* enter'd the isle of *Mindanao* on the 6th of *February* 1624, to take charge of the new christians; the governor *D. Francis Tello* putting them in possession of the parishes.

The general *John Chaves* carried on the conquests with a good force, compos'd in *Manila* partly of *Indians*. On the 6th of *April*, 1625, he landed at *Samboangan*, fortified himself, putting all about to fire and sword, and at last erected a fort there. *Sultan* king of *Mindanao* sued for a peace, which was concluded on the 24th of *June* 1645, by captain *Francis Aienza-y-Banez* governor of the fort of *Samboangan*, by commission from *D. James Faxardo* governor of *Manila*; the principal articles were, That the aforesaid king *Sultan*, and his subjects, should be friends to the king of *Spain*, and the king of *Spain* theirs. That if for the future either side was aggriev'd, it should acquaint the court, to require satisfaction; and the peace should not be suppos'd to be broken till after six months. That the subjects of both sides might go and come freely, without let or molestation, with leave of their king, and the governor of *Manila*. And other articles, which may be seen in *Robles's* history of *Mindanao*, lib. 7.

This king of *Mindanao* could bring into the field 30000 men with fire-arms, sold him by the *Dutch*, bows and arrows, and other weapons. His residence was in an open place fortified only with palisadoes and a few pieces of cannon.

In 1662, the governor of *Manila*, fearing the threats of a *Chinese* pirate, of whom we spoke in the 4th volume, the better to secure *Manila*, resign'd *Samboangan* to the king of *Mindanao*, conditionally that he should restore it when demanded by the *Spaniards*. The pirate, who was also petty king of *Formosa*, died soon after in a rage, and so deliver'd *Manila* from that fear.

Notwithstanding the garrison of *Samboangan* was withdrawn, the province of *Caragas* remain'd under the dominion of the *Spaniards*, govern'd by an *Alcade mayor*, placed there by the governor of *Manila*, with a good garrison of *Spaniards*. Besides, there's the fort of *Iligan*, belonging to the province of *Dapitan*, kept by a *Spanish* captain and corregidor, or civil magistrate. The people of *Dapitan* pay tribute, and are subject to *Spain*, with an inviolable fidelity ever since the *Spaniards* first set foot there. 'Tis true, that then they submitted out of fear; for seeing them with their swords by

GEMEL- their sides, eat biscuit and smoak tobacco, L. I. they went and told their petty king, that 1697. those were a people with tails, who eat stones, and cast smoak out at their mouths.

This account astonish'd the petty king; but being at war with the king of *Mindanao*, he join'd in amity with the *Spaniards*, and guided them to *Zebu*.

Illigan and *Dapitan* are parishes and missions of the fathers of the society, and in temporals depend on the *Alcade mayor* of *Zebu*, but a few leagues distant.

Whilst I was at *Manila*, *F. Maurice Pereira*, a *Catalonian*, set out with a companion for the mission of *Samboangan*, and soon after I heard they had been all well receiv'd by the king of *Mindanao*, and sent to the place of their mission, posses'd by the prince his son. There is a good correspondence between this king and the governor of *Manila*, inasmuch that nine years ago the king sent an ambassador to the governor, to acquaint him, that he had concluded a peace with another king his neighbour. I had the curiosity to enquire of the governor, who was *D. Fausto Cruzat y Goryora*, how he had receiv'd that embassy. He told me in the first place, that the ambassador was the king's brother, and clad after the *Moorish* fashion, bare-footed and bare-legg'd. That he had him led thro' the *Spanish* foot drawn up, and receiv'd him under a canopy. That neither the ambassador, nor any of his retinue, would lodge in the palace, but all of 'em retir'd at night to their vessels. The present was only a few quilts, of no great value.

Xolo conquer'd.

D. Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, governor and captain-general of *Manila*, subdued the island and kingdom of *Xolo*, going thither in 1638 with 80 barques, and 600 *Spanish* soldiers, besides many *Indians*, so obliging the *Indians* to submit themselves. The

peace of *Xolo* open'd the way to the christian religion, and the fathers of the society; but it was soon broke, thro' the indiscretion of captain *Gaspar de Moroles*. It was restor'd again on the 4th of *April* 1646, upon condition the king of *Xolo* should pay a yearly tribute of three *Xoonga's*, or barques six yards long, loaded with rice. The same captain *D. Francis de Atienza* manag'd this treaty for *Spain*; and *Batocan* and *Arancaye Daran*, ambassadors of *Sultan Corabat* king of *Mindanao*, and mediator, for the king of *Xolo*. The *Dutch* laid siege to *Xolo* on the 27th of *June* 1648, but did nothing considerable. Afterwards the king of *Xolo* broke the peace, doing much mischief with a fleet he put to sea; so that at present he remains absolute master of his kingdom, and being at peace with *Spain*, his subjects trade in the *Philippine* islands. The governor told me, that some years before, that king sent him an embassy, giving him an account of his brother's death, and his own accession to the crown, sending the governor a mourning suit of clothes to wear for his brother, and a present of two quilts, and other trifles.

When the union of the crowns of *Castille* and *Portugal* had put the *Molucco*-islands under the *Spanish* dominion, the governor of *Manila* perceiving there still remain'd much to conquer, in *October* 1593 fet out a considerable fleet for that purpose; but as he was going in a galley to join the fleet already under sail, the *Sangleys* that row'd, mutinied, and kill'd him and other *Spaniards*, carrying away the galley into *China*. His son *D. Luis de las Marinhas* succeeded him in the government in *February* 1596, and prosecuted his father's enterprize. After him other governors apply'd themselves to it, and particularly in 1606 a good fleet was sent to the *Moluccos*.

CHAP. X.

The author's short voyage to the port of Cavite, and the description of that city.

TO return to our journal, after a digression perhaps not displeasing or tedious, I spent a week in providing my self with necessaries for my long voyage to *New Spain*, and taking leave of friends; and on *Sunday* the 16th putting my equipage into a *Banca* boat, I went with my *Black* to the port of *Cavite*, where we arriv'd about noon. These *Bancas* are made of the body of a tree, six spans in breadth, and longer than the *Feluccas* at *Naples*. I found not as I expected *Charles Joseph* of *Milan*, because he was gone to the *Marian* islands, to carry the soldiery the king's allowance, and the

fathers of the society. This done, he was to go on to discover the southern islands, and, being come to them, to send men ashore to enquire into the religion and customs of the inhabitants, and then to bring away some islander, for further information, as the governor had given him in his instructions in my hearing. But above all, he had orders to find that which he himself had discover'd, and call'd *Carolina* in 1686, when he went to relieve a vessel run aground. 'Twas generally thought he would go in vain, because from 13 degrees to the line the currents

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are violent, inasmuch that a small vessel cannot stem them; and the less, by reason of the winds that prevail there: otherwise 'tis not to be doubted, but that in all that space to the line there are islands inhabited by savage people, and many more northwards as far as *Japan*; for there are often boats of those parts brought by storms to the island of *Samar*, and coast of *Palapa*, as has been said elsewhere. The said *Charles* being absent, *Michael Martinez*, commander of the galeon that was to sail, entertain'd me in his house.

Monday the 18th, I went to see the castle of *St. Philip*, seated on that point of land which makes the bay. 'Twas built since the fort of *Manila*, is a regular square, with four bastions, well provided with cannon, but small, besides some pieces over the gate. About it they were building caverns for the soldiers, magazines, and cisterns, leaving a large parade in the middle. Here, in the year 1679, was built a wooden house, to serve as a prison to *Dr. Ferdinand Valenzuela*, with a chapel in it, that there might be no infringement of the communities of the church, and he there perform his ten years banishment. At first he was kept very strictly, without being allow'd to write, or to live on the first floor, but afterwards he had so much liberty that he caus'd several plays to be acted in the castle. He spent the day in writing, reading, and praying, and so made the time easier to him. The king had assign'd him an allowance of two hundred and fifty pieces of eight a month. In 1689, the ten years being expir'd, he went away to *New Spain*, where the count de *Galva*, brother to the duke of *Pastrana*, whose page he had been, being then governor, he was well receiv'd, and was punctually paid a thousand pieces of eight a month, allow'd him by the king of *Spain*, with a prohibition to go over into *Spain*. His misfortunes had afterwards an unhappy end; for, as he was intent upon managing his horses, he receiv'd such a kick as was the cause of his death; a good instance of the turns of fortune, with those that think they have secur'd her favour. This minister being brought into the queen-mother's service, by means of an aunt, who was one of her women, knew so well how to gain upon her affections, by his faithful services; especially twice he was sent to the court of *Vienna*, on important affairs; that from a private gentleman, he was rais'd to the honour of prime minister, and a grandee, which was afterwards the cause of his fall.

Tuesday 19th, I took a view of the city *Cavite*, or *Cavit*, as the *Tagalians* call it. 'Tis seated in sight of *Manila*, three leagues

south of it, on a long narrow neck of land, on one side of which is the sea, and on the other a bay that makes the port. Thus being almost enclos'd with the sea, it has no wall about it, but only the castle before mention'd at one end, and at the other next the land a wall, with some pieces of cannon. In this wall is the gate, to which they go over a drawbridge, because of the ditch, which at flood is full of water. The city might with a small charge be made an island. The port before mention'd is in the shape of a semicircle, like that of *Trapani*, in the kingdom of *Sicily*. 'Tis shelter'd from the south winds, but not from the north, and therefore large ships, which cannot come close under the shore, are not very safe; and in the year 1589 two were there cast away.

As for the buildings and publick places, there's no beauty in them, the houses being of timber or cane, and very few with the first floor of stone. The parish church is of timber, the house and church of the *Dominicans* of the same. The monastery of the barefoot *Augustinians* is somewhat better, and the church of stone; but the house of the *Jesuits*, tho' began of late years, is very good. The countable of the castle governs it and the city, as chief justice.

Wednesday 20th, I went to see the *Ribera*, or arsenal seated on the aforesaid point of the castle. There 2 or 300 *Indians*, and sometimes 600, brought by force from the neighbouring provinces, work at building galleons and other ships. The king allows every one a piece of eight, and a *Cavan* of rice a month, which is the time they are to stay, for at the end of it, they take others to relieve them. Some of them plane, some saw, some nail the timber, some make cables, some careen, which is done there with oil of *Cbina*, mixed with lime; but the greatest number fell trees on the mountains; and these must be many, and large, to keep out the tempestuous sea, they are to cross. Besides that this sort of wood is hard, and heavy as a stone, the planks are made so thick, and so lin'd both within and without, that they receive little damage by common balls. That vessel which fought some years since, with fourteen *Dutch*, that came to take *Cavite*, had 90 balls taken out of her sides, which stuck there as if they had been in a wall of soft stone; and this was because being run aground, she was forced to fight all the while on one side, to the great astonishment of the enemy. The *Arsenal* is very large, and fit to build any great ship. In 1694, the famous galeon *St. Joseph*, before mention'd to be cast away, was finish'd there, being bigger, or at least as big, as that of the

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Buildings.



GEMEL-the Portuguese call'd, *O Padre Etermo*. Its keel was 62 cubits (each cubit a span and a half) long, and proportionably broad. The loss of it ruin'd the inhabitants of Manila, but that of the other call'd *Santo Christo*, completed their misery. This last was sixty cubits, as before in the keel, and had made but one voyage to *New Spain* after it was built at *Bagatao*. Whilst I was at Manila, another vessel was building at *Bagatao*, call'd *St. Francis Borgia*, 55 of those cubits in length, to go to *New Spain*, in 1697. What success it will have, God knows; for the citizens of Manila, having obtain'd a grant from the king, to load a galeon, and send another to convoy it, paying 74000 pieces of eight for each, they 2 gave paying for two, building one at the king's expence, so very large, that though it carries burden enough for three, yet it requires a storm to move it; and this mighty mass, not being strong enough knit together, to resist the furious tempests of that vast ocean it is to traverse, it is easily cast away, as appears by experience, and it is demonstrable, that midling ships are properer for that voyage than the great.

Suburb. *Thursday* 21st, I went to see the suburb of *St. Roeb*, stretching without the wall from sea to sea, all of it consisting of timber houses, among woods of trees. The parish church is very good, being built by *D. Ferdinand Valenzuela*, for his particular devotion. There are more inhabitants, *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and *Sangleys*, or *Chinese* in this suburb, than in *Cavite*. Here is good fruit of the country, and some few grapes, the vines being carry'd out of *Europe*.

*Friday* 22d, the vessel having all its lading aboard, I embark'd. This ship was built at *Bagatao*, by *Dr. John Garicocea*, and had made one voyage on the coast. Because of the loss of the afore said galeons, the king had bought it of him, for 30000 pieces of eight, to carry over the royal revenue to *America*. It was 45 cubits, of those above mention'd in length, proportionably broad and strong.

*Saturday* 23d, there were prayers for our good voyage. When we were ready to sail, the commander call'd the pilots, and all other officers to give their opinions, whether the vessel was fit for the voyage of *New Spain*, and in a good sailing posture.

Most of them were of opinion it was overloaded, and therefore could make little way. He therefore order'd all the seamen's chests to be put ashore, that all those who had two might have one left behind. The governor being inform'd of it, sent colonel *Thomas de Andaya* to lighten the ship. *Andaya* came on *Sunday* the 24th, and caus'd all the casks of water to be taken out; for the burden of the vessel being 1500 bales, they had put aboard 2200, besides provisions and other necessaries. On *Monday* 25th, the colonel caus'd abundance of bales, and parcels of wax to be unshipp'd, leaving only the 1500 bales that the ship was entred for. The governor and *Oydores*, or judges, according to the king's order, are to distribute the stowage proportionably among the citizens; but there is little justice done in this point, favour carrying all, so that the rich have cockets given them, for 30 or 40, and even 50 bales, and the poorest fort only for two or three, pretending the ship can carry no more, and this contrary to the king's intention. *Tuesday* 26th, there were more bales and parcels of wax unloaded, still delaying our departure, whereas the king's orders were that the galeon sail the 24th of *June*. It is the practice in this voyage to carry the water in earthen jars, to the number of 2, 3, or 4000, proportionably to the number of people, and bigness of the galeon; and these falling short for a voyage of 7 or 8 months, the continual rains supply the defect. This time they had made two cisterns, on the sides of the ship, reaching from the deck to the bottom of the hole, as is us'd by the *Portuguese*, and *Moors*; and these had prov'd very good; yet they were broken to stow more bales in their place; without considering that relying on the cisterns, they had made no earthen jars, and it was not easy to make them in so short a time. This was done, because the officers put in bales of their own in those places, notwithstanding the king's prohibition, they not minding that they sent so many men to perish with thirst, in such a spacious sea. In fine, on *Wednesday* 27th, 800 barrels of water were cast away, by breaking the cisterns; and the same was done on *Thursday* following being the 28th, the bales belonging to the colonels friends and acquaintance being put aboard again.



## *A Voyage round the World, by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part VII.*

Containing the most remarkable things he saw  
in the *PHILIPPINE ISLANDS*.

### B O O K III.

#### CHAP. I.

*The most dangerous voyage from the Philippine islands, to America; and first to the place call'd, Varadero.*

**T**HE voyage from the *Philippine* islands to *America*, may be call'd the longest, and most dreadful of any in the world; as well because of the vast ocean to be cross'd, being almost the one half of the *Terraqueous* globe, with the wind always ahead; as for the terrible tempests that happen there, one upon the back of another, and for the desperate diseases that seize people, in seven or eight months, lying at sea sometimes near the line, sometimes cold, sometimes temperate, and sometimes hot, which is enough to destroy a man of steel, much more flesh and blood, which at first had but indifferent food.

The ship being again laden, and about a thousand jars of water, put in by the commander and other officers, we set sail on *Friday* 29th, before noon in the presence of the colonel. Having sail'd two leagues, we came to an anchor within the same bay. On pretence that he wanted water, the commander left behind a *Dominican*, who had given him five hundred pieces of eight for his voyage; a recoler, and a physician he had agreed to keep at his own table; which accident put me into a good little cabin for my bed and equipage. *Saturday* the 1<sup>st</sup> day of *June*, the wind continuing at south against us, though we had hoisted sail, we soon drop'd anchor again. The same we did *Sunday* the first of *July*, having sail'd but half a league. *Monday* 2d, stirr'd not; and *Tuesday* just weigh'd and drop'd anchor again, the wind continuing

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contrary both days with much rain; so that GEMEL- in five days, we scarce sail'd three leagues. LI. Some water being spent, the boat was sent 1697. to take in more, near the hill *Baian*. Being curious, I went in the boat with the major *Vincent Arambola* a *Biscainer*, and landed on a plain, where the arrows of many *Negrillos* or island *Blacks*, who were hunting in the woods, could reach us. The women and children began to bark like dogs, to drive out the wild beasts before their husbands, and fathers, who lay ready in ambush. So whilst the water was taking in, we stood very fearful, as not being able with two firelocks to oppose hundreds of *Blacks*, arm'd with bows and arrows, short javelins, and long knives; wherefore I retir'd to the boat, without requiring into the matter of hunting, as *Arambola* did. The *Indian* sailors belonging to our ship, bringing the water from the wood, were no way molested by the savages, because they are friendly among themselves. Having taken the water, we return'd aboard after midnight, more afraid than hurt; having stood upon our guard, not only because of the *Blacks*, but also on account of the unconquer'd *Sambolos*, who live upon part of that mountain.

*Wednesday* 4th, we stirr'd not, the wind being contrary. *Thursday* 5th, before day, drove along with the tide, and very little wind, but the wind then starting up against us, came to an anchor near *Maribeles*. The governor came aboard in a little *Parao*, which is a tree hollow'd, with two wings

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GEMEL-on the sides, to prevent its overfetting, to bring our captain some fruit, and then went away. *Friday* 6th, the same wind continu'd with those rains, which never fail about *Manila*. *Saturday* 7th, the wind freshning, and the rain growing tempestuous, we weigh'd anchor, and brought the ship under the shelter of the hill of *Balan*. The same southerly winds and rains continuing, we lay in the same place, all *Sunday* and *Monday* the 8th, and 9th. *Tuesday* 10th, we were tow'd a little way. Nothing troubled me but the heat; for there was none of the other plague of lice, so frequent in other ships; because, as has been said, in those parts they do not breed on *Europeans*. Search was then made, to discover whether there were any jars, that instead of water, were fill'd with commodities, upon pretence of carrying them safer; and several were cast into the sea full of pepper, porcelaine, and other goods of value. The south wind ceasing, and the north succeeding, we weigh'd anchor *Wednesday* the 11th, before day, and drove with the tide with little wind, between *Maribeles* and the hill of *Bazan*; so that by sun-set we pass'd the point of *Maricondon* and *Limbones*, and then the rock of *Fortune*.

*Thursday* 12th, about noon, we left astern the desert island of *Ambil*, and that next it of *Lavan*; between which, and the point *Calavite*, in the island of *Mindoro*, pass'd the so often mention'd galeon, *St. Joseph*, as it was running to perdition. Before sun-set, we pass'd by point *St. James*, in the island of *Manila*, which makes the bay of *Balayan*. *Friday* 13th, we coasted the island of *Mindoro*, where it forms a long ridge of high mountains, and two sides of its triangle; besides a long high neck of land running out towards the south. This island is mostly inhabited by savage *Mangians*, not yet subdu'd. They are of an olive complexion, and wear long hair. The *Jesuit* missionaries that were aboard told me, that these people had a tail half a span long. They do no harm to the *Spaniards*, and trade with those few tributary *Indians*,

*Mangian*  
of *Mindoro*.

who live in villages, in the plains of the island, under the care of the barefoot fathers, of the order of *St. Augustin*. These savages exchanged gold, wax, parrots, and other things, for rice, and the like. The island abounds in buffaloes, deer, and great numbers of monkeys, which run in troops along the shoar, seeking what the sea affords to eat.

The wind rising, and against us, opposite to the island of *Maricavan*, a place not far from *Manila*, where there are plenty of buffaloes and deer; it was thought fit to lie by at night, since we could not advance; but the weather growing stormy about midnight, we lost all we had gain'd, and so on *Saturday* 14th, found our selves opposite to cape *St. James*, and got but little from it, all the day after. The worst was, the coast afforded no good anchoring, and we had no shelter from the wind. *Sunday* 15th, the violence of the contrary wind abating, we coasted along to weather the cape. First we left on the right-hand, a little bay near to the cape, then another larger, call'd, *El Varadero Viejo*, and then the streight between the aforementioned point of *Mindoro*, and the island of *Maricavan*; near the bay of *Baguan*, on the land of *Manila*, where are the garrisons of *Guarnio*, *Balaxivo*, and *Batangas*. Turning the cape, we came to the *Varadero*. All the ships that go to *Acapulco* put into this port, to take in wood and water. It is a semicircular bay, form'd by a crooked neck of land, running out of *Mindoro*, and other islands opposite to it. The greatest danger in this narrow passage, is caus'd by the contrary currents, which here meet, one of them running toward *Maribeles*, and the other towards the streight of *St. Bernardin*. After dinner I went ashore to hunt, notwithstanding the island was full of savages. I could not get into the woods, by reason of the thickness of the trees, not to be pierced by dogs, much less by men; and finding neither deer, nor buffaloes along the shoar, went aboard again empty-handed.

## CHAP. II.

*The voyage continu'd to the port of Ticao.*

HAVING taken aboard 200 jars of water brought us by the king's galliot, which expected us there for that purpose, we set sail on *Monday* 16th, with a fresh gale at south. We left on our right-hand near the coast of *Mindoro* seven little islands named *Bacbus*, pleasant to behold for their green trees, but not inhabited, and on the left cape *Galvan* of the land

of *Manila*. At sun-set we sail'd among the colonels islands near the two islands call'd *Las Ermanas*, or the *Sisters*; and then by three others, call'd *Virreyes*, or *Viceroyes*, all full of trees, but not peopled.

*Tuesday* 17th, before day, we pass'd between the islands of *Banton*, and point of *Marinduque*, which was on our left. This island abounds in fruit, and very nourish-

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ing roots; as also in wild boars, deer, buf-  
faloes, and other creatures; and therefore  
we sent the *Chiampan* thither before us to  
get fresh provisions. Near the point of  
*Marinduque* is a small island, like that at  
*Banton*, call'd *Botonillo*, or *Little Button*;  
behind which is another call'd *Simara*, inha-  
bited by civiliz'd Indians, as *Banton* is. As we  
sail'd east, we saw at a great distance on the  
right the islands of *Romblon*, *Tablas*, and  
*Sibuyan*, all inhabited; for all the way from  
*Manila* to the *Embocadereo*, or mouth of the  
strait, is a labyrinth of islands, 80 leagues  
in length, and very dangerous. Wednesday  
18th, we were becalm'd; but Thursday  
19th, had a little wind that carry'd us as  
far as the island of *Sibuyan*. Friday 20th,  
it freshned, and about sun-set we got  
through the strait made by the islands  
of *Bonas* and *Masbate*, where there are rich  
gold mines, and the strange birds call'd  
*Tavones*, and then by *Ticao*, all of them in-  
habited by Indians not yet subdu'd, and  
very fruitful.

Having coasted along the island of *Ticao*  
all night, on Saturday 21st, in the morn-  
ing, two hours after sun-rising, we came to  
an anchor in the port of *Hyacinthus*, oppo-  
site to *Surfegon*. The *Alcade mayor*, or  
chief magistrate of *Alvay*, came aboard on  
Sunday 22d, and brought the captain a  
present of 20 hogs, 500 hens, and a great  
deal of fruit. Monday 23d, the *Chiampan*  
came from *Marinduque* loaded with re-  
freshments given them by the *Jesuits* of  
that parish, for the fathers *John Grigoyen*,  
*Antony Borgia*, and *Peter Antony Martinez*,  
who were aboard us bound for *New Spain*;  
one to stay there, the other to go to *Rome*  
for the affairs of mission.

The wind coming up very fair for us to  
put into the bay of *Ticao*, we weigh'd an-  
chor on Tuesday 24th, early, and advanc-  
ing a little with the stream, came to an an-  
chor in it. A bare-foot father of *St. Au-  
gustin*, that belong'd to that province came  
to bring us some refreshment of fruit. Go-  
ing ashore after dinner to bathe me, I was  
inform'd that the village was formerly near  
the shore, but having been burnt by the  
pilot of a ship that put in there, the *Indi-  
ans* retir'd half a league up the land into  
the middle of the wood. There are about  
thirty wooden houses cover'd with palm-  
tree leaves, and the church and dwelling of  
the missionaries is of the same sort. But these  
are the most part of the year at *Masbate*,  
because the *Indians* go away into the moun-  
tains every one to plant his *camotes*, and  
*Gavias*, and only come to that place when  
the fathers go to make their visitation.

Wednesday 25th, being *St. James's* day,  
the wind being contrary, we lay at anchor;  
because the ship stood in need of a strong  
south wind to carry it out of the strait a-

gainst the current. Thursday 26th, a mus-  
ket was made to see, if any man was a-  
board without licence, for which they pay  
twenty pieces of eight to the king. Six-  
teen persons who had none were put a shore,  
only two hundred remaining aboard. Fri-  
day 27th, five hundred *Bombones* of cane  
full of water were brought aboard, which  
the *Alcade* had caus'd to be cut by the cap-  
tain's order; they were eight spans in length,  
and as thick as a man's thigh. The same  
day a fresh gale starting up at fourth, we  
weigh'd anchor to sail, but soon dropt it  
again, the chief pilot and his two mates  
disagreeing, the first being of opinion there  
was not wind enough. Saturday 28th, it came  
about to north, and so hindred our sailing.  
It was pleasant to see the ship like a float-  
ing garden with such abundance of fruit and  
greens brought from the neighbouring parts,  
as also swine, and hens, in their *Caracoas*,  
or boats, few'd with Indian cane, which  
have a sail made of mat, triangular or py-  
ramidal, fasten'd to two poles, and long  
canes on the sides to prevent over-setting.  
Sunday 29th, the same wind continu'd;  
but at night was a dead calm, which last-  
ed Monday 30th; and on Tuesday 31st, the  
contrary north wind came up again.

Wednesday the 1st of August, some boats  
brought advice of the safe arrival of the  
galeon, the *Rosary*, from *New Spain*. It  
had cast anchor for fear of the *Embocadereo*,  
or mouth of the channel, at the port of *Pa-  
lapa*, in the island of *Samar*, and there  
landed the money to be carry'd by land to  
*Manila*. Thence some boats had tow'd  
her to the nearest coast of that island;  
where, when the galeon has taken port, it  
is unlawful to put to sea again without fresh  
orders. The same contrary wind kept us still  
Thursday 2d. Friday 3d, we sail'd with  
something of a fair wind, which soon com-  
ing about, we return'd to the port; where  
the festival of *St. Dominick* was celebrated  
Saturday 4th. Sunday 5th, the wind blew  
so hard at north, that we were forced to  
drop another anchor. The same continu-  
ing on Monday 6th, we diverted the tedi-  
ous hours with cock-fighting, there being  
abundance aboard, which was not pleasing  
to me, because we eat no other meat. Tues-  
day 7th, the *Chiampan* went for water.  
Wednesday 8th, the pilot's mate had some  
words with a passenger he carry'd over on  
his own account, who complaining that his  
table was too poor, the other struck him  
on the face, and then run after him with a  
knife. The captain desirous to enquire  
into the matter, would have me be assist-  
ing to him, but all the punishment ended in  
causing them both to stand some hours in  
the bilboes. Thursday 9th, after mid-night  
the wind blew fresh at south-east, so that  
about noon the pilot thought fit to sail, be-  
cause

GEMEL-  
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GEMEL- cause there is no getting out at the *Emboc-*  
L.I. *cadero*, or mouth of the channel, where the  
1697. currents are always impetuous, without a  
wind that's stronger than they. The *Em-*  
*bocadero*, or freight, is eight leagues in  
length, and four or five, and in some pla-  
ces six over. 'Tis enclos'd, like the court  
or yard of a house, on the one side with  
the coast of the island of *Manila*; by the  
islands of *Borias*, *Ticao*, and *Masbate*; by

the six little islands *de los Narayos*, or of  
*Orange-trees*, which are desert; by the fruit-  
ful island of *Capul*, by the *Indians* call'd  
*Ava*; by the *Alupores*; and, lastly, by the  
west coast of *Palapa*; and on the other, by  
the island of *Maripipu*, inhabited by *Ta-*  
*laxians*, *Tagapola*, *Mongol*, *Kamanda*, and  
*Limbanquayan*, which all together render  
the passage out towards *America* very diffi-  
cult, what way soever a man would go.

## C H A P. III.

## The voyage continued to the Marian islands.

THE wind holding brisk at south-east,  
the pilots all agreed to make their  
way out of the freight, and accord-  
ingly about noon weighing the two an-  
chors, the tide being then with us, they  
hoisted sail, and before sun-set were near  
the mouth of the freight, which is made by  
cape *Malpal*, in the island of *Capul*, on the  
south of the small isle of *Kalentan*, where  
there are some flats near cape *Tiklin*, and  
the island of *Manila* on the north, two  
leagues distant from one another. 'Tis to  
be observ'd, that between *Kalentan* and  
*Tiklin* there's water enough, for a quarter  
of a league over, for the galeon to pass, but  
the pilots will not venture into such a  
freight, nor into those that lie between the  
islands of *Narajos*, and between *Capul* and  
*Samor*. As we were upon getting out, there  
fell such violent storms of rain, that toge-  
ther with the contrary current, whilst the  
moon was above the horizon, we could not,  
tho' the wind blew hard for us, advance  
one step, but rather lost ground, so that we  
were all night in great danger. I was asto-  
nish'd, and trembled, to see the sea have a  
motion like water boiling over a hot fire,  
understanding that several ships, notwith-  
standing the help of their rudder, had been  
by the violence of the current whirl'd a-  
bout, and at last wreck'd. Friday 10th,  
the tide turning for us, we got out of the  
freight before noon. First, we pass'd near  
the coast of the island of *Manila*, the moun-  
tain of *Buleflan*, where is the burning erup-  
tion of *Atani*, and the rock of *St. Bernar-*  
*din*, in 13 degrees of north latitude, leaving  
them on our left, and about sun-set we had  
cape *Espritu Santo*, or *Holy Ghost*, on our  
right; this being the most easterly point of  
the coast of *Palapa*, and the first the ga-  
leons discover coming from *New Spain*, as  
has been observ'd above. It lies in 12 de-  
grees and 30 minutes of north latitude.

Being come into the open sea, to our  
great satisfaction, our cables were coil'd be-  
tween decks, being to cast anchor no more

till we came into *New Spain*, and the boat  
was set adrift, that it might be of no hin-  
drance, because we had another, in case of  
need, as the *Spaniards* call it, in quarters,  
that is, in pieces ready to clap together.  
The south-west wind blew hard all night,  
and the sea being rough, made many sick.  
Saturday 11th, the wind continued at south-  
west, and taking an observation, we found  
our selves in the latitude of 14 degrees.  
They that come from *New Spain* to the  
islands sail continually upon the same paral-  
lel of 13 degrees; for sailing from *Acapulco*,  
which is in 17, to the 13 aforesaid, they al-  
way run in a freight line, before the wind,  
on a smooth sea (whence that is call'd the  
*Pacifick Ocean* by the *Spaniards*) as if they  
were in a canal, without any roughness of  
water; so that they come in 60, or at fur-  
thest 65, days to the *Marian* islands, and  
thence in 15 or 20 to the *Philippines*. On  
the contrary, those that go thence to *New*  
*Spain* have a very difficult voyage, for the  
sea may rather be call'd enchanted than  
boisterous; and, that they may gain ground,  
and not be drove back, as often happens,  
they are forced to run away to the north-  
ward, even to 40 or 41 degrees of latitude,  
sometimes coming in sight of *Japan*, that  
they may afterwards fall off till they meet  
with the *Signs* (being weeds the sea of *Ca-*  
*lifornia* carries some hundreds of leagues)  
and so continue their voyage with the com-  
mon winds, that are more favourable. The  
pilot propos'd to pass by the islands *de los*  
*Ladrones*, at 19 degrees and 20 minutes  
of north latitude (whereas the general me-  
thod is to pass them between 20 and 25)  
that he might from thence gain the greater  
latitude; this having of late years been  
found by experience to be the best course,  
and therefore he directed his course east-  
north-east.

Sunday 12th, the fresh gale which had  
continued all night fell, and we were be-  
calm'd; and by observation we found our  
selves in the latitude of 14 degrees and 13  
minutes.

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minutes. That day the cloth the king al-  
lows the seamen, to keep 'em warm, was  
divided among 'em. *Monday* 13th, the  
calm continued, and an observation shew'd  
us to be in the latitude of 14 degrees and  
20 minutes. *Tuesday* 14th, the wind came  
up at north-west, and we fail'd east and by  
north; our latitude by observation 14 deg.  
34 min. The fairer wind continuing, we  
steer'd north-east on *Wednesday* 15th, and  
found the latitude of 14 deg. and 45 min.  
*Thursday* 16th, we were becalm'd, but the  
current carried us some way, so that we  
found 14 deg 53 min. latitude. *Friday* 15th,  
a small gale turn'd about all the points of  
the compass, and we found our selves in the  
same latitude. *Saturday* 18th, we stood east-  
north-east, with little wind at north-north-  
west, and the latitude was 15 deg. 1 min.  
The allowance of water was cut shorter, be-  
cause there was but little, and we had far to  
sail. At night the wind came up west-  
north-west, which made us lie east; and so  
we held on all *Sunday* 19th, in the latitude  
of 15 deg. 24 min. as also *Monday* 20th, in  
15 deg. 34 min. At night a violent storm  
blew, which kept us all awake, and beat  
us very heavily all *Tuesday* 21st. That day  
a little rain fell, and every one strove gree-  
dily to gather the water. We found 16 deg.  
16 min. latitude, and the wind blew at  
west-south-west, which held all *Wednesday*  
22d, and our coast being east and by north,  
found 16 deg. 26 min. latitude. *Thursday*  
23d, we fail'd east with a north-west wind,  
and found 16 deg. 44 min. latitude. *Fri-*  
*day* 24th, the wind was all north, so that  
we stood east and by north. The latitude  
16 deg. 46 min. *Saturday* 25th, the wind  
was south-west, and we stood north-east and  
by east. *Sunday* 26th, the wind at west-  
south-west, but we alter'd our course, the  
latitude 17 deg. 1 min. The same wind  
and course continued *Monday* 27th, latitude  
17 deg. 15 min. but on *Tuesday* 28th, we  
found 17 deg. 18 min. tho' we had been  
becalm'd. *Wednesday* 29th, the wind at  
south, but we made little way, and found  
17 deg. 34 min. latitude. *Thursday* 30th,  
the wind east-north-east, we stood north.  
No observation could be taken. *Friday*  
31st, the wind came about from west-south-  
west to west-north-west, and still no obser-  
vation to be taken. About sun-set there  
fell a great rain, and all the thirty sailors  
went out naked to gather the water, so all  
the empty vessels were soon fill'd. A great  
storm continued all night, without taking  
any more water for want of stowage; so  
that there being plenty, all the men dress'd  
their rice.

*Saturday* the 1st of *September* we stood  
east and by north, the wind at south-west,

the latitude 18 deg. 50 min. *Sunday* 2d, GEMEL-  
LI.  
1697. before day the wind came about, and blew  
hard at east, so that there was no faying  
masts, nor taking an observation; and the  
pilots were oblig'd to lower their top-masts  
for fear they should give way, and hinder  
our voyage, as had happen'd other times  
for want of masts. We all watch'd day  
and night, the danger was so great; for the  
waves broke upon the galeon, and beat ter-  
ribly upon its sides. We lay under a main-  
fail reef'd; and the image of *S. Francis*  
*Xaverius* being expos'd, the captain vow'd  
to make an offering to the value of the fail,  
which was worth two hundred pieces of  
eight, devoutly attributing to his interces-  
sion the faving of the fail, and calming of  
the sea. Three hours before day the wind  
came about fair.

*Monday* 3d, the wind coming to north-  
west, we held on our course east-north-east,  
and hoisted our top-masts again. The same  
day the first *Cacborreta* (a sort of fish the  
*Spaniards* call by that name) being taken,  
'twas expos'd to sale to the highest bidder,  
according to the custom spoken of else-  
where. The captain bid up to sixty pieces  
of eight, to make an offering to the blessed  
virgin of the conception; but four sailors  
bid five pieces more, and carried the fish.  
Afterwards about twenty *Cacborretas* and  
*Bonitos* were taken; these are fishes full of  
blood, somewhat like mackrel. The storm  
blew again at night, with rain, so that the  
sailors could not be got upon deck without  
beating, the e fell such a violent shower.  
This weather hinder'd our taking any ob-  
servation the next day, being *Tuesday* 4th,  
but we held on our course with that wind.  
*Wednesday* 5th, the wind first at south-west,  
and then at south-south-west, the latitude  
19 deg. 33 min. About break of day,  
*Thursday* 6th, we discover'd four of the  
*Marian* islands, but the wind would not  
permit the pilot to pass them by in 19 deg.  
20 min. latitude, as he had design'd. When  
we advanc'd farther, we saw at a distance  
towards the south, the biggest of them,  
which is exactly shaped like a long saddle.  
The second bearing upon the same point,  
was a steep, round, burning mountain, in  
the sea-charts call'd *Griga*, sending out  
smoak from the top. They told me, 'twas  
three leagues in compass, and was inhabited  
at the foot of the hill on the south side; to  
which the master's mate of the galeon ad-  
ded, that as he pass'd by at another time,  
a great many of those inhabitants came out  
in boats, to bring him fish, coconos, *buya*,  
and excellent melons; but, that they never  
after came to meet the galeons, because an  
extravagant passenger had struck one of  
their men.

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## CHAP. IV.

## Of the discovery and conquest of the Marian islands.

Marian  
islands, or  
de los La-  
drones.

THESE islands were formerly call'd *de las Velas*; and afterwards, by the *Spaniards*, *de los Ladrones*, or of *Thieves*, because they sometimes putting in there as they went and came between *New Spain* and the *Philippine* islands, the inhabitants stole all they could, and then fled to the mountains. *Michael Lopez de Legaspi* took possession of them for king *Philip* the 2d, in *January* 1565, when he was going with four ships and a frigate to conquer the *Philippines*; but this possession was only in words, for there was no garrison placed there, nor fort built, nor were there any missionaries sent to convert the inhabitants to our holy faith; perhaps because it was thought impracticable to talk of religion to men who shunn'd all manner of communication with the *Spaniards*, and fled to their thickest woods. Afterwards the fathers of the society going to, and coming from, the *Philippines* on their missions, out of their religious zeal, seeing those wretched people forsaken, and plung'd in the darkness of idolatry, they propos'd to the queen-mother, then regent during her son's minority, the cultivating that vineyard, grown wild under paganism: persuading her that the seed of the gospel might be sow'd there to good purpose, if a mission of their order were founded. The queen, out of her wonted piety, granted their request; whereupon the governor of *Manila*, having receiv'd orders from court, set out a convenient number of ships and men for the conquest of the islands, and with them went as many fathers as were thought necessary. The *Spaniards* soon made themselves masters of the island *Iguana*, in 13 deg. of north latitude, as also of *Sarpanas* and then continuing the conquest without any great difficulty, subdued them all from 13 to 20 deg. of latitude, where the burning mountain is.

Islands  
conquer'd.

Missioners  
unsuccess-  
ful.

The missioners had no such success, for venturing to go alone about the island preaching, they were ill treated; particularly *F. Morales* was hurt with a javelin on the leg, in a place near the burning mountain. In this same place *F. S. Victor* receiv'd the crown of martyrdom twenty-nine years ago, for having baptiz'd a young girl without her father's consent; and they reckon ten missioners in all were put to death. For this reason the fathers are retir'd into the islands *Iguana* and *Sarpana*, under the protection of the *Spanish* garrisons.

During one hundred seventy-seven years the *Spaniards* have continued this voyage;

passing between several islands, they have found this is a continued row of 'em from north to south; that is, from the line, where it begins, opposite to *New Guinea*, almost up to *Japan*, in 36 deg. of north latitude. The names given to all the islands discovered in this space, are as follow, *Iguana* in 13 deg. *Sarpana* in 14, *Buenavista* in 15, *Saspara* in 15 deg. 40 min. *Anatan* in 17 deg. 20 min. *Sarigan* in 17 deg. 25 min. *Guagan* in 18. *Amaguan* in 18 deg. 18 min. *Pagon* in 18 deg. 4 min. The burning mountain of *Griga* in 19 deg. 33 min. *Tinay* and *Mauga* in 20 deg. 45 min. *Urrac* in 20 deg. 55 min. The other three burning mountains, the first in 23 deg. 30 min. the second in 24, and the third in 25 deg. The island of *Patias* is in 25 deg. 30 min. *la Desconocida* in 25 deg. 50 min. *Malabrigo* in 27 deg. 40 min. *Guadalupe* in 28 deg. 10 min. The three islands of *Tecla*, discover'd the 23d of *December* 1634, by the galcon *S. Joseph*, between 34 and 36 deg. There are other islands from 13 degrees of latitude, towards the line and *New Guinea*, not yet known.

There's another chain of islands beginning at the line, three hundred leagues from *Callao* in *Peru*, and running westward, the end whereof is not yet known; those that are best known are not inhabited, and have no beasts in them, but only birds, that are kill'd with cudgels, being never frighted by man, as I was told by some that had been there. The pirates that go thro' the streights of *Magellan* into the south sea repair to these islands to wash and tallow. They are call'd *de los Galapagos*, because of the great quantity of those creatures found there, which are very like tortoises, or rather a species of them.

The chief of the *Marian* islands is *Iguana*, *Isaua* and therefore a strong castle is built on it, and guarded by eighty or ninety men. The second is *Sarpana*, in which there's also a garrison, but the governor lives in *Umatta*. They are both flat, so that the ships can come no nearer than within three leagues of 'em. In *Agana* there are two colleges, the one of children, the other of *Indian* maids, instructed and govern'd by twelve fathers of the society, and maintain'd by the king, with an allowance of three thousand pieces of eight a year, besides his bounty for maintenance of the fathers. His majesty generously spends thirty-four thousand pieces of eight a year to keep these islands, the governor's

nor's salary being three thousand pieces of eight, and the rest for a major, an hundred soldiers, the *Jesuits* and colleges aforementioned. All this is sent from *New Spain* to *Manila*, with cloth for the soldiers. There is also a small vessel kept to carry all necessities thither. The houses of the fathers of the society are made of mud walls, because

the islands furnish no other materials. Those of the *Indians* are huts cover'd with boards, or palm-tree leaves like caves. The island is ten leagues in compass, and is six from *Sarpana*. This is not so large, nor have the *Jesuits* any house in it, but repair thither as there is occasion. There is a small garrison to curb those barbarous people.

## CHAP. V.

## Of the people, religion, climate and wonderful boats of the Marian islands.

THE inhabitants of the *Marian* islands are of a giantlike stature, corpulent, and very strong; and will sometimes clap 500 weight on their backs as if it were nothing. They are great swimmers, and dive so easily that they will take fish. Before the coming of the *Spaniards* they liv'd under a chief, naked, wandering about the mountains. They knew not what fire was, or the use of iron; but did eat raw fish, sometimes rotten, coconuts, and roots, drinking fair water. There never was, nor is there at present, any selling among them, but only exchange; and should the *Spaniards* carry never so many pieces of eight, no man would give them a coconut or a hen, and they might starve, did they not give stuff, cloth, or other things those people want in exchange.

No token of any religion has been hitherto found in any of the islands discover'd, as several missionaries told me, who had been long there; only an extraordinary veneration for their ancestors, not out of love, but fear, keeping their skulls in their houses, and calling upon them in time of need; by which it appears they have some true notion of the immortality of the soul, and that there is some place for them to reside in, from whence they can do good, or harm. Their language is different from that of the *Philippines*. Their weapon is a spear pointed with the bone of a man's leg, or a sharp stone.

Tho' in these islands the trees are not so large and thick as in the *Philippines*, yet the soil is proper to produce all things necessary for man's sustenance. Formerly there was nothing but the fruit of the country, and some hens; but afterwards the *Jesuits* and soldiers residing there, brought over rice, herbs, and other things from the *Philippine* islands; and as for beasts, horses, cows, and swine, they have increas'd considerably in the mountains. There were not so much as rats, but the ships have furnish'd them. No venomous creature at all breed there.

The most wonderful and peculiar fruit of these islands is, the *Rima*, which serves

the natives instead of bread, and is very nourishing. The plant is thick, and full of leaves; the fruit as big as a man's head, of a date colour, but prickly like the *Giacca* of *God*; and in the middle is a kernel, like a white nut. Boil'd or roasted, it serves for bread, and keeps four or six months. The taste is like an *Indian* fig, or plantain. Besides the mountains abound in cocoa-trees.

The *Ducdu* is a tree like the *Rima*; and *Ducdu* the fruit, which is green without, is like a long pear. The inside pulp is white and soft, sticking to about 15 kernels which roasted, taste like chestnuts, as do those of the *Giacca*. For common food, there are abundance of roots, as *Ubis*, *Gavvas*, *Gammotes* and others. The water is very good. The air is better and more temperate than that of *Manila*, tho' that island, be upon the same parallel with *Iguana* and *Sarpana*.

The little boats of these islands are very strange, as well for their make, as swiftness. They are made of two crook'd bodies of trees hollow'd, and sow'd together with *Indian* cane. They are about five or six yards long, and because the breadth of them is not above four spans, and they would easily overset, therefore they join to the sides pieces of solid timber, which poize them; and as for passengers, the boat being scarce able to contain three *Indian* sailors, they therefore lay boards across in the middle, hanging over the water on both sides, where those that will be carry'd from place to place, sit. Of the three sailors aforesaid, one is always in the middle to lade out the water, which certainly comes in over the sides, and at the seam; the other two keep one at head, and one at stern, to move and steer the boat. The sail is like those we call *latin* sails, that is, triangular, made of mat, and as long as the boat, which being therefore easy to overset when the wind is alter'd, they keep out of it as much as they can. No sort of boat whatsoever, can come near them for swiftness, for they run ten or twelve *Italian* miles an hour. When they are to return from any place, they remove the sail without turning the boat about,

GEMEL-bout, so that which was the stern becomes  
 11. the head, and he that was in the prow, is  
 1697. steerfman. If any thing is to be mended in  
 the boat, the goods and passengers are fet  
 upon the fail; and the boat is presently  
 righted, and turn'd up if it was overfet;  
 things so wonderful, the Spaniards them-  
 selves can scarce believe them, tho' they see  
 them every day. Tho' these be fit only for

a short cut, yet in case of urgent necessity,  
 two fet out from *Iguana*, crossing a sea of  
 900 Italian miles, to go to the *Philippine*  
 islands; but one of them was cast away.  
 That the reader may the better comprehend  
 the manner of them, I have here added the  
 cut of one.

See cut, Number IV. Page 438.

## CHAP. VI.

*The author's tedious and dreadful voyage to the port of Acapulco.*

**F**riday the 7th, the wind being east, we  
 flood N. N. E. without taking any ob-  
 servation. Saturday 8th, the wind at S. E.  
 flood E. N. E. and found 21 deg. of lat.  
 Sunday 9th, the wind S. S. E. flood N. E.  
 the lat. 21 deg. 40. min. Monday 10th, the  
 same wind and course continuing, lat. 20 deg.  
 The sky appear'd of a violet colour, with  
 green clouds, which I, and the fathers of  
 the society look'd upon as a prodigy, hav-  
 ing never seen the like before. The pilot  
 began his devotions for obtaining a good  
 voyage, and at night there was dancing,  
 and such sports as the ship could afford.  
 Tuesday 11th, we were becalm'd; that lat.  
 22 deg. 10 min. Wednesday 12th, the  
 wind at E. S. E. we flood N. E. the lat.  
 22 deg. 37 min. Here it is fit to acquaint  
 the reader, that during this long voyage,  
 there is a strange variation of the needle ob-  
 serv'd; for which, neither pilots nor mathe-  
 maticians have assign'd any reason in a hun-  
 dred and eighty years, that voyage has been  
 us'd. It begins at cape St. Bernardin, be-  
 tween twelve and thirteen degrees of lati-  
 tude, insensibly increasing for about half the  
 way, to eighteen or twenty deg. for above a  
 thousand leagues. There it begins to lessen,  
 till they come to cape Mendocino, where it  
 is observ'd to be two degrees. Now this  
 variation in some places being N. E. in o-  
 thers N. W. and in some places more, in  
 others less, it is therefore the more unac-  
 countable. There is no pretending it is  
 caus'd by the loadstones, because the islands  
 are at a vast distance, and perhaps a thou-  
 sand leagues. The pilots perceive this va-  
 riation when the sun is setting, for marking  
 the true west point, they then see whether  
 the north and other two cardinal points an-  
 swer.

Thursday 13th, the wind being S. E. we  
 flood N. E. the lat. 23 deg. 30 min. so that  
 we were got out of the torrid, into the tem-  
 perate zone. That night it blew a great  
 storm, and Friday 14th, we flood N. the  
 wind E. N. E. the lat. 24 deg. 12 min.  
 Saturday 14th, the wind at E. N. E. we  
 still run due N. Towards noon, it blew so

hard that the pilot was forced to lie by,  
 backing the main-fail, and three hours be-  
 fore night, the wind came more to N. E.  
 Such abundance of *Cachorretas* were taken all  
 the day, that the seamen grew weary of  
 them; and would give them to any body  
 for asking. They greedily swallow'd the  
 hook, being deceiv'd by a flying fish, made  
 of rags, which, as the ship run under fail,  
 could scarce be distinguish'd from the true,  
 as we shall observe hereafter. Sunday 16th,  
 the wind being at S. E. we flood N. E. by  
 E. the lat. 25 deg. 5 min. Monday  
 17th, the wind, S. S. W. run E. N. E.  
 Tuesday 18th, lay the same course, tho' the  
 wind was S. W. No observation could be  
 taken either day. Four sharks were catch'd,  
 and opening one of them, there were seven  
 small ones found alive in its belly. This  
 caus'd an argument or dispute between the  
*Jesuits*, the *Dominicans*, and the *Augusti-*  
*an*, to decide whether this fish brought  
 forth young or not. Some foolishly said,  
 the old one had swallow'd them to save their  
 lives by vomiting them up again, and that  
 they came from eggs laid and then kept in  
 the opening under their jaws, as is said of  
 other fishes, and particularly the trout. But  
 the most receiv'd and likeliest opinion is this,  
 that all fish bring forth their young hatch'd  
 out of the egg, or form'd out of the  
 spawn; for several persons well vers'd in  
 sea affairs have told me, that there have  
 been eggs found in sharks, and young  
 ones at the same time. I give it here the  
 name of eggs, because the Italian word *Uova*  
 in the author, signifies either eggs or spawn,  
 and as some fishes spawn, others lay eggs, as  
 do the *tortoise*, *crocodiles*, and *sharks* here  
 mention'd. To this purpose John Zaccaria  
 a Biscainer, who had follow'd the whale  
 fishing, several years in Europe, said he  
 had often found young whales in the belly  
 of the old. That same day there fell much  
 rain, and the sailors went out naked to  
 catch the water, so that they fill'd all the  
 empty vessels, and therefore instead of  
 shortning the men's allowance of water af-  
 ter two months and a half sail, it was in-  
 creas'd.

Wed-

urgent necessity,  
crossing a sea of  
to the Philippine  
was cast away.  
after comprehend  
here added the

age 438.

capulco.

forced to lie by,  
three hours be-  
fore to N. E.  
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y swallow'd the  
ying fish, made  
run under sail,  
from the true,  
Sunday 16th,  
stood N. E. by  
min. Monday  
run E. N. E.  
course, tho' the  
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s were catch'd, tion acc  
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the trout. But  
opinion is this,  
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eggs or floun,  
s lay eggs, as  
ad sharks here  
John Zaraiet  
w'd the whale  
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out naked to  
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of water af-  
il, it was in-  
Wed-

Wednesday 19th, the wind at E. we stood N. N. E. the lat. 25 deg. 50 min. we had some diversion with sharks that were taken. One great one was thrown into the sea again with a board tied to his tail, none of the passengers daring to eat any more of them, and it was pleasant to see him swim about without being able to dive down. Two others were ty'd together by the tails, one of them being first blinded, and then being cast into the sea, the blind one oppos'd the other that would have drawn him down, thinking himself taken. Thursday 20th, we were becalm'd till noon, at which time a little wind blew at S. E. and we stood E. N. E. The lat. 26 deg. Friday 21st, the wind at S. W. we lay the same course, and making much way, caught abundance of *Cacborretas*, with the same bate, of a flying fish made of rags, for those fishes running to catch it, were hung in the hook hid under it. That night the pilots two mates began their nine days devotion with abundance of lights, and gave sweetmeats to all the company; and at night there was dancing, and acting of parts made extempore. Saturday 22d, the wind at S. we stood N. E. and by E. the lat. 27. deg. Sunday 23d, held the same course, the wind at S. E. the lat. 27 deg. 30 min. Monday stood as before, lat 28 deg. 12 min. Tuesday 25th, the wind blowing fresh at S. S. E. we steer'd E. N. E. the lat. 29 deg 3 min. That night we were watchful, to avoid two small rocks in the lat. of 30 deg. Wednesday 26th, the wind at S. we stood N. E. to get a greater lat. which we found to be 29 deg. 58 min. Thursday 27th, a great shower fell, and the wind blowing at E. made us run N. and by E. the lat. 30 deg. 30 min. Friday 28th, stood N. E. the lat. 30 deg. 49 min. the needle varying a point N. W. Saturday 29th, the feast of *S. Michael* was kept, that being our captain's name, extraordinary allowance was given, and a play acted. The wind blew at S. E. and we stood at N. E. and by E. the lat. 31 deg. 58 min. Sunday 30th, the lat. was 31 deg. 58. min. so that we thought our selves about th. clat. of an imaginary island, reputed to be rich in gold, and placed in the sea charts, in 32 deg. wanting some few min. whereas it is certain no body ever saw any such island. Till now we sail'd N. E. and by E. the wind being S. E. then follow'd a calm till mid-night, after which the wind came up at S. S. E. and we stood N. E. That night the master began his nine days devotion, treating the company, and dancing.

Monday the 1st of October, the wind continuing at S. S. E. we steer'd N. E. and by N. the lat. 32 deg. 28 min. Afterwards the wind came to S. E. (abundance

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of *Cacborretas* and *Albacoras* being taken, GEMBL. LI. 1697. by reason the ship made such swift way) and at night blew so hard at S. that the pilot was forced to lower his top-sails and main yard. A great storm blowing on Tuesday 2d, at S. and the sea beating hard upon us, we were forced to lie by the fore-sail back'd, and the waves beat so furiously on the rudder, that the whiptaff broke; the lat. 23 deg. 20 min. The wind came about to N. W. but the storm nothing abated; but rather increasing, the ship was toss'd upon vast mountains of water, and then again seem'd to sink to the abyss, the waves breaking over it. No fire could be lighted, and so all eat cold meat, and there was no chocolate to be made [the author was very dainty, to expect chocolate at all times] and there was no standing or sitting in a place, but we were toss'd from side to side. About midnight I had like to be knock'd in the head, by two linestocks of the guns falling upon my bed. Wednesday 3d, the same wind continuing, the storm was nothing abated; we steer'd N. E. and by E. All this time we had seen sea fowls, but this day two ducks flew by us. Besides, a sailor catch'd a little bird, like a canary bird, which being carry'd away by the wind, found no place to stay itself, but the rigging. The captain endeavour'd to keep it in a cage, but being quite spent with hunger and weariness, it dy'd the same day, and there was sand found in its belly. This little creature set the pilot, his mate, and the passengers upon asking whence it could come; and they concluded it came from *Rica de Plata*, an island 30 leagues distant southward, being carry'd away by the wind; the lat. was 34 deg. 7 min. The pilots suppose the islands, *Rica de Oro* and *Rica Plata*, with others about them, to be the islands of *Salomon*; but I am of opinion these are imaginary islands, because as long as this voyage has been used they have never been seen. The situation and latitude of the islands of *Salomon* is unknown; nor could they ever be found in so many years as they have been search'd after by the king's order. A galeon sailing from *Manila* for *New Spain*, was drove by tempest upon an island. The storm having removed and thrown away all the earth, about the hearth or furnace in the cook-room, they took some from the island to put it in the place of it. When the galeon came to *Acapulco*, this earth being remov'd, they found under it a mass of gold, which the violent heat of the fire had melted and separated from the earth. The commander admiring at this unexpected accident, acquainted the viceroy of *Mexico* with it, and he the king, who order'd a Squadron to be fitted out to find these islands,

GEMBL-lands, the pilot having taking their latitude. In short, the *Adelantado D. Alvaro* 1697. *de Mendoza* sail'd from *Callao*, the port of *Lima*, in the year 1596, with some ships to find out these islands of *Salomon*, whereof that above-mention'd was suppos'd to be one. After a long and tedious voyage he lighted upon an island of *Blacks* of *New Guinea*, near the line, on the south side of it, where he, and many of his men dy'd; and his wife the lady *Elizabeth Barreto* return'd with only one ship to *Manila*, the rest being lost in the vain search after these rich islands. See more of this particular in the fragment of the islands of *Salomon*.

*D. Antony de Medina*, about 30 years since, offer'd the king to go upon this discovery, relying on the great experience he had learnt on those seas. Orders being therefore sent to the viceroy of *Mexico*, and governor of *Manila*, to send him commander of the galeon that was to return from *Acapulco* to the *Philippine* islands, the viceroy gave him that post; but the new governor of *Manila*, who was aboard the galeon, when they were far enough from *New Spain*, depriv'd him of the command, and put into it him that came from *Manila*. *Medina* highly resenting this affront, as soon as he came to the islands, stole away in a small boat to *China*, in order to go over from thence to *Madrid*, to make his complaint to the king; but there being no news ever heard of him, it is suppos'd he was kill'd by pirates.

*Thursday* 4th, the wind coming about to north, and then to N. N. W. we sail'd E. for fear of running upon *Rica de Plata*, and found the lat. but 33 deg. 30 min. It was there very cold. The pilots said the current there help'd the way of the galeon. *Friday* 5th, the wind blew at east, and we sail'd north, and then N. and by E. the lat. 33 deg. 50 min. A storm rising in the night, the galeon was let run at pleasure. *Saturday* 6th, the storm increasing, the two top-masts were lower'd, and we drove with the wind. These are the usual storms observ'd to happen before and after the feast of *St. Francis*, perhaps by reason of the equinox. After noon the wind being S. E. we steer'd N. E. under a fore-sail; but the wind blowing a mighty storm again, we drove as before. *Sunday* 7th, we stood N. and by W. the wind being east, with terrible waves breaking over the poop. *Monday* 8th, the wind being south, we sail'd N. E. and by E. leaving the imaginary island of *Rica de Plata* south, in the lat. of 34 deg. 20 min. *Tuesday* 9th, the wind abating, and by degrees growing slack at S. E. we steer'd N. E. and by E. At night it blew harder. *Wednesday* 10th, sail'd E. N. E. with the same

wind; the lat. 37 deg. 34 min. *Thursday* 11th, steer'd N. E. and by E. and after noon N. E. the wind coming to E. S. E. *Friday* 12th, stood N. E. and by E. and afterwards N. N. E. the wind blowing S. E. and E. S. E. To avoid running further to northward, the pilot tack'd about to southward, the wind blowing hard at E. S. E. In this latitude we observ'd the sky was always clouded, and a small rain fell, which the *Spaniards* call *Garcova*. *Saturday* 13th, betimes we tack'd about to N. E. the same S. E. wind continuing. The cold was very sharp, but the *Indians* and *Blacks* born in hot countries were most sensible of it. *Sunday* 14th, by reason of the beating of the sea, and breaking of the waves masts could not be sail'd; at night we drove, the wind being contrary; and at mid-night sail'd east, the wind at N. N. E. But coming to N. E. on *Monday* 15th, we tack'd about to S. E. and before noon the wind coming to E. S. E. we were forc'd to tack again. The lat. upon observation 36 deg. 30 min. for we made southward. At night the wind chang'd. *Tuesday* 16th, the wind at E. S. E. we stood N. E. but it coming about to east, oblig'd us to steer N. N. E. and N. E. and by N. The lat. 37 deg. 2 min. The rain which fell all these days wet many bales and chests of silk, and other goods of *China* to the great loss of the owners.

*Wednesday* 17th, we were becalm'd, the lat. but 37 deg. At sun-set the wind came up S. S. W. which made us steer east, but the calm returning at mid-night we drove N. N. W. The same wind coming up again *Thursday* 18th, we sail'd east, which was our course; tho' to do it safely we were to keep in the lat. of 36 deg. 42 min. which is the greatest elevation ships use to take in this voyage. This they do, because if they do not place themselves enough to the northward, before they meet the *Senas*, that is, the floating weeds before-mentioned, being once to the leeward from the coast of cape *Mirido* to *California*, it will be very hard afterwards to get to the northward. So it happen'd six years before to the pink that set out for *New Spain*, after the galeon *St. Joseph* was cast away; for having run up to 35 deg. of lat. and not keeping up to that fame, it could never meet the *Senas* or weeds by reason of its being fallen to leeward; and all the *Seamen* had insensibly dy'd for want of meat and drink, had not providence provided they should put into an unknown island in the lat. of 18 deg. 20 min. which being found on *St. Sebastian's* day, had his name given it. Here they got water out of a little lake; and flesh by killing abundance of birds, which the *Spaniards* call *Bebos*, or fools (elsewhere spoken of)



4 min. *Thursday* by E. and after-  
 ming to E. S. E.  
 and by E. and  
 wind blowing S.  
 id running further  
 tack'd about to  
 ing hard at E. S.  
 observ'd the sky  
 a small rain fell,  
*Garcia*. *Satur-*  
 ek'd about to N.  
 continuing. The  
 the Indians and  
 ies were most ten-  
 , by reason of the  
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 fuid; at night we  
 contrary; and at  
 ne wind at N. N.  
 on *Monday* 15th,  
 and before noon  
 E. we were forc'd  
 upon observation  
 made southward.  
 d. *Tuesday* 16th,  
 stood N. E. but  
 oblig'd us to steer  
 by N. The lat.  
 rain which fell all  
 ales and chests of  
*China* to the great  
 were becalm'd, the  
 -set the wind came  
 us steer east, but  
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 ships ule to take in  
 o, because if they  
 s enough to the  
 meet the *Son-*  
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 ard from the coast  
 ia, it will be very  
 o the northward.  
 before to the pink  
 y, after the galeon  
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 id not keeping up-  
 er meet the *Son-*  
 being fallen to lee-  
 en had infallibly  
 id drink, had not  
 should put into  
 lat. of 18 deg. 12 min.  
 and on *St. Sebastian*.  
 ven it. Here they  
 ke, and flesh by  
 y, which the *Spa-*  
 elfewhere spoken  
 of)

of which they carry'd salted in earthen  
 vessels. This island was small, plain, and  
 full of pleasant trees. After dinner the  
 wind came to north, and we sail'd E. and  
 by N. the lat. 36 deg. 30 min. *Friday*  
 19th, we were becalm'd, the lat. 36 deg.  
 19 min. the current driving us to south-  
 ward. The wind came up at S. W. and we  
 steer'd E. and by N. It blew hard at  
 night; and the major *Arambulo* began his  
 nine days devotion. *Saturday* 20th, held  
 the same course. A small rain quell'd the  
 wind. The lat. of 36 deg. 30 min. *Sun-*  
 day 21st, we had a troublesome calm, but  
 at length the wind came up at S. W. and  
 we steer'd E. and by N. the lat. 36 deg.  
 37 min. the needle varying a point east-  
 ward, we stood east to make the more  
 way. Tho' this variation be sometimes  
 more, and sometimes less, yet by it the  
 pilots know how far they are from land.  
 The fight of a dove rejoic'd all aboard,  
 taking it as a good omen of the success of  
 a voyage, and guessing we might see land  
 in less than a month. They thought that  
 dove might be drove by the wind from the  
 island they call of *D. Maria Laxara* (because  
 in that latitude a *Spanish* woman so call'd,  
 coming from *Manila*, cast her self into the sea)  
 where there is such abundance of them that  
 they darken the air: yet they are not land  
 doves, tho' like them in beak and feathers,  
 but of the sea, and have feet like ducks.  
 This island is in the lat. of 31 deg. *Monday*  
 22d, the wind continu'd to blow hard at  
 S. W. as it had done the night before, so  
 we steer'd E. and by N. but at night it  
 came to N. N. W. *Tuesday* 23d, before  
 day the wind settled at N. blowing so hard,  
 that the galeon made much way E. and by  
 N. the lat. 36 deg. 16 min.

There is no doubt but this voyage has  
 always been dangerous and dreadful. In  
 1575, the ship *Espritu Santo*, or the *Holy*  
*Ghost*, was cast away at *Catanduanes*, through  
 the ignorance of the pilot, who could not  
 find out the *Emboccadero*, or mouth of the  
 strait. In 1596, the contrary winds  
 drove the galeon *St. Philip* as far as *Japan*;  
 where it was taken by way of reprisal with  
 all the lading design'd for *New Spain*;  
 which gave occasion to the emperor *Tayco-*  
*fama*, then reigning, to persecute the christi-  
 ans, wherein he proceeded so far as to put  
 to death *F. Peter*, a *Recolet*, who went thi-  
 ther from *Manila* with the character of am-  
 bassador, the better to exercise the function  
 of a missionary. In 1602, two other gale-  
 ons were cast away, and others after that.  
 Nor is the difficulty and danger any less at  
 present; though the voyage has been us'd  
 almost two ages; for many galeons are  
 lost; and others having spent their masts,  
 or drove by contrary winds return, when

they are half way over, after losing many *GEMEL-*  
 men at sea, and the best but ill condition'd,  
 as happen'd to the galeon *Santo Christo* not  
 long since.

The wind continu'd to blow hard at  
 north all night, and *Wednesday* 24th, and  
 put us on E. and by N. Abundance of  
 pigeons were seen about the ship. The cap-  
 tain because of the sharpness of the wea-  
 ther caus'd some wine of palm-tree to be  
 distributed among the sailors, to warm their  
 stomachs. The lat. 35 deg. 45 min. The  
 pump was play'd eight or ten times in 24  
 hours, the ship made so much water. The  
 wind from north came to N. N. E. which  
 oblig'd the pilot to back the main-sail,  
 keeping her head E. S. E. that she might  
 not fall away to the southward. *Thursday*  
 25th, we continu'd the same method lying  
 sometimes one way, and sometimes another,  
 to rack the galeon the less; and found  
 the lat. but 35 deg. 10 min. The wind  
 blowing harder at night, the two top-masts  
 were struck. A great shower of rain laid  
 the wind, and calm'd the sea; yet we lay  
 by most part of the day, the rain continu-  
 ing with thunder and lightning. These  
 were look'd upon as tokens of our being  
 near the continent, or at least some island;  
 some being of opinion that thunder and  
 lightning could not be produced, but from  
 the fiery exhalations of the earth; and not  
 from vapours rising out of the water; as if  
 in the air over the water, there might not  
 be much nitre, sulphur, and the like, to  
 occasion thunder and lightning. At night  
 we steer'd N. and by E. the wind at E.  
 and E. N. E. Three hours in the stormy  
 night, that light the sailors call *Santelmo*,  
 appear'd on the round top, and was salu-  
 ted by all the passengers as the fore-runner  
 of fair weather. *Saturday* 27th, we steer'd  
 first N. N. E. and then E. and by N. the  
 wind at E. and E. S. E. with much rain.  
*Sunday* 28th, the thunder and rain conti-  
 nu'd, and the two top-masts being hoisted  
 again, we steer'd first E. and by N. and  
 then E. N. E. and lastly, N. E. the wind  
 being at S. S. E. S. E. and E. S. E. the  
 lat. 36 deg. 10 min. The wind grew more  
 favourable at night, and so we sail'd E. N.  
 E. to gain the latitude we had lost against  
 our wills. The sky clearing on *Monday*  
 29th, the sun shin'd out bright to cheer  
 the hearts of the passengers, who had been  
 so many days buried under dark fogs, and  
 rains, the wind coming to S. W. we steer'd  
 E. and by N.

The poor people stow'd in the cabbins Hardships  
 of the galeon bound towards the Land of abroad.  
*Promise of New Spain*, endure no less hard-  
 ships than the children of *Israel* did, when  
 they went from *Egypt* towards *Palestine*.  
 There is hunger, thirst, sickness, cold, con-  
 tinual

GEMEL-tinual watching, and other sufferings; besides the terrible shocks from side to side, 1697. caus'd by the furious beating of the waves. I may further say they endure all the plagues God sent upon *Pharaoh* to soften his hard heart; for if he was infected with leprosy, the galeon is never clear of an universal raging itch, as an addition to all other miseries. If the air then was fill'd with gnats; the ship swarms with little vermine, the *Spaniards* call *Gorgojos*, bred in the biscuit; so swift that they in a short time not only run over cabbins, beds, and the very dishes the men eat on, but insensibly fasten upon the body. Instead of the locusts, there are several other sorts of vermin of sundry colours, that suck the blood. Abundance of flies fall into the dishes of broth, in which there also swim worms of several sorts. In short, if *Moses* miraculously converted his rod into a serpent; aboard the galeon a piece of flesh, without any miracle, is converted into wood, and in the shape of a serpent. I had a good share in the misfortunes; for the boat-swain, with whom I had agreed for my diet, as he had fowls at his table the first days, so when we were out of sea he made me fast after the *Armenian* manner, having banish'd from his table all wine, oil and vinegar; dressing his fish with fair water and salt. Upon flesh days he gave me *Tassajos Fritos*, that is, steaks of beef, or buffalo, dry'd in the sun, or wind, which are so hard that it is impossible to eat them, without they are first well beaten, like stockfish; nor is there any digesting them without the help of a purge. At dinner another piece of that same sticky flesh was boil'd, without any other sauce but its own hardness, and fair water. At last he depriv'd me of the satisfaction of gnawing a good biscuit, because he would spend no more of his own, but laid the king's allowance on the table; in every mouthful whereof there went down abundance of maggots, and *Gorgojos* chew'd and bruis'd. On fish days the common diet was old rank fish boil'd in fair water and salt; at noon we had *Mongos*, something like kidney beans, in which there were so many maggots, that they swam at top of the broth, and the quantity was so great, that besides the loathing they caus'd, I doubted whether the dinner was fish or flesh. This bitter fare was sweeten'd after dinner with a little water and sugar; yet the allowance was but a small cocoa shell full, which rather increas'd than quench'd drought. Providence reliev'd us for a month with the sharks and *Cacborretas* the seamen caught, which, either boil'd or broil'd, were some comfort. Yet he is to be pity'd who has another at his table; for the tediousness of the voyage is the cause of

all these hardships. 'Tis certain, they that take this upon them, lay out thousands of pieces of eight, in making the necessary provision of flesh, fowl, fish, biscuit, rice, sweetmeats, chocolate, and other things; and the quantity is so great, that during the whole voyage, they never fail of sweetmeats at table, chocolate twice a day, of which last the sailors and grummetts make as great a consumption, as the richest. Yet at last the tediousness of the voyage makes an end of all; and the more, because in a short time all the provisions grew naught, except the sweetmeats and chocolate, which are the only comfort of passengers. Abundance of poor sailors fell sick, being expos'd to the continual rains, cold, and other hardships of the season; yet they were not allow'd to taste of the good biscuit, rice, fowls, *Spanish* bread, and sweetmeats. put into the custody of the master by the king's order, to be distributed among the sick; for the honest master spent all at his own table. Notwithstanding the dreadful sufferings in this prodigious voyage, yet the desire of gain prevails with many to venture through it, four, six, and some ten times. The very sailors, though they forswear the voyage when out at sea; yet when they come to *Acapulco*, for the lure of two hundred seventy five pieces of eight, the king allows them for the return, never remember past sufferings; like women after their labour. The whole pay is three hundred and fifty pieces of eight; but they have only seventy five paid them at *Cavite*, when they are bound for *America*; for if they had half, very few would return to the *Philippine* islands for the rest. The merchants, there is no doubt, get by this voyage, an hundred and fifty, or two hundred *per cent.* and factors have nine in the hundred, which in two or three hundred thousand pieces of eight amounts to money. And indeed it is a great satisfaction to return home in less than a year with seventeen or eighteen thousand pieces of eight clear gains, besides a man's own venture; a sum that may make a man ease as long as he lives. Captain *Emanuel Arguelles* told me, that he without having any employment, should clear to himself that voyage by commissions twenty five or thirty thousand pieces of eight. It was reckon'd the pilot would make twenty thousand pieces of eight; his mates nine thousand each. The captain of the galeon forty thousand. The master, his mate, and boatwain, who may put aboard several bales of goods, may make themselves rich in one voyage. He that borrows money at fifty *per cent.* may get as much more, without standing to the hazard of losses. These extraordinary gains induce

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induce many to expose themselves to so many dangers and miseries. For my own part, these or greater hopes shall not prevail with me to undertake the voyage again, which is enough to destroy a man, or make him unfit for any thing as long as he lives. I have made this digression to shew the reader through what thorns men must venture to come at the so much coveted roses of riches. The *Spaniards*, and other geographers, have given this the name of the *Pacific Sea*, as may be seen in the maps; but it does not suite with its tempestuous and dreadful motion, for which it ought rather to be call'd the *Reflux*. But the truth is, the *Spaniards* gave it this fine name in failing from *Acapulco* to the *Philippine* islands, which is perform'd very easily in three months, without any boisterous motion in the sea, and always before the wind, as was said before.

*Tuesday* 30th, the wind blowing hard at S. W. we steer'd E. and by N. but afterwards the wind came about to the west stormy, the lat. 36 deg. 40 min. and we steer'd E. N. E. it being requisite to get more to the northward. That night the waves beat so violently that ten men were fain to stand to the helm. *Wednesday* 31st, the day broke with the wind at N. W. which made us steer E. and by N. A piece of wood being seen on the sea about eight spans long, and wrought, it was look'd upon as a token of being near land; but it might as well be the sign of a wreck. No observation was taken.

The month of *October* ending with so many hardships, the sky appear'd serene, and the sea calm on *Thursday* the 1st of *November*. At night the wind was N. W. and came to W. we steer'd E. N. E. the lat. 37 deg. 18 min. All the night the wind blew hard at N. W. and so continu'd *Friday* 2d, without any alteration, and we held on our course E. N. E. the lat. 37 deg. 10 min. and therefore perceiving we fell off to southward, by reason of the currents, we stood N. E. and by E. *Saturday* 3d, the wind turn'd to N. N. W. and therefore we steer'd E. N. E. We saw another piece of wood, but not wrought, which confirm'd the hopes of our being near land; notwithstanding the pilots, being deceiv'd by the currents which ran E. reckon'd themselves above an hundred leagues further off. The wind at night coming up again at N. W. we fail'd N. E. and by E. afterwards it chang'd to N. N. E. and we stood E. *Sunday* 4th, the wind being more favourable steer'd, E. N. E. the lat. 37 deg. 14 min. *Monday* 5th, wind at N. W. course N. E. and by E. lat. 39 deg. 2 min. Afterwards we stood E. and the wind coming scant at night we

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run E. S. E. *Tuesday* 6th, fail'd E. and *GEMEL*. E. S. E. the wind being at N. N. E. we found we were fallen to southward, the lat. 1697. being 36 deg. 40 min. nor could it be otherwise as long as that wind continu'd. At night the wind N. N. E. fail'd E. *Wednesday* 7th, the wind coming to N. E. we stood E. S. E. the lat. 36 deg. 10 min. At night we tack'd about to N. N. W. to avoid falling off any more to southward. *Thursday* 8th, held the same course, the lat. 36 deg. 13 min. The moon was eclips'd at night, but could not be seen by reason of the clouds. *Friday* 9th, in the morning the wind N. N. E. and therefore we steer'd N. W. and by W. lat. 36 deg. 17 m. *Saturday* 10th, the same wind continu'd, lat. 36 deg. 40 min. *Sunday* 11th, the wind at east, we stood N. N. E. lat. 37 deg. 25 min. *Monday* 12th, wind E. S. E. fail'd N. E. and then E. N. E. lat. 38 deg. *Tuesday* 13th, the wind S. fail'd E. and by N. The cold began to nip, and the few provisions there were left corrupted. They were therefore us'd very sparingly, and in the best messes; they gave a dish of chocolate in the morning betimes, some other small matter two hours before noon, and the dinner late. In the evening they gave another dish of chocolate, and later some sweetmeats without any supper. The wind veer'd quite round the compass, *Wednesday* 14th, the S. W. wind put us on a great rate, but in the evening it came to west. We saw a large branch of a tree with small boughs brought by the current from the continent. No observation could be taken. *Thursday* 15th, we made good way E. and by N. the wind continuing at W. but afterwards came to N. W. the latitude by observation 39; and we stood N. E. and by E. to get more to northward, for fear the wind should come to N. E. Abundance of *Tonians*, or tunny fishes were seen about the galeon, which they say do not go far from land. After mid-night the wind came again to S. and S. E. which continu'd all *Friday* 16th, and at night chang'd to W. S. W. our course was E. N. E. No observation could be taken. At night the wind at south.

*Saturday* 17th, it blew hard at S. W. The *Indians* born at *Manila*, where they are always in a sweat, could not endure the cold of this climate. We held on our course E. N. E. but only under a fore-fail, because it blew a storm. The same weather lasted *Sunday* so furious, that there was no faying masts. The wind afterwards falling, and coming again to N. W. we held on our course E. N. E. the lat. 39 degrees 20 min. In the evening the wind came again to S. W. and lasted part of *Monday* 19th, then changing to W. but blowing hard

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GEMEL- we would carry no more but a fore-fail and top-fail; the lat. 39 deg. 38 min. so that the pilots thinking we had no occasion to gain more to northward, we stood E. and by N. and the rather, because at night the wind came to N. W. At sun-set about fifty ducks flew over our prow, which made us conclude we were near land. *Tuesday* 20th, steer'd east, which was our proper course. That day the north wind blew the coldest we had yet felt, and it hail'd for half an hour, which I had never seen since I left *Europe*. This made the *Blacks* aboard creep into the very hen-coops; and those that got under the deck could not be got out at night to do their business, if they had beaten 'em never so much; so that they poison'd the place where they lay, and in the morning all was full of complaints of the seamen. The lat. was found to be 39 deg. 20 min. having lost 18 min. of elevation. Afterwards the head pilot and his two mates declar'd how much they had been mistaken: The first reckon'd we were ninety leagues from land, the other seventy, and the other sixty under cape *Mendocino*. The north wind continued cold, with hail, and we held our course east. *Wednesday* 21st, being the last day, within which I had laid a wager that we should see land; none being seen, I lost a pair of gold buttons with emeralds in 'em; the lat. 38 deg. 45 min. At night the wind came to west, somewhat stormy, and grew still more boisterous till four of the clock; after which we saw the light they call *Santelmo*, on the main, and fore-round-top, which was fluted by all, as a good omen. The ship roul'd much all night, and the wind coming to N. W. we sail'd E. and by N. *Thursday* 22d, we stood the same course, the wind at N. N. E. lat. 38 deg. 3 min. Finding we fell away to southward, by reason of the current, which ran S. E. we back'd our main-fail. A great storm of hail fell, and the wind blew hard in the night at north, swelling the sea, which made us beat furiously.

*Friday* 23d, the wind N. N. W. with hail and rain. The galeon lay with the sails back'd, very much to's'd; the lat. 37 min. less than the day before, the wind and current driving us to southward; so our latitude was 37 degrees 26 min. The pilot, perceiving he fell off from the land by losing latitude, stood his course N. E. and by E. the wind being N. N. W. *Saturday* 24th, in the morning the wind N. W. sail'd N. E. and at night with a gale at W. S. W. stood E. N. E. This day we saw another large piece of a tree in the sea. At night it blew a storm at W. with a rowling sea, and we saw *Santelmo* on the round a third time.

*Sunday* 25th, held the same course, but began to be out of hopes of seeing the *Senas*, or weeds, tho' we were run as many leagues as the pilots had calculated would bring us near land. A violent wind with hail beat the ship, but at the same time drove it on a great rate. The wind still rising, after noon we steer'd N. E. and by E. to discover land, or the *Senas* or weeds. At night we ran E. N. E. and E. S. E. the pilot altering his course as the wind chang'd. The storm lasted all night, the sea running so high, and beating with such fury, that twelve men could hardly manage the helm. At midnight the light *Santelmo* appear'd the fourth time above the main-mast, but the storm continued at west. *Monday* 26th, held on our course E. and E. N. E. with a boisterous sea, but made much way; the lat. 37 deg. 15 min. *Tuesday* 27th, the fury of the storm began to abate, after it had toil'd us for three days, tho' we ran before the wind, which now coming to S. W. we stood E. the lat. 37 deg. 45 min. At night there blew a storm, which oblig'd the pilot to back his main-fail, tho' the wind was fair. *Wednesday* 28th, the wind blowing furiously at S. W. we ran E. and by S. the lat. 37 deg. 20 min. For fear of being ashore, we lay by all night. *Thursday* 29th, the wind continued in the same place, but not so violent, with much rain. The wind came to N. W. and then to S. W. so we ran to E. *Friday* 30th, we held the same course, the lat. 37 deg. 16 min. but the wind at night coming to S. W. we steer'd E. and by N. with much rain.

*Saturday* the 1st of *December*, we held the same course, the wind at first being S. and afterwards S. W. That day a sailor dy'd, and was presently thrown overboard, being the first we lost, notwithstanding all our sufferings. There was no other distemper among us but a raging itch, caus'd by the salt meat. *Sunday* 2d, steer'd upon the same point, the wind at S. and afterwards at S. W. *Monday* 3d, the lat. 38 deg. we stood E. and then S. E. the wind at W. This day we saw other signs of land, which was still distant from us, tho' we made much way. It rejoic'd all aboard to see a very long weed, with a root like an onion, which they said had been pull'd up from the mouth of some river, by the violence of the sea. Hereupon the sailors (according to custom having power so to do) took the bell and carried it to the prow; and the judges they chose of their court (call'd in jest the court of *Senas*, or of *Signs*) made proclamation to try the officers of the ship. *Te Deum* was sung, and all persons congratulated one another with the sound of drums and trumpets, as if we had been in our port, whereas we were then seven hundred leagues

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course, but being the *Senas*, many leagues would bring us with hail beat me drove it on till rising, after by E. to discover. At night E. the pilot al- chang'd. The sea running so much fury, that manage the helm. *Atelmo* appear'd main-mast, but Monday 26th, E. N. E. with a much way; the Tuesday 27th, the abate, after it says, tho' we ran now coming to 37 deg. 45 min. in, which oblig'd in-fail, tho' the wind 28th, the wind we ran E. and in. For fear of night. At night, I continued in the same with much rain, and then to S. W. both, we held the deg. 16 min. but to S. W. we much rain. December, we held at first being S. that day a sailor trown overboard, withstanding all no other disem- itch, caus'd by steer'd upon the land afterwards lat. 38 deg. we wind at W. s of land, which tho' we made aboard to see a like an onion, bull'd up from the violence of ors (according do) took the row; and the court (call'd in f Signs) made persons congra- bound of drums been in our seven hundred leagues

leagues from it. This unseasonable rejoicing was caus'd by that long and dreadful voyage of above three thousand leagues; which makes them think themselves in the port when they have seven hundred leagues to it. The failor who first saw the weed had a chain of gold given him by the captain, and at least fifty pieces of eight by the passengers, and others. It now appear'd that the pilots had mistaken above two hundred leagues in their accounts. That night we were becalm'd, and upon Tuesday morning, it blew gently at south, which made us stand east. Mass was sung in thanksgiving, and indeed 'twas a great mercy that the wind had for twenty days blown hard, right a-stern of us; for the pilots had not manag'd it so well, lying upon the tack between north and south, without advancing on our way. That day we saw a fish the *Spaniards* call *Lobillo*, with a head and ears like a dog, and a tail like that they paint the mermaids with; and with it another weed like a sugar-cane, with a large root. These being both signs of land, we alter'd our course from E. to S. E. and by E. and thus fell off from the land to make it more to southward, as is generally practis'd when they meet the *Senas*, or weeds. At night the S. W. blew harder. By reason of the great rain that fell, the judges put off holding their court till Wednesday the 5th, but the bad weather would not allow of it then. We steer'd E. S. E. because the wind was come to S. S. E. Abundance of *Lobillos* were seen, as also of the weeds before mention'd, call'd *Porras*, with fresh roots several spans in length. The wind coming up contrary at night, we lay by.

Thursday 6th, we steer'd S. E. and by E. the wind S. S. W. which afterwards came to W. S. W. the rain and dull weather continuing, and a boisterous sea. At night, the wind being contrary, we lay by. Friday 7th, in the morning died another sick man, who was thrown overboard. About noon we fail'd S. E. and S. E. and by E. the wind being S. S. W. A canopy being set up for the sailors court of *Senas*, or signs, after dinner the two *Oydores* or judges, and the president, took their seats, being clad after a ridiculous manner. They began with the captain of the galeon, chief pilot, under-pilot, master, mate, and other officers of the ship; and after them proceeded to the trial of the passengers. The clerk read every man's indictment, and then the judges pass'd sentence of death, which was immediately bought off with money, chocolate, sugar, biscuit, flesh, sweetmeats, wine, and the like. The best of it was, that he who did not pay immediately, or give good security, was laid on

with a rope's end, at the least sign given GEMEL- by the president-tarpaulin. I was told, a LI. passenger was once kill'd aboard a galeon, 1697. by keel-haling him; for no words or authority can check or persuade a whole ship's crew. I did not escape being try'd, it being laid to my charge, that I eat too much of the fish they call *Cacborretas*. The sport lasted till night, and then all the fines were divided among the failors and grummetts, according to custom. The lat. this day was found to be 37 deg. 50 min.

Saturday 8th, the wind being at W. we fail'd S. E. and then the wind growing scant, we steer'd E. S. E. At night we lay by, the wind being contrary. Sunday 9th, the wind blowing very hard at S. W. we steer'd S. E. the lat. was 37 deg. 38 min. That night we held on our course S. S. E. for fear of land, because there had been seen some snakes in the sea, brought out of the rivers by the tide. Monday 10th, steer'd S. E. with the wind at W. the lat. 37 deg. 10 min. for the sails being bad, the galeon made little way. All that night we lay by; as also Tuesday 11th, the wind being contrary. Here our mizen-sail was put up, which had been taken down at the *Embocadero*, or mouth of the chanel among the Philippine islands. We did not make any way till Wednesday 12th, when we flood E. S. S. and E. and by S. to discover land. The anchors were also taken up which had some months been buried in the hold; the lat. was 37 deg. This day one of those weeds call'd *Borras* was taken up, 25 spans long, as thick as a man's arm towards the root, and as small as a finger at the other end. 'Twas hollow within, like an onion run to seed, the root, as has been said, resembling it at the smallest end: from the thick part there grew out long leaves, after the manner of sea-grass, two fingers broad, and about six spans in length, all equally long, and of a yellowish colour. Some question'd whether the thick or the thin end were the root; for, not considering the nature of weeds that grow in the water; they could not persuade themselves that the thick part, being the top of the plant, could bear up, notwithstanding they saw the shells of fishes sticking to the small end; for this plant grows on the rocks under water. Indeed 'tis the largest that ever I have seen in so many countries I have travel'd. I tasted, and found it not unfavoury; and some failors put it into vinegar to eat it. At night, instead of gaining, we lost ground, the ship's head lying west for fear of land. Thursday 13th, we again steer'd S. E. and by E. with a S. W. wind, all the anchors being ready, to make use of 'em in time of need. After noon the wind came to N. N. W. and therefore we ran that night



GEMEL. night S. E. Friday 14th, holding the same course with the same northerly wind, we discover'd to the eastward, in the lat. of 36 deg. the island of St. Catherine, twelve leagues distant from the continent, and a little beyond the bay of *Toque*. Here are five small islands, and St. Catherine's is the largest, and inhabited by savage Indians. Any man may guess what a joyful sight this was to us, after having seen nothing for so many months but sky and water, the latit. was found to be 36 deg. 4 min. Towards evening we perceiv'd the aforesaid island of St. Catherine was longish, we having sail'd along one side of it. Saturday 15th, we again saw land, steering S. E. and by S. on a calm sea, as 'tis always observ'd to be near the coast. The wind coming to N. W. blew harder, we being in the lat. of 35 deg. 11 min. This day the few cannon the ship had were taken out of the hold, to be placed on their carriages; as also the pieces to make the new boat, instead of that we turn'd adrift. A fair stiff gale continuing at night N. W. we sail'd south-east and by south, and so continued all Sunday. Every body began to take heart, with the hopes of being speedily deliver'd from so many sufferings, and particularly from stinking provisions, which began to breed diseases; the lat. upon observation was found to be 33 deg. 49 min. Monday 17th, we steer'd the same course, with the wind at west; the lat. 32 degrees 27 min. About night, one of the pilot's two mates died, when, by reason of his robust constitution, he least expected death, so that with much difficulty he was persuaded to make his confession, but a few hours before he expir'd.

Tuesday 18th, all the masses having been said for the dead man, and other rites perform'd, he was thrown into the sea, with an earthen vessel ty'd to his feet. We sail'd S. E. with a N. W. wind; the lat. 31 deg. 10 min. The same day another sailor died, the same wind continuing. Wednesday 19th, we held on the same course, and they work'd at the boat, the stillness of the sea giving way to it. This night died the second captain of the galeon, whom the Spaniards call *Capitan de mar y guerra*, the chief commander being call'd by the great name of *General*; he li'd of the disease, call'd *Berben*. Tho' there be no soldiers aboard the galeon, yet the governor of *Manila*, besides the commander in chief, call'd *General*, as I said before, appoints a major, a captain, and a royal ensign; who have these titles without any command at all. When the galeon returns to *Manila*, it carries 250 or 300 soldiers, under fifteen or sixteen captains, who

buy those commissions for the honour; but as soon as they come to *Manila*, are reform'd, as the *Neapolitans* are serv'd when they go to *Flanders* or *Milan*. There are two dangerous diseases in this voyage, more especially as they draw near the coast of *America*; one is the aforesaid *Berben*, which swells the body, and makes the patient die talking: The other is call'd the *Dutch* disease, which makes all the mouth sore, purifies the gums, and makes the teeth drop out. The best remedy against it, is going ashore. This is no other but the sea scurvy. The same wind continued Thursday 20th, and we steer'd S. E. and by E. so that by break of day we found our selves opposite to the island *Cenifar*, ten leagues distant from the continent, and coast close under it. The length of it is about eleven leagues, and the breadth four, and in some places six, but 'tis naked of trees, and uncropeled. Then we left the island of *Guadalupe* on our right hand, to westward, which the galeons generally make, because 'tis far from the continent. After saying five masses for the dead captain, he was cast into the sea: The latitude was found to be 29 degrees 9 minutes, and we steer'd S. E. and by S. Next we discover'd the island *Cerros*, 17 leagues distant from the continent, 'Tis 36 leagues in compass, and two high promontories at its extremities make it resemble a saddle. At night we alter'd our course, for fear of being foul on the island; yet we perceiv'd in the dark we were very near it, which put us into some fear, so we tack'd about to west and by north, standing almost back, Friday 21st, we found our selves opposite to the same island, and the wind blowing at north, we steer'd S. E. we found we had but 28 degrees of lat. The same wind held all night; and on Saturday 22d, in the morning, the wind at N. N. W. we sail'd S. E. the lat. 26 deg. 35 min. Sunday 23d, held the same course, with the same wind, the lat. 25 deg. 19 min. and then we steer'd S. E. and by S. Monday 24th, the wind being N. W. (which is frequent those months on that coast) we sail'd S. E. to make the land, which lies N. W. and S. E. from *Acapulco*, to cape *Mendocino*. The same day proclamation was made by beat of drum, to discover all goods that were out of the hold, for them to pay the king's duties for the galeon. Tuesday 25th, five masses were said after midnight, in honour of the nativity of our Lord. We still steer'd E. S. E. to discover land; the lat. 23 deg. 56 min. Having fired ten cannon, and settled 'em in their places, all persons had muskets given 'em, to defend themselves against enemies

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mies, that are often met on the coast of California. At sun-set we discover'd land, but at a great distance, so that we held on our course at night, with the same N. W. wind. The same we did on Wednesday 26th, coasting along a high country, opposite to cape St. Luke, the current driving us on towards *Acapulco*. This day we pass'd out of the *Temperate* into the *Torrid Zone*, for upon observation, we found 23 deg. 23 min. lat. and consequently we began to feel the heat. All night the wind shifted, till it forced us to steer N. E. and after that it fell altogether. Thursday 27th, the wind being W. we steer'd S. S. E. because we discover'd a high land near on the east side, beyond cape St. Luke; the lat. 23 deg. 10 min. Friday 28th, about break of day we found our selves directly opposite to cape St. Luke, which may be call'd a bald promontory, because there is no sign of any trees on it. The lat. of it, is 22 deg. 35 min. and there is a small island close to the point.

California. In the year 1595 the galeon *St. Augustin*, which was cast away in the port de los Reyes, was sent to discover this land, as yet unknown. In 1602, the count de Monterey, who then govern'd *New Spain*, by his majesty's command sent thither *Sebastian Biscaino*, with two ships and a tender. He sail'd from the port of *Acapulco*, and having discover'd all the coast, as far as cape *Mendocino*, and the neighbouring islands, made a sea chart of the whole. This chart I saw, with the journal belonging to it, for one of the pilots mates had it; and there I read, that he had talk'd with savage Indians, in several places, and found them well temper'd, loving, and some of them inclinable to entertain friendship with the Spaniards; which made them invite the people aboard the ships to their huts, about port *Monterey*, in the lat. of 37 deg. That he found the same inclination in the inhabitants of the small islands on the coast; but that the Spaniards must be upon their guard against the Indians of the bay of *St. Quintin*, in the lat. of 32 deg. and against those who live along the shore, in the lat. of 27 deg. because they are warlike and faithless. The religious man who writes this account, says, the aforementioned port of *Monterey* has water enough; and that about it there is timber to build ships, and for other uses; that there is plenty of game on the neighbouring mountains, that is, bears, deer, and other beasts, and of wild fowl in the plain, as also of ducks in the lakes; that six leagues N. W. of the port, there is a rapid river, which has at least seven fathom water, and another like it in the lat. of 41 deg. whose current is so strong, that they could not get up it with all

their sails aboard. He also reckons the aforementioned port de los Reyes, where the galeon *St. Augustin* was lost, a good one; that of *D. Gasper* in the lat. of 38, and others that have waters enough; giving an account of their depth or shallowness. He gives other particulars, which not belonging to our journal, but to the pilots of those parts, I shall forbear to set down. I shall only observe, what I think most strange, which is, that in those same ports, there is such abundance of good fish (besides the whales out at sea) that with a hook, in a day, a good vessel might be stor'd, or almost loaded. The inhabitants of those parts use canoes, or boats, like those of the *Marian* islands, as well for pearl as for other fishing. Those that inhabit along the coast of that streight, which separates *California* from the continent, use boats made of small pieces of wood bound together, call'd by the Spaniards *Balsas*, that is, floats. They are safe on them, being excellent swimmers; nor do they value half their body being in the water, because they go naked, covering only their privities with barks of trees, and therefore are not afraid of wetting their cloths. Ashore they lye, where night overtakes them. In winter they warm the ground with fire, and putting away the coals, lie down in the hot ashes. They have several languages; and among them some are mortal enemies, on account of their savage jurisdiction. Their weapons are long spears, with the points of wood hardened at the fire; and arrows headed with flint. They eat raw fish, and exchange pearls, in which all that coast abounds, and the more because the fishery is forbid the Spaniards, and conquer'd Indians, for knives and other trifles, having no knowledge of money. The author of the aforesaid account says nothing of the religion of these people, or of the product of the earth, as things not belonging to the profession of a sailor. But we are told they are idolaters, like all the rest, and that they live upon what they kill, upon roots, herbs, and Indian figs, call'd *Pitaxavas*, or *Tunas*, whereof there is great plenty in the country. These ships spent some months in their voyage to cape *Mendocino* (lying in the lat. of 41 deg. 20 min. whole top is bare of trees, and always cover'd with snow) where many of his men dy'd, and the rest came away sick, being pierced by the violent cold. Thus they were forced to turn back from the aforesaid cape, tho' they saw another at some distance, which they call'd *Cabo Blanco*, or *White Cape*, set down in the maps, in the lat. of 43 deg. In the year 1684 the marquis de la Laguna, or of the lake, governing *New Spain*, with the general applause of all men, two other

GEMEL-ships with a tender were sent thither, with  
 L. I. several missionaries aboard, to draw those peo-  
 1697. ple out of the darkness of idolatry. They  
 kept within cape St. Luke in the lat. of 22  
 deg. and entering the freight between it  
 and the continent run up a hundred and  
 eighty two leagues to 29 deg. of lat. where  
 finding the freight but seven leagues over,  
 they turn'd back for fear of the flats and cur-  
 rents, which ran very strong in that narrow.  
 From the violence of these currents they  
 concluded that the freight has a communi-  
 cation with the north sea, and that *Californi-  
 a* is an island. But on the other side the  
 flats, the want of water, and narrowness of  
 the channel, shew there is no passage much  
 further, and that *California* is part of the  
 continent. They add, That this continent  
 borders upon *Great Tartary*; and the *Je-  
 suits* of *Peking*, *Macao*, and *Canton*, told  
 me, That whilst *F. Martin Martinez* was  
 missionary at *Peking*, a christian woman of  
*Mexico* was brought thither a slave, who  
 going to him to confession, and being ask'd  
 how she came to be a slave, said she had  
 been made a slave in her infancy in *Mexico*,  
 and that she was carry'd thence by land into  
 the *Great Tartary*, and lastly into *China*:  
 Moreover, that in so long a journey she had  
 been carry'd in a boat, but that only to  
 cross over some freight, at farthest, not above  
 two days sail over. This is suppos'd to be  
 the freight of *Ayan*; through which some  
 will say a *Dutch* ship sail'd out of the south  
 into the north sea. The ships returning an-  
 chor'd in the bay, and port of *St. Bar-  
 naby*, where having built some huts on the  
 shore, the poor *Indians* came to them ra-  
 ther to satisfy their corporal hunger, than  
 to cure the distemper of their souls. They  
 devour'd all the *Spaniards* gave them; but  
 refus'd cloaths to cover their nakedness. A-  
 board our galeon was a religious man of the  
 order of *St. John de Dios*, who had been  
 aboard one of those ships. He told me,  
 the king's design had no success, because  
 the commodore spent five days to no pur-  
 pose at the aforelaid cape, but to his own  
 benefit, exchanging trifles with those wretch-  
 es for good pearls; that the *Indians* brought  
 no other provisions, but fish, which they  
 eat raw, roots, and herbs. That before he  
 went off, the commodore, to revenge the  
 death of a grummet kill'd by those barbar-  
 ians, loaded a cannon with partridge-shot,  
 and when those wretches came to gather up  
 the scraps the *Spaniards* had left, he fir'd it  
 upon them, killing two, and wounding fe-  
 ral others. So that it is not to be questi-  
 on'd, that if any other *European* should re-  
 sort to those parts, they would be ill re-  
 ceiv'd.

We steer'd next S. E. before a small gale  
 at N. W. to cross over the freight of *Califor-*

*formia*. *Saturday* 29th, we steer'd S. E. and  
 by E. with the wind at N. W. and  
 lost sight of land; the lat. 21 deg. 32  
 min. Then we stood E. S. E. and made  
 good way, at night the wind blowing hard  
 at north. *Sunday* 30th, the wind was quite  
 laid, and afterwards blew gently at N. N.  
 E. the lat. 20 degrees 45 min. Finding  
 that the current had carry'd the ship too far  
 from land driving it to southward, we stood  
 E. S. E. with but little wind. For this  
 reason on *Monday* 31st, we did not come  
 upon the three little islands call'd *Las tres  
 Marias*, that is, the *three Maryes*, as was  
 expected, our galeon being forty leagues  
 from cape St. Luke, and twenty from cape  
*Corrientes*, which make the mouth of the  
 freight of *California*. The three aforelaid  
 islands are ten leagues from the mouth of the  
 freight bearing N. E. and S. W. from it.  
 They have good trees and water, abundance  
 of game, and salt-pits; for which reason  
 the *English* and *French* pirates, who have  
 pass'd through the freight of *Magellan* to  
 rob upon the south sea, have sometimes  
 winter'd there. We found the lat. 20 deg.  
 24 min. At night there was but little wind.

*Tuesday* the first day of *January*, and of  
 the new year 1698, we were again becalm-  
 ed, and there appear'd abundance of *La-  
 billos* about the ship turning up their tails  
 and paws like jugglers dogs. We took five  
 good tortoises, whose flesh was exactly like  
 beef; but not so savory as ours in *Europe*;  
 the lat. was 20 deg. 11 min. The calm  
 held all night. *Wednesday* 2d, putting our  
*Parao*, or little boat, into the water, we took  
 seven tortoises that lay floating asleep; and  
 some sharks and dorees were struck with a  
 harping iron; the lat. 20 deg. 5 min.  
 About evening a small gale blew at N. W.  
 and at night drew to northward. Thus  
 holding on our course on *Thursday* 3d, we  
 discover'd the land of *New Spain*, a great  
 way beyond cape *Corrientes*. All the sea-  
 coast along here is inhabited by peaceable  
*Indians* from 20 deg. 55 min. We could  
 not get near the land because the current  
 beat us off; and for fear of certain flats  
 which lie opposite to cape *Corrientes*. Upon  
 an observation we found by three minutes  
 less latitude than the day before, and this  
 because we had steer'd all day and night,  
 and then E. and by S. Then we stood E.  
 S. E. to draw near land, and set ashore the  
 messenger who is to carry the letters to  
*Mexico*. We coasted along the said cape  
 at a great distance, where begins a ridge  
 of vast high mountains, call'd *Sancti*. At  
 night the little wind there was fell, and  
*Friday* 4th, we found we had made very  
 little way E. S. E. The N. W. wind,  
 which the *Spaniards* call *Virazon*, blowing  
 again, we advanced gently all that day, not  
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steer'd S. E. at N. W. and at 21 deg. 32 min. E. and made blowing hard wind was quite gently at N. N. min. Finding the ship too far toward, we flood wind. For this we did not come call'd *Las tres Muñes*, as was forty leagues twenty from cape mouth of the three afore said the mouth of the S. W. from it. water, abundance for which reason pirates, who have of *Magellan* to have sometimes the lat. 20 deg. as but little wind. *January*, and of again becau abundance of *Lo* up their tails fgs. We took five was exactly like ours in *Europe*; min. The calm 2d, putting our water, we took ting asleep; and re struck with a 20 deg. 5 min. e blew at N. W. thward. Thus *Thursday* 3d, we to *Spain*, a great s. All the sea ed by peaceable min. We could cause the current of certain flats *Corrientes*. Upon y three minutes before, and this day and night, hen we stood E. nd let afore the y the letters to g the said cape begins a ridge d'd *Sametia*. At e was tell, and had made very e N. W. wind, *blowing*, blowing all that day, not very

very far from the mountains (which they say are rich in gold and silver mines) seeing several small inakes of various colours swim by the galeon, which were brought by the current out of rivers. Before sun-set several mulkets were fir'd to give notice to the galleon, which is usually sent about that time from *Acapulco* to meet the galeon, or to have some boat of *Indians* come off with refreshments, but it was all in vain; only at night there were two fires seen upon the high barren mountains, suppos'd to be made by the country people. This night the wind blew sometimes at N. W. and sometimes at S. W. *Saturday* 5th, in the morning the new boat was launch'd, to land the messenger with the letters for *Mexico*, and *Madrid*. *F. Borgia*, a *Jesuit*, who had the *Dutch* disease, or scurvy, and other sick persons were also put aboard it, to be landed with all speed; but the news is known at *Mexico* by another express sent by the *Alcade* of a great ship seen at sea, which may as well be an enemy, they begin their prayers at *Mexico*, which are continu'd till the arrival of the messengers with the letters from aboard. When he arrives all the bells ring for joy; and this noise lasts, till a third express comes from *Acapulco*, who brings the viceroy advice of the galeon from *China*, being come to an anchor in the port. The city expresses the like joy upon the arrival of the *Flota*, the citizens having no less concern aboard it, and the same is done at *Manila* when the galeon returns.

The port of the *Nativity* is in the lat. of 19 deg. 33 min. has water enough for any ships, but there is a rock at the mouth of it. That of *Chiamela* is too shallow for any but small boats; but it is large, and shelter'd by several islands on the N. W. and S. E. and by the continent. It abounds in pearls, and good fish. All this tract of land from cape *Corrientes* to the port of the *Nativity*, is call'd *Nuevo Galicia*, and is inhabited by conquer'd *Indians*. After the calm, which generally happens every morning upon that coast, follows the *Virazon*, or settled breezes, beginning at S. W. and coming to N. W. The night we steer'd S. E. along the coast. *Sunday* 6th, being the fifth of the *Epiphany* we set forward on the rest of the way, which is counted eighty leagues from the *Nativity* of *Acapulco*, but let the pilots say what they please, they are full a hundred and fifty leagues. A gun was fir'd to give the guards on the coast to understand that the ship was a friend. At sun-set we found our selves opposite to the port and village of *Salaguna*. *Monday*

7th, steering W. N. W. before noon we came up with the port and burning mountain of *Colima*, where much salt is made, as well as at *Salaguna*. Still coasting along bare mountains, and steep rocks, about evening the wind having favour'd, we came upon the coast of *Motines*, or *Montinet*, as others will have it, because it is a space of land full of scattering small hills all alike. The country is almost desert, there being only here and there a village, some days journey distant from one another. *Thursday* 8th, we held the same course, but the little wind we had soon fail'd, and we found we had scarce gain'd 2 leagues all the day. In the evening a small gale came up at S. W. but fell again at night, so that we advanced not an inch. This coast of *Montines* is wonderful calm; the sky being free from clouds in the day, and at night serene, and the stars bright; especially after the rains are fallen, which begin in *June*, and last all *December*. *Wednesday* 9th, the calm continu'd, and the weather was as hot as the dog-days in *Italy*. At sun-set the wind came up at N. W. and last'd some few hours in the night. The calm held again *Thursday* 10th, only a small gale at N. W. blowing in the evening, which soon was over. *Friday* 11th, calm again, but late in the evening we had wind enough to come up with the port and village of *Signatanejo*, before which there are three rocks. Here is a good pearl fishery, and salt made. From this place the country appears not so barren, the mountains are cover'd with some small trees, and the sea abounds in several sorts of fish, whereof we saw shoals skud about the ship. The north wind blew as is usual on that coast, but we made little way, because it was none of the best for us. At break of day, *Saturday* 12th, we were still opposite to *Signatanejo*. The wind then quite fail'd, so that we lay all night in the same place with unsufferable heat.

*Sunday* 13th, the wind came a-head of us, so that we could do nothing but catch a number of *Cachorretas*, whereof, as of all other sorts of fish, there is great plenty along that coast. At length, after so many months the anchors were dropt about half a league from land, but at night we were plagu'd with abundance of gnats, and little flies, that stung most intolerably. The calm continu'd *Monday* 14th, and when it did not, the wind was contrary. We stood E. and E. S. E. changing our course as the land happen'd to wind. *Tuesday* 15th, in the morning the wind came up north, which set us forward. The boat return'd with but little fresh provision bringing an account that the letter-carrier finding nobody in the port of the *Nativity* that could furnish him with horses,

GEMEL-horles, caus'd himself to be carry'd to the port of *Siguatanejo*; where some fishers of 1697. pearls had found him horles to go to *Mexico*, and that the rest had set forward, some by sea, and some by land. It also brought

the news of the arrival of the *Flota* at the port of *Vera Cruz*, with the count de *Canele*, the new viceroy of *Peru*; and count *Montezuma* of *Mexico*, which two had fallen out before their landing. At sun-set we sail'd by *Salina*, a territory subordinate to the *Alcade* of *Patatan*, a town a few leagues distant in the valleys. In this country grow the best *bainillas* in the world; which brings no small profit to the *Alcade*, as do the cacao, and fishery of good pearls. This night the wind being sometimes north, and sometimes E. N. E. and the current against us, we rather lost than gain'd ground; which continuing *Wednesday* 16th, till night, we could not get beyond the port of *Patatan*, which is capable of great ships.

A calm held us all night, and *Thursday* 17th, the same contrary wind started up; but after dinner the usual *Vivazon*, or settled wind coming up, which is S. W. we advanced, and run along the coast del *Calvario*, full of cacao-trees, and excellent *bainillas*. At night we continu'd our course E. S. E. with the wind at north, so that on *Friday* 18th, we were in sight of the port of *Acapulco*. Our chief pilot was sick of the *Dutch* distemper, or scurvy, and of the *Berben*, which made his life in danger. At noon a fresh gale blew at S. W. which set us very forward, we steering E. S. E. As we sail'd along the coast of *Coyuchia*, we perceiv'd a *Piragua*, or great barque making towards us. Being come up it brought us fresh provisions, which were an ox, fowls, bread, sweetmeats and lemons, sent by the governor, and *D. Francis Mecca*, to our commander; besides other things for private persons; so that every one had something to refresh him. The north wind which blew all night carry'd us so far E. and by S. that on *Saturday* 19th, in the morning, we found our selves opposite to the village and port of *Coyucca*, whose coast being fourteen leagues in length abounds in cocos, cacao, *bainillas*, and other things. The wind holding fair, we enter'd the port of *Acapulco*, at the great channel, and came to an anchor there at five in the afternoon. All the night was spent labouring with the anchors to draw the ship up the bay, so that before day the stern was made fast with a rope to a tree; for though the port be good, and safe against all winds, yet being winding like a snail, the wind that is good to come in at the two mouths, one N. W. and the

other S. E. is not good to carry a ship up under the shore.

*Sunday* 20th, all that were aboard again embrac'd one another with tears of joy, seeing our desir'd port, after a voyage of two hundred and four days and five hours. *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving, but our commander had not the goodness to solemnize it with firing some guns, saying the powder would not be allow'd him at *Manila*. The castle was saluted with seven guns; and then answer'd with three, hanging out its colours.

Inquiring of the pilots how many leagues and degrees we had sail'd, I found them of several opinions; and this because, we had not kept our course, but ply'd backward and forward to no purpose. *Peter Fernandez*, a *Portuguese*, born in the island of *Madera*, the chief pilot, said, we had run one hundred and twenty five degrees, and two thousand five hundred *Spanish* leagues. But *Jsidore Montes d'Oca* of *Sevil* his mate, would have it to be one hundred and thirty degrees, and about three thousand leagues. In sailing from *Acapulco* to *Manila*, it is certain there is none of this needless compass taken, as has been observ'd before, for having fallen down from bare seventeen degrees to thirteen, they then run upon one and the same parallel quite to *Manila*, right afore the wind, which carries them in two months and a half, or three at farthest, without any storm; and therefore they run through only one hundred and eighteen degrees, which being from east to west it is hard to measure the leagues; but the pilots guess them to be about two thousand two hundred *Spanish*. Another way may be taken, which is from *Acapulco* N. W. as far as cape *Mevacino*, and then to steer for the *Marian* islands, and *Manila*; and then they say the whole run is one hundred and seventeen degrees, and allowing seventeen *Spanish* leagues to every degree, they are two thousand one hundred fifty nine leagues.

All *Sunday* we waited for the king's officers to make their search, that we might go ashore. They came three hours before night, and were the castellan, *D. Francis Mecca*, the *Cortador*, or comptroller, and the *Guarda Mayor*, or surveyor, to whom was deliver'd the register or entry of all that was aboard the galeon (to regulate the king's duties, which amounted to eighty thousand pieces of eight, including the present to the viceroy) and the duplicates of the letters to be sent to *Madrid*; all to be sent to *Mexico* with all speed, by another express, to make use of them in case the first sent by the other messenger, we said was put ashore, were lost. Having taken

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an account who I was, they exprefs'd a great deal of civility, and offer'd their service to me. When they were gone, the image of our blessed lady was carry'd ashore, and I went along with it to the parish church, the galeon in the mean while firing all its guns. At night I came back, and lay aboard the galeon, that my equipage might not be left to my slave, through whose negligence it might have been damnify'd. Going ashore upon *Monday*, I was told that the centinel which looks towards *Peru* (there being two on a mountain, whereof this is one, and the other looks towards *Cbina*) had discover'd two ships out at sea, making towards the port. They were suppos'd to be the admiral and tender of the *Peru* fleet that came for the

count *de Canete*, the new viceroy. I din'd *GEMEL-* with *D. Francis Mecca*, and before we a- LI. rose from table we heard a cannon fir'd. I 1697. ask'd the meaning of it, and he told me it was to signifie to the ships that came, if friends, that they might come into the port; if others, to let them understand that the *Spaniards* were upon their guard, and ready to receive them. The castellan sent major *Arambola* with the boat of our ship to view them, and bring an account what they were, becaufe the boats of two vessels belonging to *Peru* were not fit to go. It is fit I should here stop my pen, that I may with fresh courage continue my voyage in the next, which is the last volume.

### The End of the fifth Volume.

*A Voyage round the World, by Dr. John  
Francis Gemelli Careri. Part VIII.*

Containing the most remarkable things he saw  
in NEW SPAIN.

B O O K I V.

C H A P. I.

*An account of what happen'd to the author at Acapulco, and of that city.*

GEMEL-  
L. I.  
1697.

The in-  
troduction,

I Cannot chuse but condemn those persons, who, suffering themselves to be too much dazzled with the lustre of the noble actions of the ancients, make it their study to extol them to the skies, without reflecting that these later ages have furnish'd us with others more heroic and wonderful. He that hears talk of *Ulysses's* mighty travels, will doubtless conclude, he plow'd up mighty seas, and saw far-distant countries; yet, if I duly consider'd, he must find it will cost more time to read those very travels in *Homer*, than to perform 'em. What can a man, who has rambled but a small part of the world, judge of the labours of *Eneas*, in coming out of *Greece* into *Italy*? And yet the poet magnifies them at such a rate, one would think no body could chuse but have much compassion for this hero, persecuted by so many deities. However, all this to me looks like nothing, when I call to mind the toils of *Alexander*, surnam'd the Great, who, before he had subdued the greater part of *Asia*, is said to have wept for want of other worlds to conquer; and indeed had his master *Aristotle* been rightly in his senses, he might have given him to understand how great a part of the world there yet remain'd, which had not heard of so much as the fame of his victories. In short, which way soever I turn my self, I see nothing but a prodigious vanity in the ancients, when they make a judgment of their actions in their writings, and a great blindness in the moderns, to make so great account of them. In those times any idle,

or perhaps wicked, persons were receiv'd as gods, for any action they did for the publick good; every little spot of land was a kingdom; every two or three legions of *Romans* (who, to say the truth, were not so great boasters as the *Greeks*) were reckon'd a great army, and yet a legion did not exceed seven thousand men. I will not go about here to mention all the inventions, or glorious exploits of our times, but would only have it taken into consideration how those worthy ancient poets and historians would be confounded, if rising from the dead, in the last age, they should have attempted to discourse of *America*, and of the wealth nature has placed there, as the subject deserves. They having applauded actions so inconsiderable, that they look like nothing, in the most magnificent terms, and rewarded 'em with no less than divinity; could not afterwards think themselves capable of panegyrizing *Columbus*, and of giving any tolerable account of a country where, we may say, all that is seen is precious, and that which is trampled on is gold and silver. We must therefore say, the world is not now grown old, nor valour decay'd, or other virtues fled from the earth, but, that it is in the prime of its youth; and, that those we call virtues are rather encreas'd than diminish'd, because man learns something new every day, and is continually rising above his being. And if we see no such men as those so renown'd in antiquity, 'tis because those endowments, which being then rare, rais'd admiration in others; being now become common,

no body thinks them worth taking notice of.

Being now to treat of what I saw in *America*, in this last volume of my travels round the world, I would have the reader conceive so great an idea of it, that whensoever he finds the things describ'd, not to merit his admiration, he would lay the blame on my pen, and not attribute it to any defect in the things themselves; for so doing, I am satisfy'd he will not deviate from truth, and I shall attain my end, which is to deliver the truth.

There being no inn at *Acapulco*, I was forced to go, on *Monday 21st of January 1667*, to the monastery of *Nuestra Señora de la Guca* of the *Franciscans*, by whom I was courteously entertain'd.

*Tuesday 22d*, in the morning the castellan's lieutenant told me, he had been upon guard all night, by reason of the jealousy there was, that the two vessels discover'd might be enemies; because there was an account, that five *French* ships had pass'd the stright of *Magellan*, being sent by the most christian king, to commit hostilities in those seas; besides the catholic king's general order enjoying all castellans, and governors of the south coast, to be upon their guard whensoever any ships were seen at sea. In the afternoon the major *Arambulo* return'd, and clear'd all doubts, saying, they were the admiral and tender of the *Peru* fleet. It was not long before the admiral came into the port, saluting the castle with five guns, which answer'd with three. The galeon *St. Joseph* saluted with seven, and being answer'd with eleven, return'd the civility with seven.

*Wednesday 23d*, I went aboard the admiral, before he was search'd. It was a good ship, carrying forty two brass guns, indifferent large, and was come to take aboard the new viceroy of *Peru*, the count of *Canete*. Those aboard said they had spent forty eight days between *Panama* and *Acapulco*, by reason of the mighty storms, they met at sea, and the tedious calms on the coast of *New Spain*; and that they had lost twenty one men, of a sort of contagious distemper, besides one, who falling into the sea, was drowned.

As for the city of *Acapulco*, I think it might more properly be call'd a poor village of fishermen, than the chief mart of the south-sea, and port for the voyage to *China*; for mean and wretched are the houses, being made of nothing but wood, mud and straw. It is seated in the latitude of seventeen degrees, bating some few minutes, and in twenty six of longitude; at the foot of high mountains, which cover it on the east side, but make it very subject to distempers, from *November* till the end of

*May*. It was then the month of *January*, and yet I felt as much heat, as I have done in *Europe* in the dog-days, the reason whereof is, because there falls no rain, during those seven months last mention'd; but only a little between *June* and *October*, which does not cool the ambient air. But it is to be observ'd, that in *Acapulco*, *Mexico*, and other places of *New Spain*, it never rains in the morning, and therefore he that will not be wet, must take care to dispatch his business before noon, and then stay at home.

This ill temper of the air, and the mountainous soil, are the cause that *Acapulco* must be supply'd with provisions from other parts; and therefore it is dear living there, because a man cannot eat well under a piece of eight a day; the place, besides being dear, is dirty and inconvenient.

For these reasons, it is inhabited by none but *Blacks* and *Mulattoes*, and it is rare to see any native there, whose complexion is of an olive colour. The *Spanish* merchants, as soon as their business is over, and the fair made by the ships from *China* and those of *Peru*, which come loaded with cacao, repair to other places; the king's officers and the castellan himself going away, because of the ill air, and so the city is left desert. It has nothing good but the natural security of the harbour; which winding like a snail, as was said before, and having water alike in all parts, the ships are enclos'd in it with vast high mountains, as if they were wall'd in; inasmuch that they are fasten'd to the trees upon the shore. There are two mouths or channels to go into it, a small one at N. W. and a great one at S. E. The entrance is defended by the castle with forty two pieces of brass cannon, and a garrison of sixty men. This port is worth to the castellan who is also *Justicia Mayor*, or chief magistrate, twenty thousand pieces of eight a year, and little less to the *Contador* or comptroller, and other officers. The curate, though the king's allowance to him be but one hundred and eighty pieces of eight, makes fourteen thousand a year, exacting a great rate for burying of strangers, not only that die at *Acapulco*, but at sea aboard the ships from *China* and *Peru*; as for instance, he will expect one thousand pieces of eight for rich merchant. The trade of the place being for millions of pieces of eight, it follows that every man at his profession gets a great deal in a short time; so that a *Black* will scarce be satisfy'd with a piece of eight a day. In short all live by the port, and the hospital has not only a deduction out of the soldiers pay, but great alms from the merchants, which are afterwards freely distributed among the other monasteries and missions.

There

GEMEL. There is another port S. E. of this call'd

11. *del Marques*, or of the marques, only two leagues distant from *Acapulco*, which has water enough for great ships and good anchoring; whither generally the ships of *Peru*, that dare not put into *Acapulco*, because they have prohibited goods, resort to sell them.

These barren mountains are not without game, for there are deer, rabbits, and other creatures; and as for birds, parrots; turtles, less than ours with the tips of the wings of divers colours, which fly into the very houses; blackbirds, with long tails; ducks and other sorts of fowl, as well of those known in *Europe*, as of others peculiar to the country.

*Tuesday* 24th, there arose a dispute between the general, as they call him, or captain of the galeon, and the admiral of *Peru* about precedence, the latter pretending the other ought to strike his flag, because his was a royal man of war, and the galeon of *China* a merchant; and the general of *China* on the other hand pleading his ship ought to take place, because it was supreme (though it had none under it) the other being but vice-admiral. Thus both kept up their flags, one at the main-top-mast, the other at the fore-top-mast head, till they writ to the viceroy to decide the controversy.

*Acapulco*  
har.

Most of the officers and merchants that came aboard the *Peru* ships, went to lie ashore, bringing with them two millions of pieces of eight to lay out in commodities of *China*; so that *Friday* 25th *Acapulco* was converted from a rustick village into a populous city; and the huts before inhabited by dark *Mulattoes* were all fill'd with gay *Spaniards*; to which was added on *Saturday* 26th a great concourse of merchants from *Mexico*, with abundance of pieces of eight and commodities of the country and of *Europe*. *Saturday* 27th, there continu'd to come in abundance of commodities and provisions to serve so great a multitude of strangers; for, as has been said, the neighbouring mountains are barren, and the little fruit they produce, though to the eye it appear well, is not to be eaten unless preserv'd. *Monday* 27th, there came some fathers of *Beblem* begging alms to carry them to *Peru*. This is an order founded by the approbation of pope *Innocent* the 11th. The habit is like that of the *Capuchins*, and they live like them on charity; their institution is to be hospitaliers; it being their business to serve and attend those that are upon their recovery, till they have recover'd their strength; and this they do with extraordinary charity, even so far as to serve them on their knees. On the left side of their cloak they wear the figure of

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the cross, and therefore the *Spaniards* call them fathers of *Beblem*. They, as being a new order, have but few monasteries in the city of *Mexico*, city of *Angel*, *Lima*, *Ugaxacca*, *Guatimula*, and other places.

*Sunday* 29th, going to visit a *Spaniard* <sup>parrot</sup> aboard the man of war, he instead of chocolate, treated me with the herb of *Paraguay*. It grows in the province of that name, under the government of *Buenos Ayres*, on a tree no higher than a man, and to me it seems not to differ much from the myrtle of *Europe*. The leaves are first dry'd in the shade, and then in an oven; and thus dry'd are transported in leather bags, and sold all about *Peru*, where they are more in use than chocolate in *Spain*. It is accounted a wholesome liquor in that dry climate, for they say it is hot and moist; but on the other side, besides that it is not nourishing, it is insipid, and has one great fault, which is that it provokes vomiting, and takes away the stomach. It is prepar'd by steeping in cold water for half an hour in a mat, that is, a dish made of a calabash curiously wrought and adorn'd with silver, and then mixing it with boiling water and sugar, and straining it from the dust of the herb before they drink it; after which they pour more water upon that same herb, which serves many more. Some throw away the first water, and pour the hot upon a second infusion. Abundance of it is spent in *Peru*, it being counted an excellent quencher of thirst. The peasants take it in cold water, or else chew the herb. See more of this in *del Tecbo's* history of *Paraguay*.

*Wednesday* 30th, came to town the treasurer of the count de *Canete*, viceroy of *Peru*, in order to go away to *Lima*, and borrow of those merchants an hundred thousand pieces of eight for his master, to pay the debts he had contracted, laying out three hundred thousand pieces of eight to procure that government, and carry his family over to the *Indies*.

*Thursday* 31st, the express return'd from *Mexico*, with the settlement of the duties the galeon was to pay, being eighty thousand pieces of eight; so that on *Friday* the 1st of *February*, they began to land the bales. In the mean while abundance of men dy'd aboard the *Peru* ships, of a sort of contagious distemper; and the more because the violent heat and bad air of *Acapulco* did not suffer the sick to recover.

*Saturday* 2d, I went to see the little castle, which having no ditch or bastions, is only remarkable for its good brass cannon, sufficient to defend the port against any enemy. *Sunday* 3d, I went to a small spring at the foot of the mountain, which is the only place of recreation thereabouts. The water is very good, but the quantity

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small. Monday 4th, more merchants came from Mexico, and yet I was told there were fewer than other years ; as fearing that the merchants of Peru had enhanced the price of China commodities. Tuesday 25th, I was much annoy'd with the heat and gnats, but much more on Wednesday 26th, by the babbling of a merchant of Peru ; for he, according to the custom of that nation, endeavouring to talk me into a bargain, gave me a violent head-ach, and yet we concluded upon nothing. The Spaniards of New Spain are of another temper, for they deal generously and gently, as becomes them. Thursday 7th, when all the goods were unloaded, the porters of Acapulco made a fort of funeral, carrying one of their number on a bier, and bewailing him as if he were dead, because their harvest was at an end ; for some had got three pieces of eight a day, and the worst of 'em one. About two in the afternoon there was a little earthquake, the noise whereof being heard from the mountains, would have given the people time to save themselves, tho' it had been violent. These earthquakes are so frequent at Acapulco, that the people are forced of necessity to build low houses. Friday 8th, the mate of the admiral having agreed with me for a Black at four hundred pieces of eight, he felt his lips, cheeks, and legs, to see whether he was not swell'd, without considering that the Blacks have naturally thick lips. Saturday 9th, I saw abundance of mules come in loaded with goods and provisions. Sunday 10th, I stirr'd not out

because of the great heat. Monday 11th, the castellan invited the general of China, admiral of Peru, D. Joseph Lopez, the viceroy's treasurer, me, and several officers of the ships, to see some very indifferent juggling perform'd by an old Genoese ; and the best of it was, that the guests paid for the entertainment, the old man going about when he had done to receive every man's benevolence, without receiving any thing from the castellan. Tuesday 12th, I order'd my affairs to set out for Mexico, hiring three mules for thirty pieces of eight each, tho' it was to cost me six rials a day upon the road for their meat. Wednesday 13th, after noon the Peru tender sail'd, to carry thither the aforementioned D. Joseph Lopez, the treasurer. He having contracted friendship with me, would have persuaded me to go to Lima, where, he said, he would persuade the viceroy to give me some good post ; but being resolv'd to return into Europe, no interest could draw me. I took my leave of all my friends the following days, and Sunday 17th being Shrove-sunday, the Blacks, Mulattos, and Mestizos of Acapulco, after dinner ran races with above an hundred horses ; which they perform'd so well, that I thought they far out-did the grantees I saw at Madrid, tho' these use to practise a month before they appear in publick. This is no fable, for those Blacks would ride an Italian mile, some holding one another by the hand, others embracing, without ever loosing their hold, or being discompos'd, in all that space.

## CHAP. II.

*The author's journey to the imperial city of Mexico, and description of the same.*

HAVING taken a guide from the custom-house, and the castellan's pass for the guard half a league from Acapulco, not to stop me, I set out on Monday 18th, at four in the afternoon ; and having pass'd the guard aforesaid, and gone up and down vast high mountains, in all three leagues journey, I came to the inn of Ataxco, consisting of five cottages, thatch'd and palisado'd about. Here a legion of gnats suck'd my blood all the night. The owner of the three mules having stay'd behind at Acapulco, I was oblig'd to stay for him at the inn on Tuesday 19th till noon. I could not chuse but have a bad Shrovetide in such a scurvy place, for the host made me pay a piece of eight for a pullet, and about a penny apiece for eggs. The wood adjoining was full of game, where, for my diversion, I kill'd some Chichilaccas. This bird is of an ash-colour, has a long tail, is

little less than a hen, and as well tasted. In the thickest of the wood I found many orange and lemon-trees, whose fruit was lost for want of some-body to gather it. Setting out hence, after travelling three leagues over mountains, and thro' forests of Brazil-wood, I came about sun-set to the Venta, that is, the inn of Lexido, where I had a bad night again by reason of the gnats. Wheat bread is quite banish'd from those parts, for the inhabitants eat none but cakes made of Maiz or Indian wheat, which is also give to the horses and mules instead of barley : They first wet, and then grind it on a stone as they do cacao. The cakes made of this dough they bake on an earthen pan, over a gentle fire. Hot, they're tolerable ; but when cold, I could scarce get 'em down.

I set out early upon Wednesday the 20th, and travelling thro' a plainer country, came



GEMEL after four leagues riding to the inn call'd  
LI. *de dos Arroyas*, or of two Brooks, where I  
1698. rested till towards the evening. An Indian

of this place gave me a sort of wild fruit to  
eat (call'd *Sbiociacos*, that is, *sharp*) red  
and white, as long as a finger, and of the  
taste of a cherry. Within it there were lit-  
tle black seeds like pepper. The tree that  
bears it is usually ten spans high, and its  
leaves long. The air being somewhat cooler,  
we travel'd four leagues farther, and  
lay at a place call'd *los Pozuelos*. Before  
night I kill'd a wild cock, which the In-  
dians call a *Pheasant*; 'tis bigger than a  
capon, has a long tail, and wings, a tuft on  
the head, and black feathers, but the breast  
black and white, and the neck bare, like a  
turkey-cock; the flesh of it is not unfavoury.  
The night was cool, and without gnats,  
tho' we lay under the canopy of heaven.

Thursday 21st, in the morning, we set out  
early to go take some refreshment at the  
*Pilgrims-inn*, on the mountain of the same  
name. Thence we rode very cautiously  
along the sides of the mountain del *Papa-  
gayo*, or of the Parrot, where a man must  
climb a league up a solid rock, and then go  
as far down, no less troublesome a road, to  
come to the river of the same name, which  
I forded over; but in winter, when swell'd  
with the rains, they cross it upon floats:  
These are made of planks ty'd across, and  
bore up by twenty, or sometimes sixty, ca-  
labashes, according to the bigness, fasten'd  
under it. When the float is loaded, an In-  
dian leaps into the water, drawing it with  
one hand and swimming with t'other till he  
brings it to the other bank; and the current  
always carrying it down, therefore the In-  
dian afterwards takes it on his back, and  
carries it to the right place. Having pass'd  
the river, we went to lie at the inn of *Cac-  
acotal* (so call'd because formerly there  
were abundance of cacao-trees in that place)  
having travel'd six leagues this day, over  
very uncouth mountains. At night I kill'd  
two *Chiabillacas*, which serv'd at supper for  
want of other meat.

Friday 22d, after riding four leagues of  
mountainous way, we rested at *las dos Ca-  
minos*, or the two Ways, the first village in  
the way from *Acapulco*. We lodg'd in the  
town-house, whither Indians came to do us  
any service we had to command. Among  
these mountains the air was cooler than that  
we came from. Four mules quite spent  
were left in this village, and others taken  
in their room. Setting out, we went up  
first, and then down, the dreadful steep  
mountain *de los Caxones*, which is a league  
high, and having rode four leagues, came  
to the guard of the customs of *Acaguisilla*,  
in which cottage we sup'd and lay. The

officers search'd my goods, and made good  
my pass I brought from *Acapulco*.  
Saturday 23d, we set out late, and tra-  
velling four leagues, part mountain and  
part valley, we came to the *Trajichi* of  
*Masatlan*, so call'd because there's a good  
sugar-work. Our muletiars, who reckon'd  
at pleasure, counted these but two leagues,  
because they were never weary with riding.  
Here we found good bread, which is no  
little rarity among the mountains, whose  
inhabitants eat none but little cakes of In-  
dian wheat. Not far from this place is a  
silver mine, and abundance of deer. After  
dinner we travel'd two leagues further, to  
the village *de las Pataquillas*, consisting of a  
few mountains at the foot of the hill, and lay  
in the town-house. At night we felt  
much cold, the climate differing from that  
of *Acapulco*.  
Sunday 24th, having rode two leagues,  
we heard mass at the village of *Chilpancingo*,  
a convenient place, in the midst of the val-  
leys, so plentiful of Maiz or Indian wheat,  
that they lay up their harvest in little coun-  
try houses, or barns made of wood and  
clay. The maidens in this place, to beau-  
tifie their faces, and secure them against  
the cold, daub 'em with a yellow flower pound-  
ed. We went hence two leagues further,  
to lie at *Zumpango*, another village in the  
valleys, which the Spaniards call *Canada*,  
because there is a road eight leagues in  
length, without shelter of any trees. In all  
these publick houses there's an inn-keeper,  
and other Indians, who serve travellers in  
dressing their meat, and find 'em salt and  
fewel for nothing, being paid for it by the  
publick. They keep the lodgings clean,  
and have always an altar in 'em with an  
image of our saviour or some faint.  
Monday 25th, I set out betimes, and tra-  
vel'd thro' a plain like that of *Tirol*, riding  
nine leagues without drawing bit, to the  
river *de las Balsas*, so call'd because they  
cross it on *Balsas* or floats. Both this river  
and that of *Papagayo* run down to the south  
sea. The Indians of the neighbouring vil-  
lage pass'd over all our goods and us on  
floats, as was said above, the current carry-  
ing them down a musquet-shot before they  
came to the further bank. Other Indians  
carried the mules over the ford, which was  
not above a musquet-shot over. We lay in  
the field, two leagues from the place they  
call *Nopalillo Canada del Carrizal*. About  
ten at night happen'd a terrible earthquake,  
which lasted whilst a man might say the  
creed twice: It could do no harm to us,  
who were in the open field; but at *Acapulco*,  
as was afterwards known, it laid several  
houses level with the ground.

Tues.

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Tuesday 26th, before sun-rising, whilst the mules were saddling, the earthquake return'd, being preceded by a noise like a cannon-shot. Mounting, we travel'd four leagues on an indifferent good road; by the way I shot several *Chiacalacas*, and other birds, whereof there's great plenty. Passing by *Rancho de Palula*, we came to dine near a little lake; and riding three leagues further, lay at *Pueblo Nuevo*, that is, *New Town*, where there's a great lake full of ducks.

Wednesday 27th, after travelling six leagues over rugged mountains, we rested by the water; and then riding as many leagues more, forded a great river at night, and lay at the village of *Amacufac*, of the liberty of *Cornavaca*. Such good order is taken, that whenever travellers come in, the *Topile* and *Mesnero*, or inn-keeper, come immediately to furnish them with all things necessary. The *Topile*, which in the Mexican language signifies *servant* or *servant*, is oblig'd to buy all the passengers stand in need of, and the inn-keeper to dress it, make the beds, and see there be no want of utensils, water and fuel.

Thursday 28th, after three leagues riding, we came to *Aguaguezingo*, where having rested a little, we went two leagues further to *Apugleca*, a village of *Cornavaca*, and there dined. In the publick house we found a *Teponaste*, or drum, such as the *Indians* us'd formerly to beat; 'twas made of a piece of timber hollow'd, four spans long, and both ends cover'd with skins, and made a noise that might be heard half a league off. After dinner travelling a league, I pass'd by *Cuchitepec*, where I saw an indifferent church of religious men; and three leagues further we lay in the open field. This day we cross'd two large rivers.

Friday the first of March, after a league's riding, we halted at *Cornavaca*, the chief place of the *Acadia*, or government of that name, belonging to the marquis *del Valle*, or of the valley, which reaches to the valley of *Amacufac*. The place is rich, because inhabited by many merchants attracted by the goodness of the soil. Having taken some refreshment I set out again, and at the end of half a league, having pass'd the small village of *Taltenango*, about a league further, the way very troublesome, came to the top of the mountain of *Cornavaca*, where stands a village call'd *Guicbalac*. The inhabitants of it make good *Pulere*, a liquor, which being drawn from the plant call'd *Magbey*, and work'd, up with some herbs, will make men drunk like wine. The excise upon this liquor formerly yielded the king one hundred thousand pieces of eight, but he prohibited it, because of the brutalities the *Indians* com-

mited when they were drunk. I drank *GEMEL* some of it, as it came from the plant, and thought it tasted like the mead in *Spain*, the colour of it was like whey, or milk and honey. Going three leagues further, we lay all night on a horrid mountain full of pine-trees; because the owner of the mules, to save the expence of towns, made thirty he had with him graze upon the common; which made them so weak, that only five of them wrought in their turns. The worst of it was that in mountainous places, there was none but wither'd grafs, such as the country people burnt to manure the ground. That night so much snow fell, that in the morning my quilt was quite cover'd, by which you may guess how hot I lay.

Saturday 2d, we went down the moun-*St. Augustin* along a craggy road, and travel'd *tin de las* four leagues and a half to *St. Augustin de Cuevas*, having first paid a rial for every mule to the guards of the road, whom we found at the foot of the mountain. The *F. procurator* of the mission of *China*, who was in this place treated me very civilly; for which reason I left him some goods, that might have caus'd me trouble at the custom-house at *Mexico*. We went on with a great storm of wind and rain; and passing by another house of toll, three leagues further entered the city of *Mexico*, over a causeway or terrace made upon the lake. The officer that is generally at the entrance of the city, went with me to the custom-house, to have my trunks search'd; but the officers there were extraordinary civil to me, only just opening them, and seeing what was at the top. Being dismiss'd at the custom-house, I went away to an inn very ill serv'd, to stay there till I had provided a lodging.

Monday 4th, I went to pay my respects to count *Montezuma* the viceroy; who receiv'd me courteously. Going out I met the *Sindies*, or chief magistrates of two *Indian* villages, attended by many people, they ing come in the name of all their people. It is their custom, when they are to present a petition, to carry a great tree, cover'd with flowers, which they leave with the viceroy. An express from *Acapulco* brought the news of the mischief done there by the earthquake on the 25th and 26th of the last month. In *Mexico* some monasteries were overthrown, and some houses damag'd.

Tuesday 5th, I heard divine service in the cathedral, and Wednesday 6th, went to the mint, where I was told they coin'd sixteen thousand pieces of eight a day. Thursday 7th, I saw the monastery of *St. Bernard*, of nuns of that order. It is very large, and the church adorn'd with rich altars. That of our lady of *Valranda*

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LI.  
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GEMEL-da is not inferior to it, where on Friday  
 11. 8th, I saw the church serv'd by venerable  
 1698. priests, and noble nuns in the upper and  
 lower quire.

Saturday 9th, the obsequies of the queen-mother were celebrated in the church of *Jesús Maria*, a *Mausoleum* being erected in the middle of it, and the viceroy, magistrates, and nobility being present. In this monastery they receive without any portions the daughters of the successors of the first conquerors, and of other well deserving persons; but they must have the king's order for it, who allows for their maintenance; other maids are admitted paying their portions.

Sunday 10th, four *Oydores*, or judges, and a *Fiscal*, or solicitor general set out for *Acapulco*, in their way to *Manila*, to succeed those there who were to come to *Mexico*, to be employ'd in the courts there. *D. Michael de Ijurrietta*, at whose house I was entertain'd, desir'd me to go with him to *St. Augustin de las Cuevas*, to bear his nephew *D. Francis de Castro y Gusman*, who was going captain of foot to *Manila*, company; which I did, as well to oblige *D. Michael*, and to bring away the goods I left there with the father procurator. We went in a coach, and came late to that *Hospitium* of the *Franciscans*. Monday 11th, after the captain was gone with the *Oydores* we return'd to *Mexico*.

Mexico  
 City de-  
 scrib'd.

*Mexico*, so call'd by the *Spaniards*, and by the *Indians Tenochtitlan*, is in the latitude of 19 deg. and 40 min. and in the midst of a valley, almost flat, fourteen *Spanish* leagues in length from north to south, seven in breadth, and about forty in compass; but if it were measur'd from the tops of the mountains next to *Mexico*, it would be seventy, or perhaps ninety leagues.

On the east side of this valley is a lake, into which several rivers, and other waters fall; which stretches southward, as far as the city of *Tehuaco*. The ridge of mountains that enclose it on all sides in the lowest place is forty two thousand five hundred *Spanish Varas*, or yards above the lake.

The city is seated in a perfect plain, near, or rather exactly in the middle of the lake; and therefore by reason of the instability of the soil, the buildings are half bury'd, in spite of the inhabitants, who use all means to lay the foundations secure. The plat of it is square; and it looks like a curious chess-board, by reason of its long, wide and well pav'd streets, lying north, and south, east and west; so that the whole extent of it may be seen, not only from the middle, as *Palermo* from the great market, but from any part of it whatsoever. The compass is two leagues, and the diameter half a league, the whole being almost a perfect square. There are five ways into

the city, over as many caufways, or banks on the lake, without walls, or gates: The ways are call'd *la Piedad*, or the piety; *St. Antony*, *Guadalupe*, *St. Cosme*, and *Cba-pultepee*; the *Calzada*, or caufway *del Pe-non*, which *Cortes* march'd over, when he came to conquer, being now quite taken away. For excellent structures and ornaments of churches, it may be said to vie with the best of *Italy*; but for beautiful women it surpasses it; for they are most beautiful, and excellently shap'd. They are great admirers of *Europeans*, whom they call *Cachopines*; and they had rather marry them, though never so poor, than their own country people, call'd *Criollos*, though rich; seeing them fond of the *Mulatto* women, whose ill customs they have imbib'd, as they suck'd their milk. For this reason the *Criollos* have such an aversion for the *Europeans*, that they jeer them, as they go along the streets; giving one another notice from shop to shop, by crying *Elis*, which signifies *'tis he*; and therefore the *Spaniards* newly come to the city, have sometimes in a passion fir'd pistols at them. Nay, they carry this prejudice so far, that they hate their own parents because they are *Europeans*.

*Mexico* contains about one hundred thousand inhabitants; but the greatest part of them *Blacks* and *Mulattoes*, by reason of the vast number of slaves that has been carried thither. Another reason is, that all the lands being in the hands of churchmen, as well as the houses; the *Spaniards*, and other *Europeans*, finding no way to get estates real, as all discreet persons ought to do, will not easily be perwaded to marry, and generally they themselves become religious men. Thus, though within the city there be twenty two nunneries, and twenty nine monasteries of *Monks* and *Friers* of several orders, they are all richer than they ought to be. That the reader may have some insight into this, the cathedral alone maintains nine canons (besides one for the king, whose revenue the inquisition enjoys, as it does one in every cathedral through-out *New Spain*) five dignity'd priests, viz. the dean, archdeacon, schoolmaster, chanter, and treasurer; six demi-canons, and six half demi-canons; one head sacristan; four curates chosen by the viceroy; twelve royal chaplains, elected by the chapter; and eight others call'd of *Lau-renziana*, these also appointed by the chapter; all the rest being appointed by the king. The arch-bishop takes to himself out of the publick stock sixty thousand pieces of eight a year; the dean eleven thousand; the four other dignity'd priests eight thousand each; the canons six thousand; the demi canons five thousand; the hali demi-canons three thousand; each cu-

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rate four thousand; every chaplain three hundred; and the other priests and attendants less, being in all the number of three hundred. So that upon computation it will appear that the cathedral of *Mexico* has above three hundred thousand pieces of eight of yearly income; reckoning together with the livings, the allowance for repairs, wax, vestments, and other necessities for the divine service. In short, *Mexico* is a little city six miles in compass, a small space for so great a number of churches which cause a want of houses for inhabitants.

Climate.

The weather in *Mexico* is very unequal all the year about; it being for the most part both cold and hot at the same time; that is, cold in the sun. In other respects the air is not bad, being neither hot nor cold to any great excess at no time of the year; though the tender inhabitants complain of the cold being somewhat sharp in the morning; and of the heat from *March* till *July*. From that time forward the rains quell it, as happens at *Goa*; otherwise both those countries being under the torrid zone would be inhabitable, as the ancient philosophers imagin'd. From *September* the rains are less frequent, and very small till *March*. The *Indians* reckon those pleasant nights cold, which begin in *November*, and hold till *February*; but the *Europeans*, who are not so tender, like the climate, because

there is no great heat, or cold all the year, and the water they drink is as cool as the ambient air. The soil by reason of the great rains that fall, gives three crops in a year, but in several places; the first is call'd *de Riego*, that is, of watering, and falls out in *June*, being of the corn sow'd in *October*; the second, named *del Temporal*, that is, of the season, is in *October*, of what was sow'd in *June*; the third, because very uncertain, is term'd *Aventurera*, that is, accidental, the land being till'd in *November* along the sides of the cool mountains, to sow it as the weather proves. The *Maiz*, or *Indian* wheat, which is the chief sustenance of the natives, is sow'd the earliest in *March*, and the latest in *May*, and yields a wonderful increase: for this reason it is cheap living at *Mexico*, in comparison of other cities, half a piece of eight a day being enough for a man's expence. But 'tis to be observ'd, that there being no brass money, and the least piece in silver being half a rial, that is three pence, 'tis very chargeable buying fruit; however, 'tis only in the market of *Mexico* that cacao-nuts are current in buying of herbs, and they give sixty or eighty for a rial, according as the price of cacao runs higher or lower. In short, *Mexico* must be allow'd to be an excellent city, for all the year round there are flowers and fruits of all sorts in its markets.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the original of the city of Mexico, its conquests, and the chronology of its kings.*

THE ancient histories of *Mexico* make mention of a flood, in which all men and beasts perish'd, and only one man and woman were sav'd in a boat, which in their language they call *Acallé*. The man, according to the character by which his name is express'd, was call'd *Coxcox*, and the woman *Chicbequetzal*. This couple coming to the foot of a mountain, which, according to the picture, was named *Culbuacan*, went ashore, and there had many children, all born dumb. When they were multiply'd to a great number, one day a pigeon came, and from the top of a tree gave 'em their speech, but not one of 'em understood the other's language, and therefore they divided and dispers'd, every one going to take possession of some country. Among these they reckon fifteen heads of families, who happening to speak the same language, join'd together, and went about to find some land to inhabit. When they had wander'd an hundred and four years (which is denoted by the figure at number I.) they

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came to the place they call *Anlan*, and continuing their journey thence, came first to the place call'd *Chapultepec*, then to *Culbuacan*, and lastly to the place where *Mexico* now stands, tho' the *Mexican* histories do not always give these places the same name. Thus *Mexico* was founded in the year the *Indians* call *Ome cagli*, which answers to the year 1325, from the creation. The pointed line is the way the founders travel'd; the figures by it are the places where they made any stay; the circles, the number of years every one continued there. The meaning of it all is express'd in every thing by a character or figure.

The design the author had in copying this picture from an ancient original drawn by the *Indians* in the time they were pagans, was to shew they were as ancient as the flood; tho' the chronology is not so exact as it should be, there being too few years allow'd between the flood and founding of *Mexico*. The reader will the better conceive it by the following cut, and by

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GEMEL-what shall be said more distinctly hereafter.  
L.I. See Acosta's nat. and mor. hist. of the Ind.  
1698. lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. 453.

Wild people.

Thus it appears that the first inhabitants of *New Spain* were a sort of wild people, since they kept on the uncouth mountains, without tilling the land, without religion, without any form of government, and without clothes, living after a disorderly manner like beasts, feeding upon what they kill'd (whence they had the name of *Otomies* and *Chichimecas*) tho' they were foul creatures; and for want of them, on roots; and lying in dens, and under thick bushes. The women follow'd the same employments, leaving the children hanging on the trees. Now at this time, in *New Mexico* and *Parral*, there's such a sort of men, descended from *Chicbequetzal* and *Coccox*, who remain'd in barren and mountainous lands, without troubling themselves to seek for a better soil, and who still live upon what they kill, and never join together, unless it be to rob and murder travellers. The *Spaniards* have not been able to subdue them, because 'tis in vain to look for 'em, who hide themselves in thick woods, where they have no settled place of abode; and to endeavour to fight 'em, would be no other than hunting of wild beasts.

Those more polite and sociable men, descended from seven of those fifteen we said set out to find a good country, are call'd *Navallacas*, to distinguish them from the *Chichimecas*; and these, as their historians believe, came from a remote country towards the north, thought to be that call'd the province of *Aztlán*, or *Teucul*, in *New Mexico*. Some *Spanish* authors will have it, that these *Navallacas*, coming out of that country in 820, spent eighty years before they came to *Mexico*, where they settled in the year 900: but this does not agree with the picture before mention'd, or the histories of the *Indians*, who will have it to be in 1325, as has been said. The occasion of their stay was, their stopping now and then in obedience to an idol of theirs, to people some places; whence they afterwards departed by order of the said idol. I speak according to their histories and traditions. They came not all together to the lake of *Mexico*, but one after another. The first were the *Su-chimilci*, which signifies gardeners of flowers, who settling on the south bank, founded a city of their own name. The next, a great while after, were the *Gbiacli*, that is, people of the mouths, and built a city of their own name, not far from the former. Then came the *Tapanecas*, or people of the bridge, who, fixing on the west side of the lake, encreas'd to such numbers, that their metropolis was

Founders of cities.

call'd *Azcapuzaleo*, that is, *Ants-nest*. They were a long time very powerful.

Then came the founders of *Tefuco*, call'd *Culbua*, or the *Crooked People*, because in their country they had a crooked mountain, and planted towards the east. The lake being thus beset by these four nations, when the fifth family of the *Tlatelucas*, that is, ignorant mountain-people, came, finding all the plains as far as the mountains taken up, they went away to a fruitful hot plain beyond the mountains, and there built the city *Quahuac*, which signifies an eagle, and is at present corruptly call'd *Quernavaca*, and is the chief place of the estate of the marquis de *Valle*, and duke of *Monteleon*. The sixth generation was that of the *Tlascaltecas*, which signifies people of bread (in *English* generally call'd *Tlascallans*) who passing beyond that burning mountain, always cover'd with snow, which is between *Mexico* and *Puebla de los Angeles*, or the city of angels, founded many cities and villages to the eastward, calling the metropolis *Tlascala*. This nation afterwards assisted the *Spaniards* to subdue *Mexico*, and in requital was made tax-free.

Of all the *Chichimecas*, or wild people, none oppos'd the *Tlascallans* but the inhabitants of the opposite side of the aforesaid burning mountain; but they, not regarding the gigantic stature of their enemies, knew how to overcome them by policy. The barbarous *Chichimecas*, seeing these six nations keep a friendly correspondence with one another, contracting marriages together, marking out their borders, and vying to outdo one another in good government; they also began to take up a better form of living, covering their privities, building huts, obeying their superiors, and forsaking many of their brutal customs. However, they resolv'd still to keep in the mountains, remote from any commerce with the others; and from these, 'tis believ'd, the inhabitants of the other provinces of the *Indies* derive their original.

After the aforesaid six nations had been settled there three hundred and two years (according to the computation of *F. Acosta* above cited) came the sixth, call'd *Mexicans*, from their prince *Mexi*. This nation departed from its ancient country, upon the fatal promise made 'em by their idol *Viracipuztli*, that he would conduct them to a place where they should have the command over all the provinces peopled by the other nations; whereupon there's an author who is not aham'd to make a comparison between this people's travels and those of the children of *Israel* in the desert. Four priests declar'd the idol's will on the way, making all the multitude at their beck settle in several



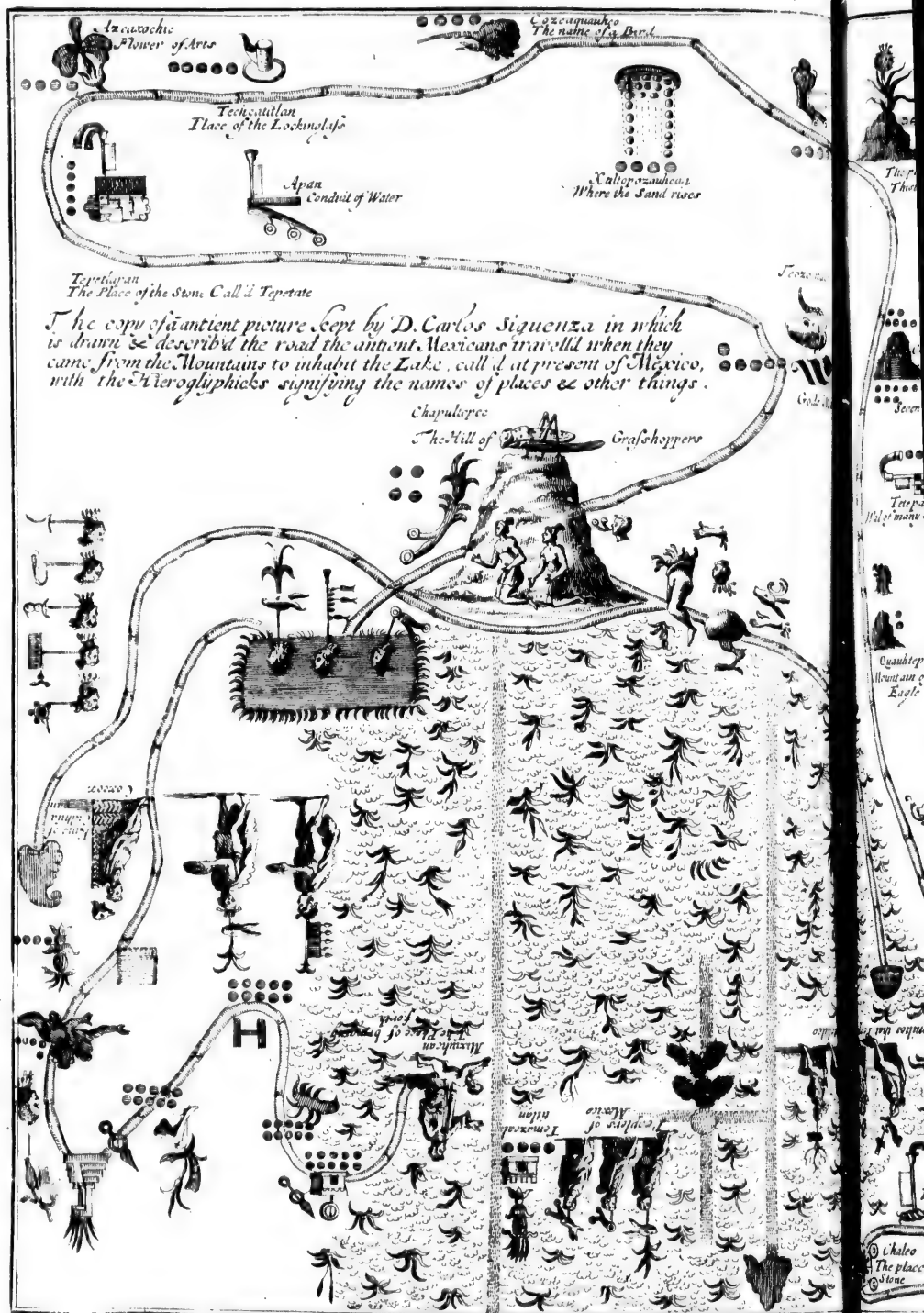
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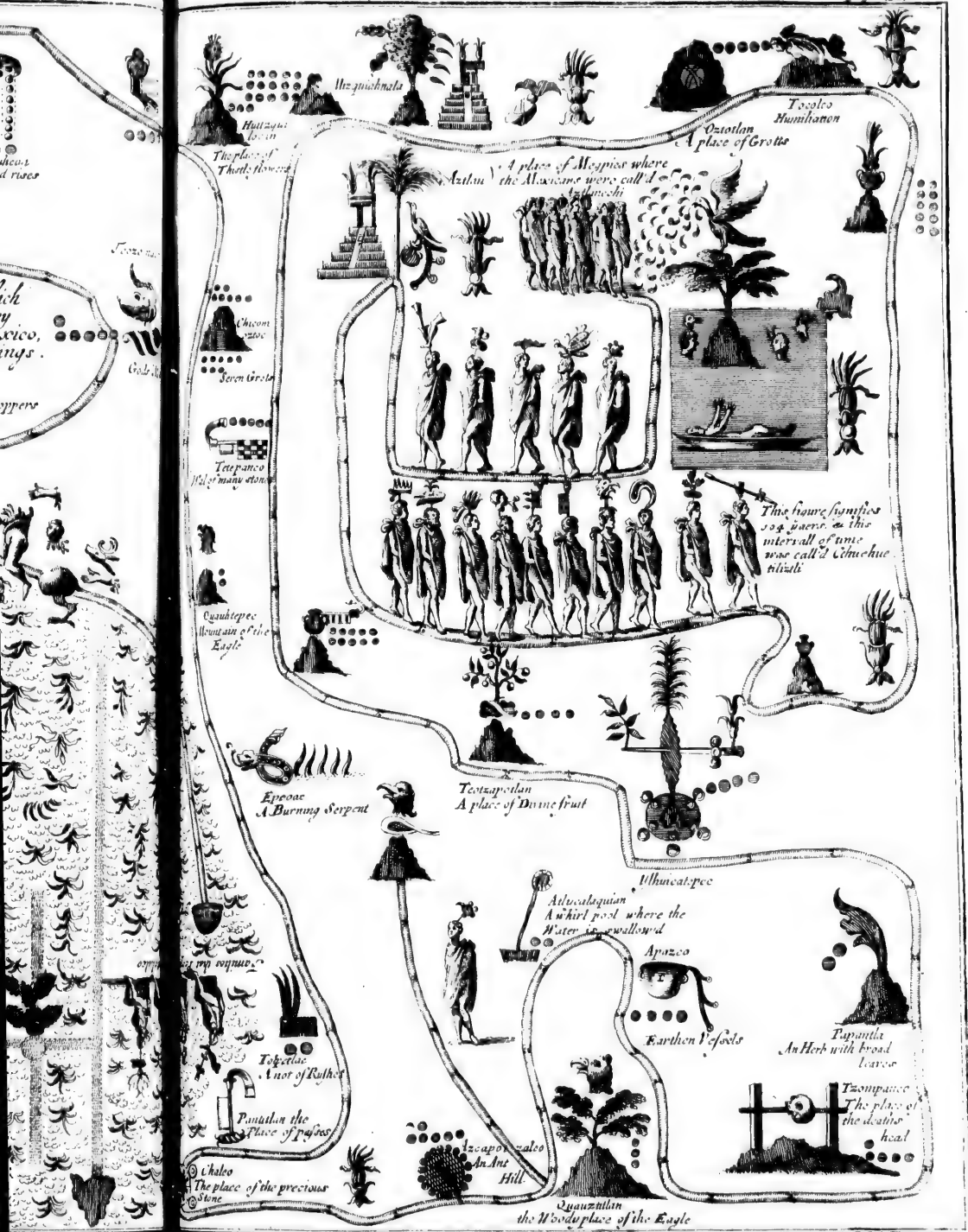
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ral places, build houses, and sow for some time, and persuading them to offer human sacrifices to their false deity. Then departing from those places by order of the idol, they left the old and sick behind to people them, if possible. Once the *Mexicans* settled at *Mecboacan*, that is, *land of fish*, because of the great plenty there is in its lakes; and having made many villages there, went on to inhabit *Motinalco*, the inhabitants of which place are reputed to be defended of a great forcerer left there in the temple. Being at length come to *Chapultepec*, they there fortified themselves, and in a short time overthrew and reduced the other six nations to a low condition; especially the *Chalcos*, who oppos'd and made war upon them.

The time appointed by the father of lies, ador'd in that idol, being come, *Vitzilipuzli* appear'd to one of those priests in a dream, and told him, the *Mexicans* must go and settle their abode in that part of the lake where they found an eagle perching upon a fig-tree, whose root was upon a rock. Having told this vision in the morning, they all went together in search of this sign given, and after some time spent, found a fig-tree growing out of a rock, and on it a most beautiful eagle, looking upon the sun, with her wings display'd, and holding a pretty little bird in her talons, and about her many others, some white, some green, some red, yellow, and blue. Upon this sight they all fell down to pay their adoration, and presently began to build their city, which they call'd *Tenochtitlan*, that is, *fig-tree on a rock*. For this reason, to this day, the arms of the city of *Mexico* are an eagle with her wings display'd, looking on the sun, holding a snake in her talons, and standing with one foot on a branch of an *Indian* fig-tree; and besides, by grant of the emperor *Charles V.*, a castle on a field *azure*, to denote the lake, with a bridge to it, and two others on the sides that do not touch it, on which are two lions rampant; in base two green fig-leaves in a field *or*.

The next day the *Mexicans* thought fit to build a tabernacle to place their idol in, till they could have leisure to erect a stately temple, when the city was finish'd. This done, the idol order'd, by the mouth of his priests, that all the *Mexicans* should divide themselves into four parts, leaving the tabernacle in the middle; and these are the four great quarters of *Mexico*, now call'd of *St. John*, of *St. Mary Redonda*, of the round, of *St. Paul*, and of *St. Sebastian*. After this division, he directed every quarter should make themselves an idol, and subdivide into other small wards: and thus, from a small beginning, the city of *Mexico*

grew up to its height; as more plainly GEMEL appears by the foremention'd cut.

See cut, page 487.

Next the *Mexicans* perceiv'd 'twas necessary for them to have a head, who should govern them, and study the means of preserving what they had got, and extending their empire over their neighbours. Accordingly they chose a youth call'd *Acamapichilli*, the son of a *Mexican* prince by the daughter of the king of *Culhuacan*, which name signifies a dog in the fist; and this they did to appease that king, who had been highly provoked by them, by killing and fleeing the daughter of his predecessor. From that time forward they began to have a form of government, and to be look'd upon by strangers; so that the neighbouring people envying their honour, endeavour'd to destroy them, particularly the *Tapaneas* of *Azacapuzalco*, to whose king the *Mexicans* paid tribute, as being the last that came to inhabit there. The king of *Azacapuzalco* seeking a pretence to break the peace, sent word to *Acamapichilli*, that the tribute was too small, and therefore, for the future, he should send him all materials for building his city, and every year a certain quantity of grain, but it must be such as grew within the water of the lake; otherwise he would destroy his kingdom. The *Mexicans* looking upon this as impossible, were very much concern'd; but their god appearing, encourag'd them to admit the condition of the tribute, for he would be aiding to them. To conclude, the next year they carried that king a floating garden, with several greens growing on it, besides timber for building; and such a floating piece of land on the lake is carefully cultivated to this day. They lay rushes and long grass interwoven together on the water, with earth upon them, which bears out the water, and when the seed there sown is grown up and ripe, they cut the roots of the rushes and grass grown in the water, and then carry the floating garden where they please upon the lake. The king of *Azacapuzalco*, much surpriz'd at this wonder, order'd, that the next year they should bring him such another garden, with a duck sitting on her egg, which were to be hatch'd before his face. Seeing this afterwards perform'd, and thinking it supernatural, he told his subjects, that the *Mexicans* would one day subdue all about them; yet he would not ease 'em of their tribute.

The king of *Mexico* having reign'd forty years, died without appointing his sons to succeed him; and therefore, in return for this his moderation, the chief men assembling,

GEMEL.  
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w

First government settled.

Acamapichilli first king.



GEMEL-<sup>LI.</sup>bling, chose one of his sons, whose name was *Huiztlauhtli*, which signifies *rich quill*, and then crown'd and anointed him with the oil wherewith they used to anoint their idols. Then they gave him to wife the daughter of the king of *Azcapuzalco*, who prevail'd with her father to change the first tribute into a couple of ducks and a little fish. The wedding was kept with great solemnity, according to custom, which was perform'd by tying one end or point of the bridegroom's cloak to the point of the bride's, to denote the matrimonial knot. The queen dying, the king did not outlive her a year, but died in the thirtieth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign.

*Chimalpa*  
proa third  
king.

His son *Chimalpopoca* was chosen the third king, at ten years of age; adding to the ancient ceremonies of coronation, that of putting into his left hand a bow and arrow, and into his right a naked sword. There being a great scarcity of water in his kingdom, he got leave of the king of *Azcapuzalco*, his grandfather by the mother's side, to bring water from the mountain of *Chapultepec*, a league distant from *Mexico*; but the *Mexicans* having made the pipes of cane, and little or no water coming thro' them to the lake, they were so bold as to demand of that king, their friend, stone, lime, timber, and workmen to make a solid aqueduct. The *Tepanecas*, offended at it, made a bloody war upon the *Mexicans*, so that the old king died for grief, to see his grandson going to ruin, who was treacherously murder'd in his own palace.

*Tizocatl*  
4th king.

For their next king the *Mexicans* chose *Tizocatl*, which signifies *serpent of the knife*, being the son of their first king by a slave. He, to revenge the outrage committed against his predecessor, fought with the *Tepanecas*, and destroy'd 'em, plundering and ruining *Azcapuzalco*, and pursuing the people to the mountains, till he had made 'em subject to him. Then, according to custom, he divided the booty and lands of those conquer'd among his people. Nor did the course of his victories stop here, but having first subdued the inhabitants of *Tacuba* and *Cayanacan*, who lived under lords of their own, he also overthrew and destroy'd the *Suckimilcas*, first inhabitants of the lake, as was said before, obliging them to make a causeway on the lake to join communication with their city, which was four leagues from *Mexico*. Next, he bent his force against the city *Cuiclavaca*, the king whereof voluntarily submitting, own'd him for his sovereign. And thus *Mexico* gained the sovereignty over all the towns and people about it.

*Tizocatl* having reigned thus prosperously twelve years, died; and the general under

whose conduct these conquests had been made, whose name was *Tlacaellel*, and who was his nephew, took care to assemble the electors, which were the kings of *Tescuco* and *Tacuba*, and four others, to appoint a new king. *Moteczuma*, the general's nephew, was elected. He first instituted the barbarous custom, that no king should be crown'd till he had sacrific'd some captives taken by himself in war; and therefore a quarrel being pick'd with the province of *Chalco* for this very purpose, he in person took several prisoners, and then sacrific'd 'em at *Mexico*, upon his coronation-day. This sacrifice was perform'd by ripping open the breast of the captive with a knife made of flint, and taking out the heart immediately, which was thrown into the face of the idol, whilst 'twas yet leaping. To this he added the drawing of some blood out of his ears, and other parts, before the fire-pan they call'd divine, which serv'd in their abominable sacrifices. Then he bestow'd great larges among the people, and receiv'd the tribute of the provinces. Having subdued *Chalco*, he undertook to extend his empire, by the advice of his uncle, who was always of opinion not to conquer the neighbouring province of *Tlascala*, that it might serve to sharpen the courage of their youth in war, and to furnish prisoners to sacrifice to the idol. This king erected a stately palace for himself, and a sumptuous temple for his god, and erected several courts. He died when he had reign'd twenty-eight years.

The four electors meeting with the kings of *Tescuco*, and *Tacuba*, chose *Tlacaellel*, who would not accept of the crown, saying it was better for the publick, that another should reign, and he assist him with his service and advice. This generosity, which shew'd the barbarian was much superior to *Cesar*, who, through ambition, depriv'd his country of its liberty, mov'd the electors to leave it to him to make whom he pleas'd king, and he nam'd *Ticbo-chu*, son to the king decess'd. *Ticbo-chu* appearing to be no soldier, the *Mexicans* poison'd him, raising his brother *Axayacac* to the throne, by the advice of *Tlacaellel*, who dying with age, recommending his son to the new king, who in gratitude made him his general.

Before his coronation, *Axayacac* march'd against the province of *Tlaxuanpetec*; and in a short time plunder'd it and subdu'd it. In his return coming to a battle with the lord of *Tlaxcaluco* (where at present is the church of St. James) he slew him, and level'd his city with the ground. This king dy'd when he had reign'd eleven years.

After him *Ahuizotl*, the 8th king ascend'd the throne, but before his coronation, he went according to custom, to punish the

*Qua-*

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 his coronation, *8th king*  
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*Qua-*

*Quasatlans*, who had taken the tribute, as it was coming to *Mexico* on the road. He extended the borders of his kingdom, as far as *Guatemala*, and encompass'd *Mexico* with water, by bringing to it an arm of the river that ran by *Cuyapacan*. This man, at the dedication of the temple to the idol *Huitzilopochtli* (which was in the year 1486) sacrific'd in the space of four days follow- ing 64080 men; six millions of people re- sorting to the festival, as the *Mexican* his- tories tell us. 'His *Indian Nero* dy'd in the eleventh year of his reign.

After him was chosen *Montezuma*, whom the *Spaniards* found there, when they came to *Mexico*, his name in their language sig- nifying a wife lord; because he, before his exaltation to the throne, was grave, and majestick, a man of few words, and dis- creet, which made him much honour'd and fear'd. Besides, he had refus'd the crown, retiring into the temple of the idol, where he had a solitary apartment; so that the electors were fain to go thither to per- suade, and bring him to the empire, with extraordinary modesty. When once a king, he chang'd his humility and meekness into such pride, that he order'd all places and employments about the court, should be taken from commoners, and nobles to come in their stead. Before his coronation, with the assistance of the nobility, he march'd to reduce a northern province that had re- volted, and brought him a rich booty, and many prisoners for sacrifice. At his return he was receiv'd with great joy by his sub- jects, and crown'd in great state, with a- bundance of tributes from the conquer'd countries.

If the royal standard happen'd to be lost, those people us'd to retire without pro- secuting the battle; as it happened at *Otumba*, where *Cortes* and his *Spaniards* pursu'd the flying *Mexicans*; the same they did, if the king was kill'd, to celebrate his funeral, ceasing from all labour. *Montezuma* made his subjects adore, rather than respect him; he was always carry'd on the shoulders of great men; never wore one garment twice, or eat or drank out of the same vessel. He kept in his palace all sorts of birds and beasts, and sea-fish in his salt-fish ponds, and river-fish in fresh water. If any kind could not be had, he kept them in gold, and for grandeur. He was very precise in

exacting punctual duty from his subjects; *GEMEL- LI*. and therefore sometimes went abroad in dis- guise, to see whether his orders were obey'd. 1693. Lastly, he seldom appear'd in publick, to avoid creating familiarity.

The downfall of the empire now drawing near; several signs appearing as blazing stars and pyramidal fire in the sky, mon- sters on the earth, and prodigies in the lake; *Montezuma*, tho' at first he had treat- ed the astrologers hardly (who foretold some great calamity; and the magicians who related dreadful visions) being at last brought to repentance, retir'd to a solitary house, expecting his ruin, to be wrought by the children of the sun, coming from the east, according to ancient predictions. In the fourteenth year of his reign, the *Spaniards* came from the northern sea in several ships, subdu'd *Mexico*, took *Montezuma* prisoner, and afterwards the *Inga* of *Peru* and *Cusco*, which last was lord of a country a thousand leagues in length from the kingdom of *Chile*, beyond that of *Quito*; and the first from the north, to the south-sea; and look'd upon more like Gods than men. Among other enormities the *Inga* was guilty of, he would marry his own sisters, whose son af- terwards inherited the crown, as born of the *Coya*, or first heirs; but if the king deceas'd left ever a brother, he was prefer- red before his nephew. Whilst *Montezuma* was still alive, the *Mexicans* chose *Quauhtimoc* for their king, who dy'd a prisoner to *Cortes*.

It is to be observ'd that the succession of the crown of *Mexico*, went to the collateral line, not the immediate issue, age taking the preference; the second, third, fourth, and so to the last brother, being chose after the first; and for want of them, they be- gan with the eldest son of the eldest brother, and so to the second, third, and so forth. At first the choice belong'd to all the peo- ple; but afterwards by the advice of *Tlacel- lel*, in the reign of *Yzcoatl* the fourth king, it was committed to only four electors of the blood royal, and the two kings of *Tecuco* and *Tacuba*; the first of which perform- ed the ceremony of the coronation. As long as the kings of *Mexico* were poor, they were moderate in their expence and atten- dance, but as they grew powerful, they be- came haughty, tyrannical and stateful.

## CHAP. IV.

Of the comparison some writers make between the Mexican monarchy, and the vision in the 13th chap. of St. John.

I have dilated a little upon the origin of the seven generations, and the genealo- gy of the ten kings of *Mexico*; that the in- Vol. IV.

genious and discreet reader, may in this chapter conceive how some persons came to take this monarchy, for the beast describ'd by

GEMEL by St. John, in the 13th chapter of his revelation; with no less reason than others did the Roman monarchy; for they considering the lake of Mexico, say the lake of Chalco, 1. makes the head and neck, 2. a rock, the eye; 3. another rock, the ear, 4. the caufway, the collar, 5. the lake on which Mexico is built, the stomach, 6. the feet they say are the four rivers, 7. the body, the great lake of Mexico, 8. the wings, the two rivers of Tefuco and Papatola, 9. the tail, the lake of St. Christopher and Xaltocan, 10. the horns, the two rivers of Tlamanako, Tepeapulco. And then the other lakes lying confusedly, they say they were made by the flaver of the beast.

See Cut, Page 490.

Now follows the resemblance between the Mexican monarchy and its religion, and the same beast.

The seven generations or nations inhabiting it, are, the seven heads.

- |                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1. Subimileas. | 5. Tlatelulcans. |
| 2. Chalcoas.   | 6. Tlaxcallans.  |
| 3. Tecpanecas. | 7. Mexicans.     |
| 4. Tefucans.   |                  |

Ten kings.  
Ten horns.

|                     |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Acamapichile, 56 | 6. Tizocbic, 37    |
| 2. Huizlaubtli, 96  | 7. Axayacac, 27    |
| 3. Chiamalpocac, 66 | 8. Abuitzotl, 77   |
| 4. Tizcoatl, 62     | 9. Montezuma, 84   |
| 5. Moubiezuma, 84   | 10. Quaubtinoz, 77 |
| <hr/> 364           | <hr/> 302          |

Which together make 666, the number of the beast.

For the better understanding hereof, it is to be observ'd, that the Mexican language uses but 15 letters (not being able to pronounce the rest) to which applying the numbers, from one to fifteen, and these to the names of the kings, casting up every one apart, and then adding all the sums together, they make the just number of 666. To make this the plainer, I first set down the fifteen letters, and the numbers answering to them under; then the names of the kings, with each figure to each letter; then cast up the particulars, and the total of all those sums, is 666. This will appear by the calculation of every king's name, according to the Indian histories, quoted by Arrigo Martinez, at the end of his register of times, printed at Mexico in the beginning of the last age.

A.C.E.H.I.L.M.N.O.P.Q.T.U.V.Z.  
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13.  
14. 15.

The Analysis, or solution of the names of the ten kings in numbers.

| 1.       | 2.       | 3.       |
|----------|----------|----------|
| A—1      | H—4      | C—2      |
| C—2      | V—13     | H—4      |
| A—1      | I—5      | I—5      |
| M—7      | Z—15     | M—7      |
| A—1      | T—12     | A—1      |
| P—10     | L—6      | L—6      |
| I—5      | A—1      | P—10     |
| C—2      | V—13     | O—9      |
| H—4      | H—4      | P—10     |
| T—12     | T—12     | O—9      |
| L—6      | L—6      | C—2      |
| I—5      | I—5      | A—1      |
| <hr/> 56 | <hr/> 96 | <hr/> 66 |

| 4.       | 5.       | 6.       |
|----------|----------|----------|
| I—5      | M—7      | T—12     |
| T—12     | O—9      | I—5      |
| Z—15     | V—13     | C—2      |
| C—2      | H—4      | O—9      |
| O—9      | T—12     | C—2      |
| A—1      | E—3      | I—5      |
| T—12     | Z—15     | C—2      |
| L—6      | V—13     |          |
|          | M—7      |          |
|          | A—1      |          |
| <hr/> 62 | <hr/> 84 | <hr/> 37 |

| 7.       | 8.       | 9.       | 10.      |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| A—1      | A—1      | M—7      | Q—11     |
| X—14     | H—4      | O—9      | V—13     |
| A—1      | V—13     | V—13     | A—1      |
| I—5      | I—5      | H—4      | V—13     |
| A—1      | T—12     | T—12     | H—4      |
| C—2      | Z—15     | E—3      | T—12     |
| A—1      | O—9      | Z—15     | I—5      |
| C—2      | T—12     | V—13     | M—7      |
|          | L—6      | M—7      | O—9      |
|          |          | A—1      | C—2      |
| <hr/> 27 | <hr/> 77 | <hr/> 84 | <hr/> 77 |

I am oblig'd further to let the reader understand, that the plan or map before inserted, is not mine, but we are indebted for it, to the experienced Adrian Boot, a French engineer, sent into New Spain in the year 1629

# BOOK IV.

Q.T.U. & Z.  
10. 11. 12. 13.

of the names of  
numbers.

3.

C—2  
H—4  
I—5  
M—7  
A—1  
L—6  
P—10  
O—9  
P—10  
O—9  
C—2  
A—1

66

6.

T—12  
I—5  
C—2  
O—9  
C—2  
I—5  
C—2

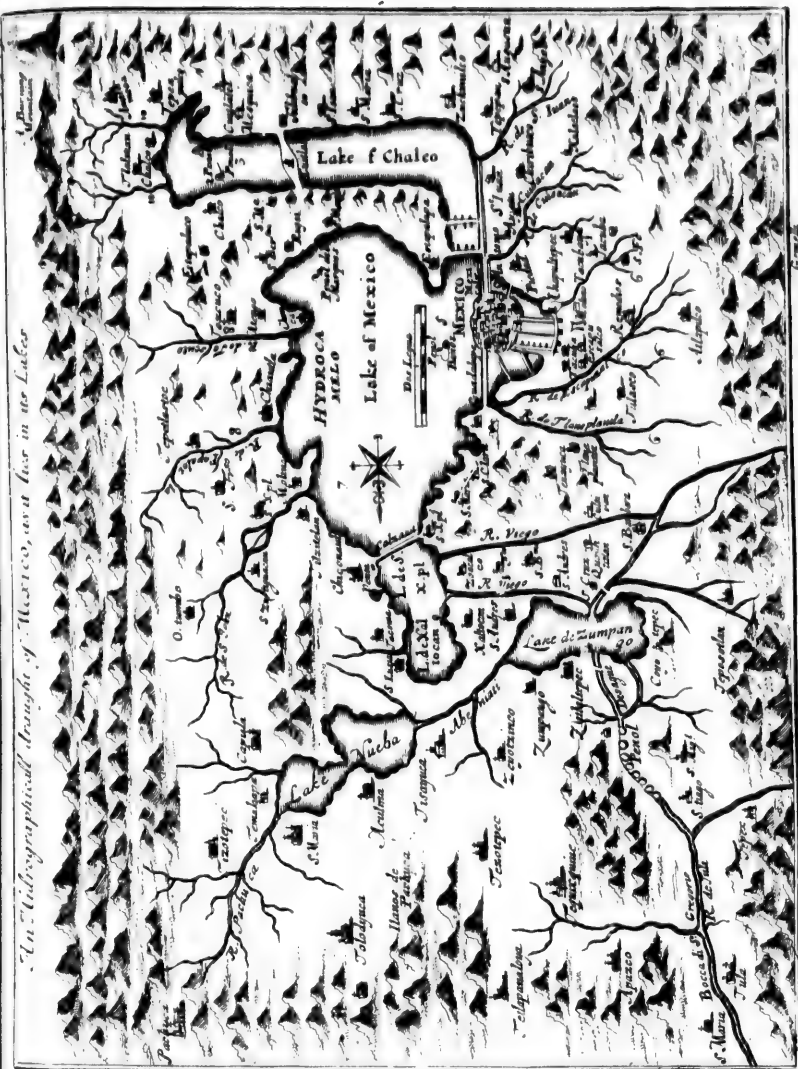
37

9. 10.  
7 Q—11  
9 V—13  
13 A—1  
4 V—13  
12 H—4  
3 T—12  
15 I—5  
13 M—7  
7 O—9  
1 C—2

84

77

Let the reader un-  
der map before in-  
are indebted for  
an Boot, a French  
Spain in the year  
1629



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1629 by Philip the 4th of happy memory, to find a passage out for the waters of the lake of Mexico. He made that draught upon an exact survey; but being in some measure defaced by time, it was with great labour restor'd to its being, by Dr. Christo-

pher de Guadalajara, of the city of the angels, an able mathematician, who made me a present of an exact copy of it, when I pass'd through that city, that I might cause it to be printed, for the satisfaction of curious persons.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1698.

## CHAP. V.

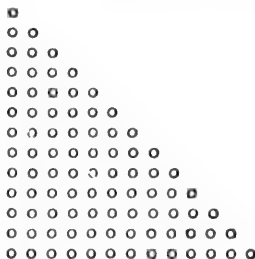
Of the Mexican months, years and age, and of their hieroglyphicks.

Mexican  
age.

FOR want of letters, the ingenious Mexicans us'd symbols, or hieroglyphicks, to express corporeal things, which have a shape; and for other things, other proper characters; and so, for the benefit of posterity, they noted down all that happened. As for instance, to denote the coming of the Spaniards, they painted a man with his hair and cloaths red, in the sign of a cane, which betoken'd that year. Their way of writing was from the bottom of the board or paper upwards, directly contrary to the Chinese. They had certain rounds or circles painted, which contain'd the space of an age, divided into years with the proper symbols; to set down there the time when remarkable things happen'd, with the proper figures and characters. This age consisted of fifty two solar years, of 365 days each. The wheel, circle or round, was divided into four parts, each containing thirteen years, and answer'd to one of the four parts of the world, after the following manner.

A snake turn'd it self round into a circle, and in the body of the serpent there were four divisions. The first denoted the south, in that language call'd *Uutzilampa*, whose hieroglyphick was a rabbit in a blew field, which they call'd *Tocbtli*. Lower was the part that signify'd the east, call'd *Tlacopa*, or *Tlahuicopa*, denoted by a cane in a red field, call'd *Acatl*. The hieroglyphick of the north, or *Micolampa*, was a sword pointed with flint, call'd *Tecpall*, in a yellow field. That of the west, or *Sibuatlampa*, was a house in a green field, and call'd *Cagli*.

These four divisions were the beginning of the four terms that made up the age. Between every two, on the inside of the snake, there were twelve small divisions, among which the four first names or figures were successively distributed, giving every one its number to thirteen, which was the number of years that compos'd an indiction; the like was done in the second indiction, with the same names from one to thirteen, and so in the third and fourth, till they finish'd the circle of fifty two years, as follows.



This way of reckoning by thirteen, was not only observ'd in their years, but in their months; for tho' their month was of twenty days, yet when they came to the number thirteen they began again. To endeavour to find out the reason why they did so, is aiming at an impossibility, but perhaps they might in this particular follow their calculation of the moon. They divided the lunar motion into two times, the first of watching, from the *Heliacal*, or solar rising, till the opposition, which was of thirteen days; and the other of sleep, of the same number of days, till the morning setting.

This extravagant computation of the moon, was grounded upon a fable, which is, That the Gods having resolv'd to destroy the darkness that cover'd the world; two of them undertook this work, which were *Tecucistecatl*, and *Nanabuatzin*. These, after making great preparations at *Teotihuacan*, a place now call'd *Tzacagli*, having cast themselves into the fire of a burning rock, call'd *Tutexcagli*, and being converted into ashes, within a short while after appear'd in the east, *Nanabuatzin* become the sun, and *Tecucistecatl* the moon. At first they had no motion, but afterwards the wind, by order of the Gods, began to move them; but after a different manner, for at the end of thirteen days, the sun being come to the west, the moon began to appear in the east. This being so unlikely, they might perhaps say so, to give every one of their greater Gods, which were thirteen, the government and dominion of their years and days;

GEMEL-days; but the *Mexicans* themselves are ignorant of both.

1698.

From what has been said above there arise several doubts; the first is, why they begin to reckon their years from the south; the second, why they made use of the four figures, of a rabbit, a cane, a flint, and a house. To the first they answer, that when the gods had resolv'd at *Teotihuacan* to take away the great darkness, and *Nanabualzin* and *Teotihuacan*, by means of the fire, were converted into sun and moon, the rest of the gods set themselves to observe from what quarter of heaven the light would first appear; wherein they were of sundry opinions, some affirming 'twould come from the north; others, from the south; others, from the east; and others, from the west (as if the names of east and west, &c. had been invented before the sun had enlightned the earth) but that at length 'twas seen to come out of the south. Moreover, the ancient *Mexicans* believing the world would end with their age, among other ceremonies, on the last day of it, they knelt on the tops of their houses, with their faces to the east, doubtfully expecting to see whether the sun would continue his course, and whether the end of the world was come; and since in this posture they must of necessity have the south on their right hand, they thence argu'd that the light began from the south. To this may be added that the *Mexicans* firmly believ'd hell to be in the north, and therefore it was not proper that the sun should have commenced his course from thence, but from the opposite part, where the Gods *Vitiznaoa* dwelt, in respect to whom they call'd the south *Vitizlampi*.

They also said it was a benefit of those same gods, that the age was renew'd, because time naturally would end with the old sun; and that the sun of the new age was a new sun, that was to follow the course of nature, which every year made the trees green, after *January* (as is observ'd in that climate) when the sun was come away from the south, which is the habitation of the Gods. Having found this analogy between the age and the year, they would carry the similitude, or proportion, on further, and, as in the year there are four seasons, so they would adapt the like to the age; and accordingly they appointed *Tochtli* for its beginning in the south, as it were the spring and youth of the sun's age; *Acatl* for summer, *Tecpatl* for autumn, and *Cagli* for his old age, or winter.

These figures so dispos'd, were also the hieroglyphicks of the four elements, which is the second doubt; for *Tochtli* was dedicated to *Tevacayobua* God of the earth, *Acatl* to *Tlalzacatub* God of the water,

*Tecpatl* to *Chetzacatub* God of the air, and *Cagli* to *Xibicubil* God of the fire. Perhaps they meant to express the nature of the four cardinal winds, which were the only ones they knew, and this in honour of *Chetzacatub* God of the winds, who, as was said before, gave the first motion to the sun and moon. Whatsoever the reason of it was, 'tis certain that *Neptune*, whom they call'd *Teucipalli* was the inventor of these hieroglyphicks and method of disposing them, to the end that every man, without any other study, might know the number of years that made an age; the distinction of the indictions in what year it happened; the succession of their kings, and other things of note.

Their solar year consisted of 365 days, <sup>Mexican</sup> according to the form of the <sup>Years,</sup> *Egyptian* priests, which had its original from *Noah*, after the flood, as *Berosus* tells us (if it be true, that the books which now go under his name, were writ by that ancient chaldean) who writes thus. He also taught them (that is, the priests) the course of the stars, and ordain'd the year according to the course of the sun (for which reason he was thought to partake of the divine nature.) For which things (says the same author) they thought him to partake of the divine nature, and therefore call'd him *Ouibama* and *Asia*, that is, heaven and the sun. However, others differ in opinion, concerning the great diversity of years among the *Egyptians*; 'tis certain other nations had the same year of 365 days, but they learnt it of the *Egyptians*, who preserv'd the knowledge deliver'd by *Noah*, by means of his son *Cham*, or *Ham*. Now the *Mexicans* must of necessity follow the same doctrine, being originally descended from *Neptune*, who cannot be thought to have given them any other instructions, but what he learnt of his father *Mefraim*, who had them from *Cham*, or *Ham*, and from his grandfather *Noah*, among the inhabitants of *Egypt*.

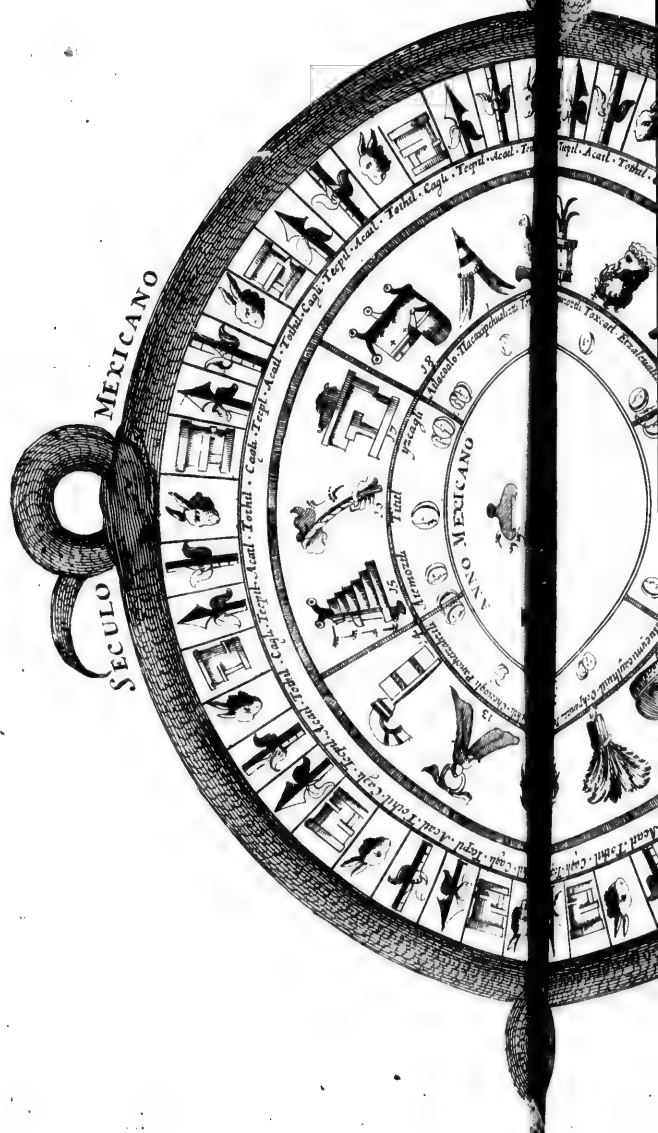
As for the months, though some of the <sup>their</sup> off-spring of *Noah* reckon'd them after several manners, some allowing twenty eight days, some twenty nine, others thirty, and thirty one, and not always after the same manner; yet the *Mexicans* still following the same *Egyptians*, made their month regular, not of thirty, but of twenty days; but this turn'd to the same account, putting eighteen *Mexican* months of twenty days each, to twelve *Egyptian* months of thirty days. The names of the months are as follows. 1. *Tlacaxipe hua liztli*, 2. *Tozoztli*, 3. *Hueytozoztli*, 4. *Toxcatl*, 5. *Etzalcualiztli*, 6. *Ticuyil buil*, 7. *Hueytecuil buil*, 8. *Micayil buil*, 9. *Hueymicayil buil*, 10. *Ocapaniztli*, 11. *Pacbil*, 12. *Hueypacbil*, 13. *Cbeciogil*, 14. *Panabetzaliztli*,

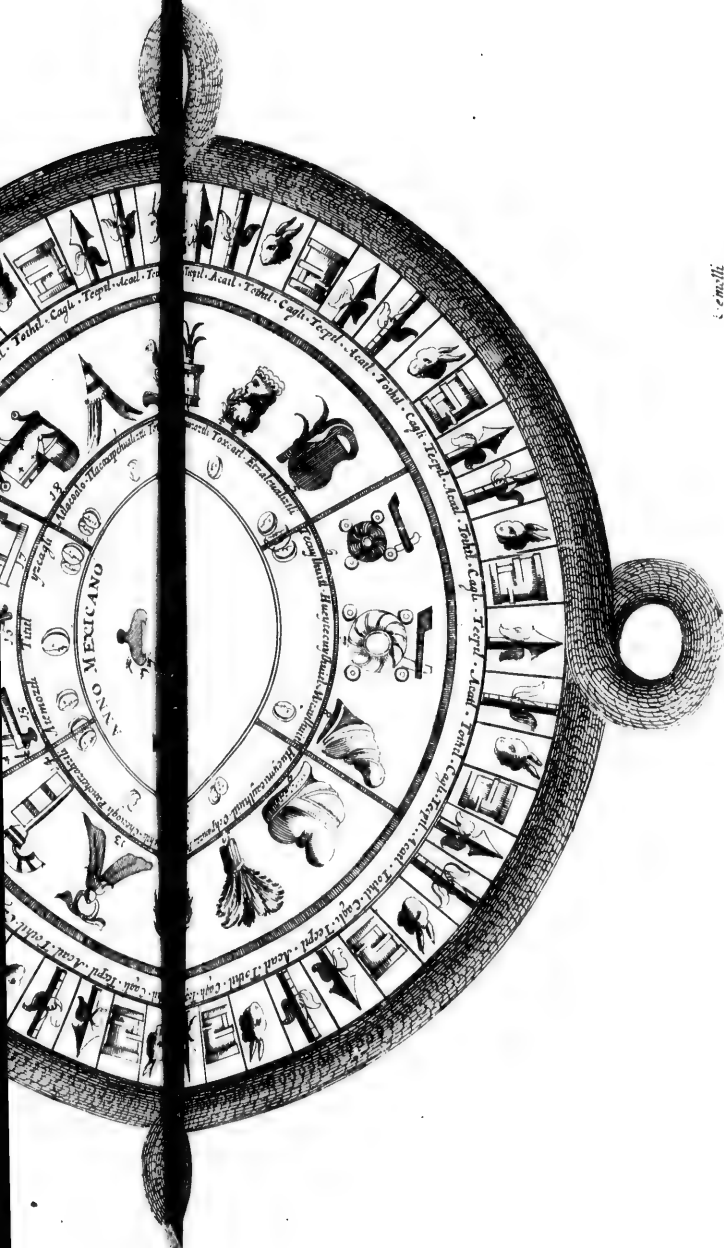
## Book IV.

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*cbetzalitzli*, 15. *Atemoztli*, 16. *Tititl*, 17. *Tecaglli*, 18. *Atlacaco*, as may be seen by their characters upon the inner circle of the figure.

Their  
days.

Every one of the twenty days had its proper name, which were, *Cipaëlli*, *Cecatl*, *Caglicuetzapaglin*, *Coatl*, *Micbiztli*, *Marzatl*, *Tocbtli*, *Atl*, *Itzcuintli*, *Ozomatli*, *Malinagli*, *Acatl*, *Ocelotl*, *Quauhtli*, *Cozcaquauhtli*, *Ozlin*, *Tecpatl*, *Quabutli*, and *Xocitl*.

Noweeks.

These months were not divided into weeks, because these began among the *Hebrews* in the time of *Moses*, in memory of the days of the creation, long after the institution of the *Mexican* circle; or, as others will have it, was invented soon after by the *Babylonians*, to distinguish the days by the seven planets, and the dominion they assign'd them over the unequal hours, whereof they were the first observers. I said the days were also counted by the *Mexicans* by thirteens, though there were twenty in a month. This was done to avoid confusion; for giving the name of any day, according to this method, with the number answerable to it in this order of thirteen and thirteen, they knew what month it belong'd to, without ever mistaking. Besides this division by thirteen, there was another, of five and five days, on which they made *Tinguez*, as is still practis'd in several places, and this was on the third, eighth, thirteenth, and eighteenth of every month, being days dedicated to the four figures *Tocbtli*, *Acatl*, *Tecpatl*, and *Cagli*, and this rule was always the same, though the years did not begin with *Tocbtli*.

See Cut Page 493.

This further makes out the great resemblance with the *Egyptian* computation; for as these, to twelve months (which they call'd *Tuotli*, *Phaophi*, *Atbyr*, *Cear*, *Tybi*, *Mecir*, *Phamenoth*, *Pharmuthi*, *Phaicon*, *Paymi*, *Epephi*, and *Mejori*) which made three hundred and sixty days, added five days more, which they call'd *Epagomeni*, to complete the circle of the sun; so the *Mexicans*, their eighteen months in like manner making three hundred and sixty days, added five days at the end of every year, and call'd them *Nonontemi*, that is, wandering, to make up the same number of three hundred sixty and five. Some think that these five days being out of the number of the months, had no particular name, and that therefore the first of every month was *Cipaëlli*. But they are much deceiv'd, for they had not only names, but were brought into their thirteens. For the better understanding hereof, let us imagine an age, the first year whereof is *Tocbtli*, to which *Cipaëlli* answers, as first day of the

first month; if the three hundred and sixty <sup>GEMEL-</sup>days, which make the eighteen months of this year, be counted round successively by 1698.

thirteen and thirteen, it will appear that the last day of the eighteenth month, will be *Xocitl*. But if the five days call'd *Nonontemi* had no name, the following year must have begun from two *Mazatl*, with ten *Cipaëlli*. Thus the reckoning of the thirteens would have been interrupted, with *Cipaëlli*, had not they been reckon'd in. The *Mexicans* to this day sufficiently solve this difficulty; saying, that the days *Cipaëlli*, *Micbiztli*, *Ozomatli*, and *Cozcaquauhtli*, are companions to, that is, in all respects follow the order of the four figures that denote the years of an age, viz. *Tocbtli*, *Acatl*, *Tecpatl*, and *Cagli*; to signify that every year whose symbol is *Tocbtli*, will have *Cipaëlli* for the first day of the month; that, whose symbol or distinctive mark is *Acatl*, will have *Micbiztli* for the first of the month; *Tecpatl* will have *Ozomatli*, and *Cagli* will have *Cozcaquauhtli*. Yet this is to be farther observ'd, that the numerical value according to the thirteens, regularly counted from the beginning of the age (including the five *Nonontemi* days) will answer to that, which belongs to the first day of the year, according to the succession from *Tocbtli* forwards, as plainly appears by the draught above mention'd. The whole will be better understood after this manner. This first year of the aforementioned age the months ended with nine *Xocitl*, and the names and numbers answering to the five *Nonontemi* days, were ten *Cipaëlli*, eleven *Cecatl*, twelve *Cagli*, thirteen *Cuetzapaglin*, and one *Coatl*, which made up the year of three hundred sixty five days. Thus without breaking the order of names, the next year began *Micbiztli*, which is the day immediately following *Coatl*, and continuing on with the thirteens, since the last of the five *Nonontemi* days, was the first call'd *Coatl*; this also will be the character of the first day of the second year, viz. that will be *Ome*, and this *Ome* *Micbiztli*. This is not accidental, but very regular in all the years of an age (as may be easily demonstrated) and so this second year beginning at two *Micbiztli*, will end its months at ten *Coatl*, and three hundred sixty five days at two *Itzcuintli*, so the following third year *Tecpatl*, will begin at three *Ozomatli*, and the next being the fourth *Cagli*, at four *Cozcaquauhtli*, and so on in the rest, till the thirteen is out. By this it appears, that the four days *Cipaëlli*, &c. did not only answer to the four symbols of the years *Tocbtli*, &c. but that they had also the same numerical denomination, deriv'd from the thirteens.

They therefore, who know how much almost all the eastern nations err'd in this particular,

GEMEL- ticular, may be judges how much the wit  
 L. I. of the *Mexicans* deserv'd to be commend-  
 1698. ed, and look'd upon, for inventing so arti-  
 ficial and regular a circle. But this hon-  
 our is not due to the *Mexicans* of these  
 times, who are neither astrologers, nor ar-  
 rithmeticians, and therefore by their igno-  
 rance would convict me of a falsehood; but to those heathens, as we shew'd above, and to their most ancient master *Neptune*, as is learnedly observ'd by *D. Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora*, professor of the mathematics in the university of *Mexico*, in his *Cyclographia*, where he brings texts of scripture, traditions of the *Indians*, paintings, and most notable hieroglyphicks, which had been preserv'd by *Dr. John de Alva*, lord of *Catzealga*, and of *S. John Teotihuacan*, who inherited them from his forefathers, kings of *Tezcuc*, from whom he was lineally descended by the males; and they were left in the hands of *D. Carlos* his executor. It is most certain the like is not to be found in all *New Spain*; because the *Spaniards* at their first coming burnt all they found; for seeing them without letters, and with such variety of figures, they look'd upon them as superstitious. *Monseñor Sumaria*, first bishop of *Mexico*, made an end of destroying what remain'd, and broke abundance of old idols; so that the figure of the *Mexican* year, and other antiquities of the *Indians* which follow in this volume, are all owing to the industry and courtesy of the aforesaid *D. Carlos* de

*Sigüenza*, who presented me with these extraordinary rarities.

They order'd the bissextile, or leap year, after this manner. The first year of the age began on the tenth of *April*, and so did the second and third, but the fourth or leap year, on the ninth, the eighth on the eighth, the twelfth on the seventh, the sixteenth on the sixth, till the end of the age, which was on the twenty eighth of *March*, when the thirteen days of the leap years, till the tenth of *April*, were spent in rejoicing.

Before the new age began, they broke their vessels, and put out the fire; supposing that since the world was to end with an age, perhaps that might be it. When the first day appear'd, they solemniz'd it with drums and other instruments they us'd; giving thanks to God, for having granted them another age; they bought new vessels, and receiv'd the new fire, from the high priest in solemn procession.

The people of *Peru* reckon'd by moons, Year and twelve months with as many days as we *Peru* do, and besides began their year at *January*, but afterwards one of their kings would have it to begin at *December*. They plac'd about the city *Cuzco*, which was the court of the *Inca* kings, twelve pillars, at such distances, and in such order, that each of them, every month, should point out the sun's rising and setting; and thus they regulated their festivals, and the seasons sowing and reaping, every pillar having its proper name.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of the horrid sacrifices the Indians offer'd to their idols, and of their festivals and habit.*

Sacrifice  
to Tezcuc-  
tlican.

THE *Mexicans* kept as it were a jubilee every fourth year, on the nineteenth of *May*, on which was the festival of the idol *Tezcucatlucan*. They fasted five days before it, and the priests abstain'd from their wives, and went about beating themselves in a penitential habit. All other people were clad after the same manner, and went in procession begging one another's pardon. Upon the day appointed a slave that was like the statue of the idol was sacrific'd, and others with him, ripping open their breasts, as was said before, and casting the hearts still alive, upon the idol's face. These captives, to make them the more miserable, were fatt'd up some days before, and worship'd about the city like Gods.

To Quetzal-  
za a le-  
stat.

The festival they kept in honour of their God, *Quetzalza a lestat*, was yet more detestable. Forty days before it, they bought a sound slave without any blemish, and

clad him in the idol's garments, that he might be honour'd. Nine days before the solemnity, two old men came from the temple, to tell him he was to die, and seeing him concern'd, they went and wash'd the knives of the sacrifice, and the blood they took off them they gave the wretch to drink mixt with cacao; believing that would cause him not to fear death. The festival day being come, they ripped open his breast, at midnight, and taking out his heart, offer'd it to the moon, and then to the idol. The body they threw down the steps of the temple; where the buyers took it up, and carrying it to the house of the chiefest among them, the next day made a plentiful feast.

There was another sort of sacrifice call'd *Racaxipe Valzili*, which signifies fleaing of people; because they flead a slave, and cloathing another in his skin, led him about the city, begging for the temple, and striking



# BOOK IV.

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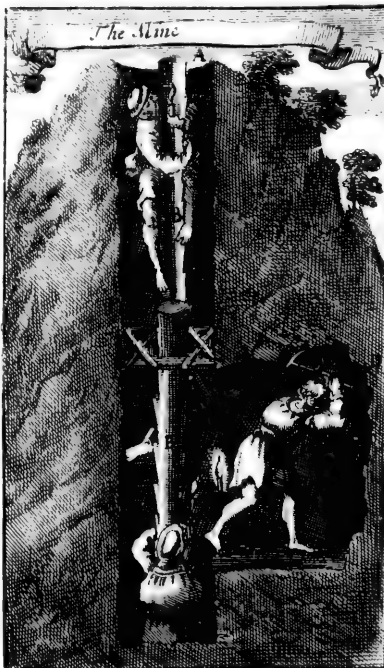
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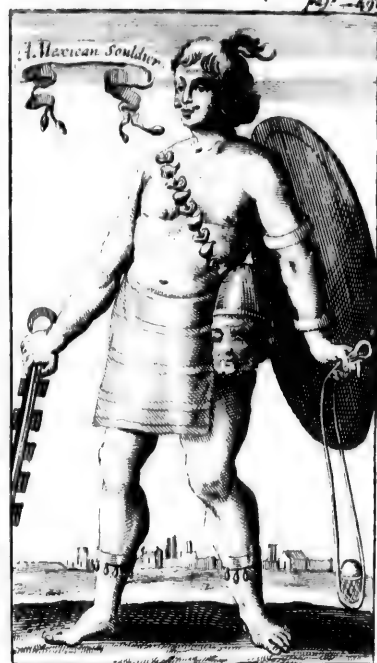
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striking those who gave nothing, over the face with some of the skin, as long as it was found. Other times they clad several slaves with the idol's garments, a whole year before the festival, leading them in the day-time about the city, that they might be ador'd like the idols, and keeping them shut up at night, feeding them plentifully. At the year's end they sacrific'd them, and substituted others in their places. Some years they butcher'd to the number of twenty thousand; for the barbarous priests would go tell the king, that the idols had nothing to eat, and were starving with hunger; and for this reason they made war to get prisoners to sacrifice. Four priests held the victims by the hands and feet, another ripp'd open the breast, and took out the heart, and another held up the neck, having first laid him with his back on a sharp stone.

In Peru they also sacrificed children from four to ten years of age, for the Inga's health; and so did sons for their parents when desperately sick, offering them to the sun, or Viracocha; stifling, or cutting their throats.

The most famous idols in Mexico, next to *Vitziliputzli*, were *Tescatepcca*, and *Huicilobos*, to whom they sacrificed every year two thousand five hundred men, fatted in pens. The offering was only of the foreheads, ears, tongues, lips, arms, legs, and other extreme parts. The temples were built after the manner of the pyramids of Egypt, ascending by stairs, and for the most part of clay; the idol being placed at the top in a tabernacle, near which was a place apart, to lay the heads of the victims. Close by the temple, there were apartments for the priests.

They had an idol of rain call'd *Tlaloc*, that is, fertilizer of the earth. His figure was of the common stature of a man, with a frightful face; and they often anointed him with a liquor, call'd *Oboli*, which distils from certain trees. All his ornaments were hieroglyphicks of rain, and plenty; for in his right hand, he held a plate of beaten gold, signifying the lightning; in his left a round border of blew feathers, garnish'd with I know not what sort of thing like a net. His garment was also of blew feathers, with such trimming at the edges, and another made of hares and rabbits wool, like white half moons. On his head was a great tuft of white and green feathers, signifying the green fruit, and leaves; about his neck a collar of buck's skin, his legs colour'd yellow, with gold horse-bells about them. This was the Indian hieroglyphick to denote rain. The whole may be seen more exactly in the adjoining cut.

See Cut Page 495.

In Peru, besides adoring the statue of *GEMEL* the *Inga*, when he dy'd, thousands of his favourite concubines and servants were kill'd, to serve him in the other world; and vast treasures were bury'd with him, that he might make use of them upon occasion. The other *Indians*, besides all this, placed meat near the tombs, believing the dead would eat. Besides, having performed the obsequies with abundance of ceremonies, they cloath'd the dead body in its robes or garment, that denoted its dignity, and then bury'd it in the court, or having burnt it, kept the ashes in an honourable place.

As for the manner of cloathing it, it was no less barbarous. The soldiers, that they might appear the more dreadful to their enemies, stain'd their naked body; or else cover'd it with a whole lion's, or tiger's skin, placing the head of the beast upon their own. They hung across them like a shoulder belt, a string of men's hearts, noses and ears, with a head at the end; and in their hands carry'd such things as may be seen in the cut.

See Cut Page 495.

The habit of the king and princes of the blood was not amiss, if compar'd with that of the common sort; but it was less commendable for the practice in use among them, of boring their under-lip, for to stick a gold nail or some other jewel in it, as appears by the cuts, copy'd from originals of great antiquity, which are in the custody of *D. Carlos Siguenza*, before spoken of.

The habit of the *Indians* at present, is a short doublet, and wide breeches. On their shoulders they wear a cloak of several colours, which they call *Tilma*, and, which crossing under the right arm, is ty'd upon the left shoulder, the two ends making a great knot. Instead of shoes, they wear sandals, like those of the *Franciscan* fathers, the rest being bare-footed, and bare-legg'd, as they are. But they will never part with their hair, though they were quite naked, or in rags. The women all wear the *Guaipil* (which is like a sack) under the *Cobaxa*, which is a fine white cotton cloth; to which they add another upon their back, when they are abroad, which when in the church they place upon their head. Their coats are narrow with figures of lions, birds, and other creatures, adorning them with curious ducks feathers, which they call *Xilotepec*.

All, as well men as women, are of a dark colour, notwithstanding their endeavours to defend their faces against the cold, and to make them fair with herbs pounded. They use also to daub their heads with thin clay,

such



GEMEL- such as they use in their buildings, thinking  
L1. it refreshes the head, and makes the hair  
1698. black and soft; so that several country-

women are seen about the city in that dirty condition. The *Mestizo*, *Mulatto*, and *Black* women, which are the greatest number in *Mexico*, not being allow'd to wear veils, or be cloth'd after the *Spanish* fashion, and scorning on the other side the *Indian* habit, go in an extravagant garb, wearing a thing like a petticoat across their shoulders, or on their head, like a cloak, which makes 'em look like so many devils.

All the *Blacks* and *Mulattos* are insolent to the highest degree, and take upon 'em as much as *Spaniards*, whose habit they wear; so, among themselves, they take the title of captain, tho' they be not so; nor can there be many in *Mexico*, where there's but one only company of *Spaniards*, and a few of militia in case of need. This rabble of *Blacks* and *Tawneys* is so encreas'd, that 'tis fear'd they may one day rebel, and make themselves masters of the country, unless the carrying off so many *Blacks* be obstructed by farming it.

Genus of  
the Indi-  
ans.

The *Indians* at present are nothing near so ingenious as they were formerly, when they successfully apply'd themselves to the liberal arts and mechanicks; but now they are altogether devoted to idleness, and apply themselves to nothing but cheating. Yet those that apply themselves to any trade

shew they are very capable. Some make several figures of nothing but feathers of several colours, of a bird the *Spaniards* call *Chupastor*, that is, *Sub-flower*, of which sort I have one; others work curiously in wood, and others contrive to deceive ducks, as shy as they are; for when they have us'd 'em to be frequently among calabashes left floating on the lake for that purpose, they make holes in those calabashes, so that putting their heads in them, they can see out of them, and then going up to the neck in the water, they go among the ducks, and draw 'em down by the feet.

The *Indians* are naturally very fearful; <sup>their vi-</sup> but excessive cruel, if well back'd. <sup>ces.</sup> The vices the *Spaniards* generally charge them with are, first, the want of sense of honour (for they make nothing of robbing one another of it, besides the incests they commit with their mothers and sisters) being beastly in eating, lying on the bare ground, and dying without any concern. They are very great thieves, cheats, and impostors; but, above all, the *Mulattos*, among an hundred of whom 'tis hard to find an honest fair-dealing man. On the other side, the poor *Indians* are worse than slaves, for only they work in the mines; and what is worse, all they get is taken from 'em by the governors and other officers, notwithstanding all the daily threats that come from court.

## CHAP. VII.

*The author gives an account of the most remarkable things he saw in Mexico.*

THESE being a great dearth in *New Spain*, by reason the harvest had not answer'd the foregoing years, and the scarcity being great, upon *Tuesday* the 12th of *March*, there happen'd on that day a sort of mutiny, abundance of the rabble going that day under the viceroy's windows to demand bread; this accident rais'd such a jealousy in him, that he caus'd several *Pederos* to be planted about at the loop-holes, to be able to make the better resistance, and not suffer the crowd to approach, perhaps to burn the palace, as they did in the year 1692, when the count of *Galve* was viceroy, firing the market-place at the same time, where many vast rich shops were burnt. To remedy this evil, the viceroy, on the 13th, sent out his orders and circular letters to the farmers, and other wealthy persons, for them to bring into the city all the corn that possibly they could; for at that time they eat small loaves, which cost about three pence, and were not worth a penny.

Some *Indians* having lain with a mother <sup>Malefic</sup> and a daughter, and then robb'd and mur- <sup>der'd</sup> 'em, two leagues from the city, two <sup>with'd.</sup> of 'em were executed upon *Thursday* the 14th. With them was brought another, who had been taken two hours before opening a shop with a false key, to rob it. This man, after receiving two hundred lashes on his back, was mark'd with a red-hot iron under the gallows, besides the punishment he was to receive after his trial, the viceroy being very severe in punishing thieves.

*Friday* the 15th of *March*, a devout pro- <sup>A Proce-</sup> cession in honour of our Saviour's passion <sup>sion.</sup> set out from the royal hospital erected by the king, with a revenue of eight thousand pieces of eight, for the sick *Indians*. Above an hundred brothers went first, in a penitential habit; then the nobility, and then other penitents; then follow'd a company of soldiers clad in black, with head-pieces on, and trailing their pikes; and in the midst of them was one on horseback carrying

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rying a tunick hanging to a spear, repre-  
sented that of our Saviour; but there were  
very few musicians. This procession must  
infallibly be made, because the king has gi-  
ven a particular order for it.

Saturday 16th, I went out to shoot  
thrushes, there being abundance of them  
of several sorts, black, white, and speckled  
with red. At my return I went to the  
royal court, to hear the trial of my friend  
D. Antony Gomez. Being there in the gal-  
lery of the court, I saw the vice-oy go into  
the criminal court, and take his seat upon  
the same bench with the Oydores, or judges.

Sunday 17th, I went to the royal hospital,  
to see an indifferent-large theatre, where  
plays are acted, and the profit of them goes  
to the maintenance of the hospital. Mon-  
day 18th, I heard mass in the cathedral,  
which is large, and has three vaulted isles  
supported on high pillars of stone: the  
structure is not yet finish'd, but is carried  
on at the king's charge, who, besides an  
allowance out of his own revenue, has as-  
sign'd it a tax of half a rial a head through-  
out the diocese; and therefore the arch-  
bishop lives in a house the king pays for  
over against the mint. In the midst of it  
is the choir, curiously carv'd in sweetwood,  
with beautiful figures and feuillage, and  
four fine altars in the arms of the cross.  
About the church there are several chapels,  
gilt and vastly rich, nothing inferior to the  
famous high altar. The front is extraordi-  
nary noble, with three gates, besides five  
others on the sides. Historians tell us, that  
this church was founded by the marquis  
D. Ferdinand Cortes, on the very same  
ground where the heathen great temple  
stood; but others, from ancient paintings  
and draughts, prove that temple stood  
where now the college of St. Ildefonsus is.  
However it is, this was made a bishoprick  
on the 13th of October 1625, and an arch-  
bishoprick on the 13th of January 1645.  
It has eleven suffragan bishops, which are  
those of Puebla de los Angeles, or the city  
of angels, Mechoacan, Huxacca, Guadala-  
ra, Guatimala, Tucatan, Nicaragua, Cbiapa,  
Honduras, and Nueva Biscaya, or New Bis-  
cay; of which eleven bishopricks the tenths  
only amount to 516000 pieces of eight,  
and all the profits 5160000 pieces of eight.  
There has been spent in building the church  
of Mexico, from the day 'twas founded till  
the 22d of December 1667, 1052000 pieces  
of eight, and the work is not done to this  
day.

Tuesday 19th, being St. Joseph's day, I  
went to the church of the Mertenarians.  
The altars are vastly rich, and the roof  
gilt; and the monastery is large, and ca-  
pable of abundance of religious men. Go-  
ing thence, I met the blessed sacrament

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going from the cathedral to some sick bo-  
dy. 'Twas carried by a priest in a coach  
drawn by four mules, maintain'd at the  
charge of the brotherhood.

Wednesday 20th, I heard mass at the nu-  
nery of St. Clare, famous for the excellent  
sweet pastiles the nuns make. The church  
is well adorn'd, and the monastery a good  
structure.

Thursday 21st, I rode three leagues out  
of town, to see the celebrated garden of  
St. Angel, of the barefoot Carmelites. The  
fathers shew'd me the upper church, which,  
tho' small, was all a meer mass of gold.  
The lower church was also beautiful,  
and had five altars. Then we walk'd  
about all the monastery, which is so large,  
that it has not only conveniency for fifty-  
two religious men that live in it, but the  
provincial chapter has been kept there these  
hundred and eight years. The library is  
one of the best in the Indies, containing  
about twelve thousand volumes. I was then  
led to the so much renown'd garden, which  
tho' it be not above three quarters of a  
Spanish league in compass about the wall,  
yet a great river running thro' the midst of  
it, makes it so fruitful, tho' only the Eu-  
ropean trees there planted yield a revenue of  
thirteen thousand pieces of eight a year.  
There are forty several sorts of pears, which  
are sold for six pieces of eight a load; va-  
riety of apples, peaches, and quinces; for  
there are but few walnuts, chestnuts, or the  
like. The archbishop claiming the title of  
this fruit, and the fathers refusing to give it,  
as being trees planted for the use of the  
monastery; by the king's order an Oydore,  
or judge, went to count the trees, and found  
thirteen thousand, as I was inform'd by  
credible persons. The garden is seated in  
a delightful place, at the foot of vast high  
mountains. The fathers of the same col-  
lege have a good flower-garden, in which  
there are clove-trees; but these, tho' they  
produce blossoms as sweet and fragrant as  
those of the Molucco islands, yet the fruit  
comes not to perfection. There is also a  
park, fish-ponds, and curious fountains for  
the diversion of the religious.

Friday 22d, I went to see a famous nu-  
nery call'd The Conception. The nuns are  
eighty-five, and have about an hundred  
women-servants; because most of the mo-  
nasteries in New Spain not living in com-  
munity, but every nun receiving money out  
of the publick stock to maintain her, that  
is, two pieces of eight and a quarter a head  
every week, some keep five or six maids.  
The monastery accordingly is large, and  
cost some hundred thousands of pieces of  
eight building; and the church is large,  
and well adorn'd.

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Saturday

GEMEL-  
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Nuns.

**GEMEL-
LI.** *Saturday 23d*, I went into the neighbour-
ing church of the nuns of *St. Lazarus*, which
is also well adorn'd, has seven altars, and
the roof gilt.

**Dominic-
ans.** *Sunday 24th*, I saw the hospital of *St. Hiacinthus*, belonging to the *Dominican* mis-
sioners of *Manila*. The church is small,
but beautiful; and the *Hospitium*, or house
new built, fit to receive and entertain fifty
religious men, who are maintain'd upon the
revenue of their garden, like the college of
St. Angel, and they have money over to
send to *China*; *F. Martin Ibanez* having
told me it yields eight or nine thousand
pieces of eight a year in only herbs and fal-
lads. 'Tis to be observ'd, that the com-
pafs of the garden wall is not above the
third part of a league. Its being near the
city, makes the revenue the greater.

**Augusti-
nians.** The *Hospitium*, or house call'd *St. Nicho-
las de Villanueva*, of the *Augustinians* of the
mission of *China*, is adjoining to the other
towards *Mexico*. Here's a church, and room
to entertain forty missionaries, as I was told
by *F. Peter Flores* the procurator. This
also is maintain'd upon the revenue of the
garden.

**Incarna-
tion nuns.** *Monday 25th*, I went to the nunnery of
the *Incarnation*, where the nuns sung well
enough. They are about an hundred, and
three hundred servants: the church has se-
ven little altars, but the monastery is very
great. Passing by *St. Francis the Great* in
the afternoon, I saw half the people of the
town got together, to see the obsequies of
three persons that had been put to death
and quarter'd a month before, for horrid
crimes. The fathers of *St. John de Dios*
begg'd 'em of the court, which is usually
granted. Having placed them in the chapel
of *los Desamparados*, or of *persons for-
saken*, in their monastery, they begg'd alms
to bury and say masses for them: then they
carried 'em to *St. Francis*, where those fa-
thers perform'd their obsequies according to
custom, and then carrying them thro' the
great streets of the city, buried 'em in the
aforesaid chapel of *los Desamparados*.

**Exche-
quer.** *Tuesday 26th*, I went to the exchequer,
which is the royal palace; three officers
have the care of it, and are the *Contador* or
comptroller, *Futor* or factor, and treasurer,
who receive all tributes, and the king's fifth
part of all the plate, for marking it. This
does not amount to less than six hundred
thousand marks a year, every mark being
eight ounces, besides what the king is cheat-
ed of, which is a greater sum. *D. Philip
de Rivas*, the king's refiner, or essayer in
that court, told me, that in the year 1691
he mark'd eight hundred thousand marks.
All this plate is afterwards coin'd, first se-
parating the gold from it, provided there

be above forty grains in a mark, otherwise
'tis not worth while to separate it.

Wednesday 27th, I met the governor of *Of N.
New Mexico*, whom I had known in *Naples, Mexico*,
and who was to reside five years in that post.

This country is newly conquer'd, tho' there
still remains much more to conquer. Upon
this occasion I was told, that those *Chichime-
cas* are such skilful archers, that they will
hit a rial toss'd up into the air, and shake
off all the grain out of an ear of corn with-
out breaking it off. They are great lovers
of mules flesh; for which reason they have
often robb'd travellers, and carried away
only the beasts, leaving behind the chests
of pieces of eight, which they do not value.
They also paint their bodies, after the man-
ner of people that have been at *Jerusalem*.
The king maintains six hundred horse in
several garrisons in *New Mexico*, with an
allowance of four hundred and fifty pie-
ces of eight a man, but the soldiers have
the least part of it, the governor putting
the rest into his own pocket, for he sells 'em
all they stand in need of, exacting twenty
pieces of eight for that which is worth two;
and by this unlawful practice the govern-
ment comes to be worth three hundred
thousand pieces of eight. These soldiers
are arm'd with a buckler, musquet, and
half-pike; not to fight with the *Chichime-
cas*, but to go a hunting after them, as it
they were wild beasts, in *November*. They
are order'd by the king to endeavour not
to kill them, but to bring 'em in to be
instructed in the holy faith. Thus an hun-
dred and fifty leagues have been conquer'd
westward, tho' the people endeavour to de-
fend themselves with their arrows. The
worst is, that being five hundred leagues
from *Mexico*, those barbarians quickly re-
volt, knowing there cannot be supplies of
soldiers sent in a short time. The country
is plain, and convenient for carriages, for
some months in the year, but they are to
pass such wide deserts, that they generally
intrench every night, and keep guard, for
fear of being set upon by the savages.
The *Franciscans* have the charge of the
conversion of these *Chichimecas*, who are
rather atheists than idolaters, and have brought
a considerable number of 'em to live like
men, but their wild nature always inclines
'em to solitude. The country is so ill peo-
pled, that they travel several days journey
thro' it without meeting any village; for
which reason the viceroy of *Mexico* sent se-
veral families thither of late years to people
it, the soil producing all things that are
sow'd in it plentifully, even of fruits of
Europe; besides that, there are rich mines
of gold and silver. The length of the way
not allowing travellers to carry their quilts

to lie on, the *Jesuits* that go to their mission of *Parral* have learnt of the *Indians* to carry before 'em on their saddles their mattresses and pillows, made of leather, which at night they blow full of wind, and in the morning let it out, and put 'em up as they were.

Saturday 30th, being the day for visiting the prisons before *Easter*, the viceroy heard mass in the royal chapel, where, on a row of chairs, he sat down in the middle, and the *Oydores*, or judges, and *Alcades* on his sides. Over against him were the two *Fiscales*, or solicitors-general, one for the king, and one for criminal causes. After mass they went to the court of criminal causes, and by the way there were presented to the viceroy two tall boughs full of flowers, with rabbits hanging about it, by some *Indians* representing their corporations, and nosegays to the other ministers of state, in token of submission. The viceroy took his seat on the middle of the bench, under the canopy, with the *Oydores*, *Alcades*, and *Fiscales* on his sides, being ten in number; and then the eldest *Oydores*, or judge, read the petitions of the prisoners; whose crimes being heard, the viceroy, with the advice of the *Oydores*, decreed what was to be done; but no mercy was shewn to thieves, for he order'd them all to be prosecuted. The same day I saw the formality of examining a refiner or assayer of gold and silver, which was perform'd, the king's chief refiner, and other officers, sitting under a canopy, and the person to be examin'd making a trial of giving the assay of gold and silver in their presence, there being a furnace there for that purpose; after which, sweet waters, chocolate, and sweetmeats were given about in such plenty, that there was enough to eat and carry home, especially abundance of pastiles, which are very much perfumed, and have figures stamp'd on 'em. The *Indians* use to give 'em with chocolate and biscuits, not to be eaten then, but to carry away, taking it ill if any man, for want of being acquainted with the custom, leaves 'em behind. They give more or less according to the quality of the person, and they are worth at least a rial apiece.

Sunday 31st, in the evening, I saw a fine ceremony perform'd at the cathedral, which they call *de la Segna*: thirteen canons in long black cloaks, with hoods, went from the choir to the chapter along iron galleries; there kneeling, the dean took up a black banner with a red cross in the middle of it, which, after singing some prayers and verses of the passion, he began to wave first towards the right, to touch with the point of it the last of the canons, then towards the altar; after that towards the left, to touch the

last canon on that side, he standing in the Gemel-midst of 'em; lastly, he flourish'd the banner a while in the air, and then laying it on his shoulder, walk'd about the chapter, in memory of our Saviour's walking in *Pilate's* court: then, all being rank'd with their backs to the altar of the chapter, made a low bow one after another, and went back towards the choir, dragging vast long trains after 'em. The dean went last, between two canons, with the banner in his hands.

On *Holy Thursday*, the 4th of *April*, three processions went out, one after another; the first, of the brothers of the *Trinity*, clad in red; the second, of brothers of the church of *St. Gregory* of the *Jesuits*; and the third, of brothers of *St. Francis*, call'd the procession of the *Chinese*, because made by *Indians* of the *Philippine* islands: each of 'em carried its images, with abundance of lights, and a company of arm'd men, after the manner as was mention'd before, besides some that went a horseback, with trumpets sounding dismally before 'em. The procession being come to the palace, the *Chinese* and brothers of the *Trinity* strove for precedence, and there pass'd some blows with painted clubs they carried instead of torches and the crosses, so that several persons were hurt.

The sepulchres and monuments they make at *Mexico* are beautiful and highly, but poor in lights, all made by one model, and every year the same; the tabernacles being high, with pillars, and fretwork gilt, which serves as long as the wood holds.

Friday 5th, I saw the procession of *Jerusalem*, or mount *Calvary*, which goes from *St. Francis the Great*, carrying the figure of the sepulchre. About eight in the morning three trumpets sounded a doleful tune, and then appear'd a great many brothers with lights in their hands, and among 'em several persons whipping themselves. Then follow'd a company of arm'd men, some of 'em a horseback, carrying the sentence in writing, title, garment, and other tokens of the passion. Then persons representing our Saviour, the blessed Virgin, *St. John*, *St. Veronica*, the good and the bad thief. Then two representing *Jewish* priests, on mules, and others in very good order. In the afternoon was the procession of the *Blacks* and *Indians* of the locality of *St. Dominick*, much like the others. After this, follow'd that of the *Spaniards*, call'd the funeral of our Saviour, in which went sixteen *Regidores*, who are like aldermen, two *Alcades*, and a *Corregidor*, who are the supreme magistrates of *Mexico*, with *Alguaziles*, and sergeants before them. Then follow'd abundance of knights, and brothers, and all the mysteries of the passion carried

GEMEL-on biers, by men clad in black like angels, and adorn'd with jewels. After them came ten penitents, with vast long trains; next, the company of arm'd men, in white armour, as has been said in other places; and lastly, an image of our Saviour in a rich shrine of silver and crystal, given the Dominicans by the bishop of Campeche. By the shrine was the blessed Virgin, and St. John, follow'd by an infinite multitude of devout people. In short, nothing was inferior to the magnificence of Europe. Another procession of Indians went from the parish of St. James, of the Franciscans, much like the last, only that some Indian women went in mourning weeping, to represent the daughters of Sion.

Saturday 6th, the viceroy and vicequeen went to hear service at the cathedral: he sat on a place rais'd above the rest of the church; she, in a closet shut up with Lattices, both on the right side of the altar. On a bench behind the viceroy sat the first chaplain, captain of the guard, and gentleman of the horse. On the left side of the altar sat the Regidores, attended by two mace-bearers, clad in damask, with silver maces in their hands. After the usual ceremonies, mass beginning at *Gloria in excelsis*; the rich marble tabernacle was uncover'd, the lower part whereof is supported by sixteen pillars, and the upper by eight, with noble gilt statues, which vast work rises to the top of the church. There's also a pulpit of the same fine marble of the pillars, curiously wrought.

Sunday 7th, I saw the viceroy at the church of St. Augustine the Great, at mass, sitting on his throne, and eighteen knights Santiago, or St. James, upon two benches by him, with their white mantles of the order. There are in Mexico abundance of knights of this and other orders, who sell cloth, and silk, chocolate, and other things of less value, saying, this no way lessens their gentility, they having a warrant of the emperor Charles V. for so doing. This church is very beautiful, and has thirteen altars extraordinary rich in gold, and adorn'd with curious pictures. At the entrance on the left hand is a small congregation of the third order, with five altars richly adorn'd. I saw a play in the afternoon very ill acted by *Criollos*, that is, the sons of Spaniards by Indian women, the Europeans looking upon it as a disgrace to act in publick.

Monday 8th, I went a league out of the city to visit the church of our lady of Guadalupe, which they say was built by command of the blessed virgin, appearing to an Indian, and is now a noted pilgrimage, whither the Mexicans resort with rich offerings, with which there's now building a

large church with three isles supported upon eight pillars, and will cost a great deal before 'tis finish'd. The high altar of a little church serves for the present, and is curiously wrought of silver. There are three other altars for saying of the masses, where are alms brought for every day. Near the afore said church is the place where the blessed virgin is said to have appear'd the fifth time, and a great spring; and not far from it, on the rock, an hermitage of great devotion, in the place where the Indian, who had the vision, is reported, by order of it, to have gather'd roses to shew the bishop, in token of the truth of what he said. This afternoon I went upon the canal of Xamaica, where people either walk on the banks, or divert themselves in boats on the water, there being many men and women who sing and play on the musick, striving to outdo one another. The banks are cover'd with little houses of Indians and inns, for the people to take some refreshment, such as chocolate, *Atole*, and *Tamales*. The principal ingredient of the two last nam'd is Indian wheat, order'd after this manner: they boil the Indian wheat with lime, and when it has stood a while grind it, as they do the cacao; then they strain that paste thro' a sieve with water, which makes a white thick liquor, like that we draw from almonds; which liquor, when it has been boil'd a little, they call *Atole*, and is drank either mix'd with chocolate, or by it self. The more dainty people drink it the latter way with sugar, but either way 'tis very nourishing, and much used in the Indies. Of the paste that remains after that washing, they make the *Tamans*, mixing it with minc'd meat, sugar, and spice, and colouring it over. I liked the taste of 'em both, tho' my mouth was used to good and bad.

Tuesday 9th, I heard mass in the nunnery of St. Agnes, founded by a citizen of Mexico, with a revenue to maintain thirty-three poor maids, which are now chosen by his heir. The monastery on the other hand, in gratitude, pays a thousand pieces of eight a year to this protector and heir, by order of the founder. This right of patronage is at present in a *Criollo*, or son of a Spaniard by an Indian woman of the family of Cadena. The church is well adorn'd, has nine altars, the roof vaulted, and all decent.

Thursday 11th, in the morning, I went to see Chapultepec, where history tells us Montezuma's palace of recreation, or country-house, stood; at present it serves to receive the viceroys till the city is ready to receive 'em, and their palace of residence put in order. Of late years this publick reception has not been made, the city having represented to the king what a great expence

A fine tabernacle.

Guadalupe.

Viceroy's
reception.

expence 'twas ; so that the present viceroy the count *de Montezuma* went in privately to take possession of the government in the great hall, where the courts are kept, and when all things were in a readiness, made his solemn entry a-horseback, over the causeway of *Guadalupe*, attended by the nobility and magistrates. When he came to the triumphal arch erected before the church of the *Dominicans*, the gate was shut, according to custom, to perform the ceremony of presenting the keys, and tendering the oath to keep the liberties of the city. As he was going to alight for this purpose, he fell from his horse, and his peruke dropt off his head, the horse being unruly, and he, as a scholar, little used to ride. Then he pass'd thro' the second arch, which was richly adorn'd, and then a bridge, over to the church-yard of the cathedral, at the gate whereof the archbishop, in pontificalibus, expected him, with all the chapter, to swear him to the keeping the privileges of the church. This done, *Te Deum* was sung.

To return to the palace of *Chapultepec* ; 'twas built at the foot of a hill (on the top whereof is a hermitage of the invocation of *St. Francis Xaverius*) by *D. Luis de Velasco*, who was viceroy in the reign of the emperor *Charles V.* as appears by the inscription over the gate, but 'tis too little for a viceroy's court. It has two courts, in one of which the city did use to have the *Juego de Toros*, or riding at bulls, whilst things were preparing for the entry. The garden is small, but has a good spring, which, after serving the palace, is convey'd in pipes to *Belehem*, the novitiate of *Mercenarians*, to serve the inhabitants of that quarter. They say this spring was accidentally found by a viceroy, who caused that place to be dug to find *Montezuma's* treasure. Close by it is a little wood, and not far from it the powder-house, the mills drove by water. At *Chapultepec* begin the famous arches, or aqueduct, which convey to the city of *Mexico* an excellent water brought from *Santa Fe*, three leagues distant. One *Mark Guevara*, a private citizen, was at all this charge, Almost all people use this water, because that of *Belen* is thicker. Some say 'tis spoil'd by being convey'd be-

yond *Chapultepec* in leaden pipes, but I found it good enough.

Friday 12th, I travel'd three leagues thro' a plain well-cultivated country, like that of *Poggio Reale* in *Naples*, to see the miraculous image of our Lady, call'd *de los Remedios*. The church is built on a hill, with convenient dwellings for the priests that serve it, under the care of a vicar. 'Tis adorn'd with excellent pictures in gilt frames, as is the roof and four altars ; but the high altar (on which stands the holy image, which is massy, and two spans high) besides being all gilt, has a noble canopy of beaten silver, an antependium of crystal, with gilt figures behind it, and about thirty large silver lamps of curious workmanship ; nor have they spared this metal to adorn the pulpit. Behind the high altar is a little treasury, where they keep all the things of value offer'd by the devotees. For fear of thieves, the church being vastly rich, and standing on a mountain, they never open it till ten in the morning.

Thence I went to *St. Joachim*, a monastery of *Carmelite* barefoot friers, begun to be built of late years, and therefore the religious are as yet but ill lodg'd, and say mass in a little church with three altars. They are walling in a great piece of ground to make a garden, which in time will be delightful, and yield great profit.

Saturday 13th, I went to the monastery of the *Dominicans*, to see the chapel of *D. Peter Montezuma*, descended from the emperor *Montezuma*, where I found a Spanish inscription, in English thus ; *The chapel of D. Peter Montezuma, who was hereditary prince to Montezuma, the lord of the greatest part of New Spain. The chapel is dedicated to our lady de los Dolores, or of sorrow, devoutly adorn'd, and enrich'd with gold, as are the other forty altars in the same church, besides oratories and particular congregations. The monastery is large, containing one hundred and thirty religious men in handsome dormitories. The nunnery of S. Teresa, of her order, is rich ; in the church there are six altars handsomely painted, and magnificently adorn'd with gold.*

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1698.

CHAP. VIII.

An account of the wonderful conveyance for the water to run out of the lake of Mexico.

BEING desirous to see this mighty work, I mounted a-horseback on Monday 15th, and travel'd three leagues along the plain to the village of *Tamipanlla*. Then going up the hill of *Barrientos*, two leagues further came to *Guauhtlan*, where there is good earthen ware made, like that of *Cilli*, so much valued in *Europe*, which when broke wanton ladies eat. In the evening crossing the river *Guauhtlan* (which falls into the *Disague*, or chanel made for carrying off the water from the lake of *Mexico*) I rode a league further, and set up that night at *Teploftlan*, in the novice-ship of the *Jesuits*, where the rector entertain'd me courteously. This house is built upon a hill, with dormitories and conveniences for fifty-two priests, novices, and lay-brothers. The church of the invocation of *S. Francis Xavierius*, and has six altars richly gilt, especially the high altar, which exceeds all other in magnificence. There is a chapel of our lady of *Loretto* of the same bigness, and exactly built like that in *Italy*. The garden is large, and has a great deal of *European* fruit.

Tuesday 16th, having travel'd some way over plains well cultivated, I came to *Gueguetoca*, the place where waters have their passage under the direction of the *Guarda mayor*, or head keeper. The viceroy is oblig'd, by the king's express command, to go thither every year in *August*, to view what condition the place is in, and give the necessary orders for it. *D. Thomas de Buytron y Mexica* entertain'd me courteously, and gave me a true account of that work.

Mexico
subject to
floods.

Mexico is so seated, that it is always subject to be overflow'd by the water of its lakes, which run down in vast quantities from the mountains about it. This happen'd the first time in the reign of *Montezuma*, the first of the name; afterwards under *Abuitzoll*, and under the last *Montezuma*; so that the inhabitants, seeing themselves forced to go in boats about the city, would certainly have chang'd their ancient abode, had not they been assisted by the neighbouring kings making some banks against the water.

The year after *Mexico* was conquer'd by the forces of the emperor *Charles V.* that is, in 1523, the waters swell'd so high that they were oblig'd to make the bank and caufway of *S. Lazarus*. This not being a

sufficient defence against the mischief that might happen, they began to turn away the river *Guauhtlan*, which did most harm; this by order of *D. Luis de Velasco*, who was viceroy in the year 1556, because the year before the city had been drown'd, notwithstanding the new bank.

Another great inundation happening in the year 1580, the viceroy *D. Martin Enriquez*, order'd some method should be found to drain all the lake; and the village of *Gueguetoca* was thought a proper place to convey the water into the river of *Tula*; but the work was not begun. In 1604 the inundation was so great, that the city had like to have been all drown'd; wherefore the marquis de *Montes Claros*, who had charge of conveying away the water, was for beginning the work immediately. The king's solicitor oppos'd it, alledging, *That work could not be finish'd under an age, and could never be maintain'd, because a chanel was to be cut nine or ten leagues in length, and in depth from sixteen to an hundred yards (every yard of these is three spans and a quarter of Naples, that is about three quarters and a nail of an English yard) on which work fifteen thousand Indians must be employ'd every day; and therefore the work was put off.* In 1607, *D. Luis de Velasco* governing, there was so great a flood, the fences made by his predecessor proving useless, that the city was almost swallow'd up; which made the carrying off the water, before thought impracticable, to be thought of again; and the place was often view'd by the viceroy, judges, magistrates of the city, clergy, engineers, and other understanding persons, to find the easiest way to convey the water. After several consultations, it was resolv'd, that the king's solicitor and the city should petition the viceroy. He going in person to the place aforementioned, with the judges of the royal court, and the visitor-general, order'd the work should be done; and accordingly, on the 28th of November 1607, after mass sung at *Gueguetoca*, the viceroy himself taking a spade, began to dig. This place was found out by *Arigo Martinez*, an *European*, who undertook to bring the work to perfection. The expence being so great, the same viceroy caus'd the houses, possessions, merchandise, and goods of all the citizens to be apprais'd, which were valued at 20267555

pieces

pieces of eight, upon which he rais'd one in the hundred, and that amounted to 304013 pieces of eight and two hundred and a half; which was paid by laity and clergy alike. Whilst *Martinez* was carrying on the work, the viceroy went thither with some persons of judgment, who were of opinion, that the trench or canal should be carried on open, from the bridge of *Guequetoca*, or salt-river, up to the lake of *Sitlaltepec*, for the space of a league and a half, and from the bridge downward the water should run under arches with gaps left open at certain spaces; and, that the canal all-along should be four of their yards (as above) deep, and five over. The number of *Indians* that wrought from the end of *November* 1607, till the 7th of *May* 1608, was 471154; and those that made it their business to dress them meat 1664, the expence of pieces of eight 73611. The viceroy and archbishop saw the water run to the end of the cover'd canal, at the foot of the hill of *Nocistongo*.

In 1611, the king, by special warrant of the 8th of *May*, demanded a particular account of the viceroy, the archbishop and city, of what had been laid out till that time, what benefit had been reap'd, what they could hope for the time to come, what it would cost to bring the work to perfection, and what the charge would be every year to keep it in repair. The viceroy, by the advice of understanding people, answer'd, *That they had taken wrong measures, and therefore all the expence was lost.* *Alonso d' Arias* was of opinion the canal under ground must be forty yards deep, of those before mention'd, and sixty thousand in length up to *Mexico*, to secure the city; and, that it was impossible to finish the canal as 'twas begun under ground, or to keep it afterwards in repair, because of its narrowness. The city gave the same account the viceroy had done, concluding all was mistaken, because they had not proceeded according to the first design; adding, that the expence to that time amounted to 413324 pieces of eight for the labour of 1128650 *Indians*. *Martinez*, on the other hand, writ in vindication of what he had done, clearing himself of what was objected by his adversaries.

Hereupon 'twas resolv'd at *Madrid*, to send over *Adrian Boot*, a *French* engineer, and accordingly he went. He coming to *Mexico* in 1614, view'd all the lakes and rivers that could do harm to the city, in the company of one of the *Oydores*, or judges; and at last concluded, that all the work done was in vain, and would only serve to ease the city of the river of *Guautillan*, which carries the greatest quantity of water into the lakes of *Mexico*, *Citlaltepec*, and

Sumpango. Then he offering to throw up *GEMEL* the banks about the city, the next year ^{LI.} 1615, for the expence of an hundred eighty ^{LI.} 1698. six thousand pieces of eight, his proposal was rejected, that method having been found unsuccessful in the years 1604 and 1607. *Martinez* was therefore order'd to carry on his work, upon condition he should finish it for one hundred and ten thousand pieces of eight. The king confirm'd this contract in 1616, ordering the money to be paid out of duty on wine in *Mexico*. The count *del Priego* being viceroy, to see how much the water must rise to flood the city, caus'd the work of the canal to be left off, the banks to be broke down, and the river of *Guautillan*, and other waters, to be let in, from the 13th of *June* till the last day of *October* 1623. The water was observ'd at first to rise a yard wanting two inches, but in *December* it swell'd so high that the city was in danger. The marquis *de Zerralvo* finding things in this posture, following the steps of his predecessors, made several fences, but they avail'd nothing, for the river of *Guautillan* running into the lake in 1627, the water was half a yard deep in the city. Hereupon the people of *Mexico* press'd the viceroy to make the canal be carried on as the king had order'd; whereupon, after some consultation, 'twas order'd to be proceeded upon. But upon *St. Matthew's* day, that same year, some banks breaking, so great a quantity of water came in, that it was two yards deep in the city, and they went about the streets in boats. This was caus'd by the river of *Guautillan* breaking into the canal of *Sumpango*, after the work of the canal was left off. Seeing the waters up to their chins by this inundation, they began to talk of removing the city to some high ground, according to several repeated orders from the king. In order to it, the viceroy, on the first of *November* 1629, held a council of all the courts and citizens, where 'twas agreed, that several magistrates and skilful persons should go find out the canal that had been begun.

On the 6th of *December* 1629, upon a debate, 'twas resolv'd to continue the canal of *Guequetoca*, which would now cost two hundred thousand pieces of eight to bring it to perfection, besides other works upon the causeway and banks. At the beginning of *January* 1630, the work was begun, upon condition it should be finish'd in twenty-one months, with the expence of two hundred and eighty thousand pieces of eight, and the labour of three hundred *Indians* every day, according to the method propos'd by *Martinez*, which was found to be easier than the rest. The marquis *de Zerr-*

GEMEL-Zerralvo viceroy, on the 12th of October 1630, put out an order for carrying on the canal to the mouth of St. Gregory.

Afterwards, considering 'twas impossible to find a passage for all the waters, obtain'd a new order of the 19th of May 1631, for building a new city between Tacuba and Tacubala, in the plains of the village of Sanctorum, towards the mills of John de Alcover, and would have this debated in a general council. The magistrates, chapter, and religious meeting, the greatest part would not consent to it, saying, there was no reason to lose the value of fifty millions and upwards in the structure of churches and houses, to save the expence of four millions 'twould cost to drain the lake; urging further the loss of the revenues of the church, the king, and private persons. Thus all that could be alledg'd on the contrary being of no force against private interest, nothing was concluded on.

In 1632 Martinez died, for grief that the Oydore Villabuena had reflected on him upon account of the mistake committed in making the canal.

The marquis de Cadereyta coming over viceroy in 1635, caus'd all the canals of the city to be cleans'd, for the boats to go upon them, with the expence of thirty-four thousand pieces of eight; and the following year, having seen an account of the condition of the banks, and of the canal of Gueguetoca, he order'd Ferdinand Zepeda and D. Ferdinand Corvillo to draw up another particular of all that happen'd, and what had been laid out upon the said canal, from the 8th of November 1607, when it was begun under the government of the marquis de Salinas the second viceroy, till the 27th of March 1637. Three points were consider'd in that paper. The first, whether in order to secure Mexico against inundations, it would be available to preserve the canal of Gueguetoca; whether being made open, deeper and wider, it would be capable of draining the lake of Mexico; and in case it were, whether it was possible to keep it in repair. The second, whether in case no way were found out for all the waters at Gueguetoca, or elsewhere, Mexico might be secur'd by banks. And the third, whether, if both were impracticable, the city ought to be remov'd. The computation was made of what had been spent till then, and it amounted to twenty nine thousand five hundred and sixteen pieces of eight, seven rials and a half.

This account being printed at Mexico on the 7th of April 1637, copies were given to all magistrates, the chapter, provincials of orders, and other persons of judgment; that they might examine it, and give their opinions. To this purpose, a

consult was held in the presence of the viceroy, where they all disagreed, according as every one stood affected. On the 20th of July 1637, the same viceroy order'd that the canal of Gueguetoca should be made open; whereupon the geometricalians declar'd, that between the causeway of St. Christopher, and the mouth of St. Gregory, there must be dug up seventy millions seven hundred twenty one thousand five hundred and twenty six cubical yards of earth, to make way for four cubical yards of water of the lake of Mexico. It has since appear'd by experience, that for almost an age past, wherein there has been continual labour and application, about three millions of gold have been spent, without compassing the intended end; for no other way having been found for the river Guatilan, upon floods it has carry'd trees, stones, and earth into the vaulted part of the canal; so that in process of time, it has by degrees obstructed the passage of the waters, which afterwards of necessity run into the lakes of Zumpango, thence to that of Xaltocan, and lastly into those of St. Christopher, Tezcuco, and Penon, indangering the city of Mexico, as particularly in 1645.

The inhabitants never agreeing to remove the city, according to the king's orders, the marquis de Cadereyta caus'd the work of the open canal to be carry'd on, causing the old arches to be broken down, the better to remove the impediments that hindered the passage of the water. This work, as has been said, was begun in 1637, and at this present, there remains much more to do than has been done; and the worst of it is, that they must cut down a vast depth, to lay open the old vaulted way, made them by digging under ground, like coney-buries. This work is carry'd on, but most is done in rainy weather, because then the flood helps to carry down the stones dug out, otherwise it would not be done in many ages. To do this, they fasten a beam on the bank of the river, or near the mouth of the vault; about this beam they wind several ropes, to which the Indians are made fast by the middle, who dig the earth and stones along the canal, to make them fall into the stream, into which they sometimes tumble themselves.

That I might give the reader a true account of the present condition of this canal, I went in the afternoon to see it. I found it open for a league and a half, to the place call'd Guinnata, where it winds, because they met with a solid rock, and from thence forward to the mouth of St. Gregory, being half a league in length, it is not open, except in some places for an experiment. Here it is necessary the ground be cut down open to the banks; to do which will employ ma-

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ny thousands of people, and require a much greater expence than a hundred thousand pieces of eight assign'd by the king. And when all this is done, it will not secure Mexico against the floods; to prevent which, it would be necessary to make the canal much deeper, that it might carry all the water, that gathers in the lake, when the rains fall.

I went hence to see the bank or dike, call'd *Vertidero*, half a league above *Gueguetoca*, made to keep the river of *Guaquilan* from running into the lakes; and confine it to the small lake of *Cuyatepeke*, and this to avoid destroying the canal which is not capable of receiving it in time of floods. Sometimes the waters gush into the lake of *Zumpango*, which is twelve spans lower than that of *Cuyatepeke*, and as much higher than that of *Xaltocan*, and thus they

are kept as it were laid up, till the floods are over. Then, that they may not run out of the lake of *Zumpango*, into those of St. Christopher, *Tescuco* and *Penon*, to mischief Mexico, a strong bank is always kept up. There are also two other banks or dikes, which answer to the lake of *Zumpango*, the one with three sluices, the other with two, to convey the spare water of *Zumpango*, when it does not rain into the aforesaid canal. When I went thither, the canal was choak'd up, and out of use by reason of the great quantity of earth carry'd into it by the waters. Two other dikes, one after another have a communication with the river and lake of *Cuyatepeke*; the first has six sluices, the second four. The keeper of them led me all about, and, tho' an Indian, treated me courteously in his house.

CHAP. IX.

Of the danger the author run himself into, to see the slate dug, and a description of the mines of Pachuca.

THO' all my friends discourag'd me from going to the mines of *Pachuca*, as being incredibly deep; yet having fix'd my resolution, I set out upon *Wednesday* the 17th. I din'd at the village of *Tecubiac* two leagues distant, then went on a league further to the village of *Guipustla*, and from thence three leagues to lie at the farm of *Tusantlalpa*. I there kill'd four hares by the house, and might have kill'd more, but would not; first, because they are not so good as those of *Europe*; in the next place, because the *Mexicans* abhor them, because they have seen them eat the maggots bred in dead horses.

Thursday 18th, having travell'd six leagues, part mountain, part plain, I came to *Pachuca*, where I was entertain'd by *Dominick Lavarra*, the chief officer there of the king's revenue. My chief design being to see the mines, as soon as we had din'd he sent his *hacha*-law with me to the two nearest, about half a league distant, to which the way was rough and craggy. They were both extraordinary deep. The depth of the first call'd *Santa Cruz*, or *Holy Cross*, was ninety two *Estados* (an *Estado* is three *Spanish* yards, and a *Spanish* yard, as was said before, is three quarters and a nail of our *English* yard) so that the ninety two *Estados* being two hundred seventy six *Spanish* yards, makes two hundred twenty four *English* yards. The other, call'd of *Navarro* is eighty *Estados*, that is, a hundred and ninety five yards. In that of *Santa Cruz*, the metal was taken out with *Malacates*. This is an engine with a perpendicular axle-tree

resting in two irons. About the axle-tree moves a wheel, upon which, instead of a rope, an iron chain is wound, one end of which comes up with the metal hanging to it, and the other goes down for more, like buckets in a well. The engine is kept going by four mules, made fast to a piece of timber that crosses the axle-tree. Two of these *Malacates* work at this mine, as well to draw up the metal, as to drain the water, which would otherwise rise and hinder the work. I went down five ladders, or poles; but the miner would not let me go no further, for fear I should tumble headlong; and indeed the poles we were to go down by were wet, and a man's foot might easily slip as he was finding out the notch. Then I went to the mine call'd *del Navarro*, where the *Indians* brought up the metal on their backs, with eminent danger of their lives, in climbing so many ladders, or rather upright poles with notches. This they do for four rials a day; but at night they are allow'd to carry as much ore as they can at once, which they afterwards share with the owner of the mine. They had wrought five months to make a communication under ground from one mine to the other, and convey the water out of that of *Navarro* into that of *Santa Cruz*, which was deeper; as yet the miners had not met, but were so near one another, that both heard each others strokes.

Friday 29th, I went two leagues further to see the mines on the mountain. There I found a little city of clay houses cover'd with wood, as in other places the *Indians*

GEMEL-
LI.
1698.

GEMEL-cover them with leaves of maguey; for here at least twelve thousand got their living in those deep dungeons. There are in the space of six leagues about a thousand mines; some laid aside, others where they now work, and others they preserve; but some privately get down into them to steal the metal. Eight days before I was there, fifteen *Indians* had been kill'd in one of them, the earth falling in upon them as they were going down a narrow mouth; the great one being stop'd up by the owner's orders.

Having rested a little, I went to the mine they call of the *Trinity*; because it is made up of the three several mines, distinguish'd by the names of *la Chonopetiana*, *Joya* and *Pennel*. Tho' these have three mouths, they all go to the same mine. As for its riches, persons of experience and well acquainted with the place, say that in these ten years there have been thirty millions of silver drawn thence, more hundred thousand men working there every day. When they had sunk the work an hundred *Estados* (each three quarters of an *English* yard and nail, as has been explain'd before) they found water, to drain the which sixteen *Malacates* (before explain'd) were set up, and two millions were laid out in timber-work to keep the earth from falling in. Yet time, that consumes all things, has render'd this rich mine so dangerous, that it is counted impossible to get more plate out of it, and therefore all the mouths are stopp'd up.

However, a new mine was open'd close by it, eight years since, which has yielded great profit to the owners, and is call'd *St. Matthew's* mine; the veins of metal lying east and west, which are easily found and dug. In this mine, the which is fifty *Estados* deep (as above) I resolv'd to see the veins of silver; but having gone down five ladders or poles, I was astonish'd to see how likely it was to tumble down headlong. Being therefore about going up again, the miner, who has the charge of propping up the mines, encourag'd me, saying, there were but few poles to the bottom; whereupon he going before with a light in his hand, I ventur'd to go down the rest, tho' with much fear; because I sometimes found it very difficult to clasp the pole with my arms, and fix my feet on the notches on it. However recommending my self to Almighty God, I went

down three times as far as the miner had told me, only to encourage me; so I came at last to the place where the miners with iron wedges made the hard strong ore fly about. They told me, that in some places it is softer, and of several colours; and having rewarded them, they gave me a great deal of metal. Here I bethought my self of the danger I had run into; and the more because it was very unwholesome being in that deep dungeon, by reason of the pestilential damps of the place. Having therefore stay'd there, about two hours, I went up again, in much dread, because of the bad ascent, and got up into the open air, very weary. I thought I was then newly born into the world, and I confess, in my days I never undertook so rash, if not foolish, an action; nor was I ever so much afraid in five years I travell'd among barbarous nations. I would not have gone down again into that place, whither only my curiosity had led me, for two or three thousand pieces of eight.

The mines are so deep, because they always dig down perpendicularly, to find the veins of silver, which being dug away as they lie horizontally, they again begin to sink deeper, till they meet another; and that being spent, down again; so that this work continuing above an age, the mines must of necessity be vastly deep, as will appear by the following cut.

A. The mouth of the mine.

B. Poles, or timber with notches, very dangerous to go down.

C. *Indians* that carry up the ore, with light in their hands.

D. Veins of metal, where other *Indians* dig the ore.

See Cut Page 506.

The worst of it is, that tho' the wretched *Indians* carry light; yet this not shewing them what is below, they are forced to set their feet at a venture, and so they sometimes tumble down, with the metal on their backs. They would have carry'd me to see others, but I would not tempt God any more. I return'd betimes, to *Pacbuca*, and din'd with *Lavarrai's* son-in-law.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

GEMEL-
LI.
1698.*How the silver is separated from the stone of the mines, by fire and quicksilver.*The ore
broken

AFTER dinner they carry'd me to the metal separated at the silver works, whereof there are many in *Pachuca*. It is done after this manner. When the ore is brought out of the mines they break it with hammers, to separate the metal from the *Tepetate*, or stone that has no silver. The *Pipinadores*, that is, the men that break it, being well skill'd in their trade, put the metal which is for the fire, and that which is for the quicksilver, into several sacks; experience teaching them how to know the one from the other, and so send it to the *Haciendas*, or mills.

Then
pounded

There the ore is ground, and pounded in six iron mortars, like those for powder, working like mills with water, or with mules. In order to run it, they mix with it a certain proportion of burning lead (first separated from the same metal) which is like a letharge of iron, and is put with an equal quantity of coals into a furnace, like a chimney, twelve spans high, and wider at the top than the bottom. Two great pair of bellows blow this furnace, two mules working the engine that moves them; and whilst the first metal is melting, they lay on more for about six hours. When the lead and silver are melted, they take off the burnt scum with a hook; whilst the silver is let run out at the small end of the furnace, through a trough into a mould, where it hardens; and, when cold, is taken out. Then they shut the spout of the furnace, and lay on more ore, lead, and coals as at first, to cast more pigs, or bars. The burnt lead, we have spoke of, is sold by the *Indians* to their masters; making it in their houses, when they melt silver by stealth. When they have made fifty or sixty pigs, in a week's time, more or less, according as the owner of the work is in wealth; they are put into another furnace adjoining, to separate the lead, and refine them. This furnace is like our ovens to bake bread in, with a trench in the middle, full of wet ashes moulded together to receive the pure silver. It is first heated with a wood fire in another furnace adjoining, call'd the refining furnace; and when the pigs are ready to run, they clap great bellows, like those of the first furnace, to it. Then the silver running, the pure part of it runs off along the aforesaid trench, and the lead, or earth, is drawn off with an iron hook; when cold, looks like a froth, or pumice-stone. This froth of the first and second running is kept to serve again

in the furnace where they melt the ore.

Then the pigs, or bars of pure silver, Marking, weighing eighty, or one hundred marks, of eight ounces to a mark, are carry'd to the king's refiner, or assayer, who tries whether they are standard, that they may be coin'd. If they find them so, they are mark'd, and the king takes his fifth; there being in all places where, there are mines, a treasurer, a controulor, and another officer call'd *Official Mayor*, to receive the king's dues. If they are not standard, they are refin'd over again, and then stamp'd, marking how many grains of gold there are in every mark, and if above forty, they are carry'd to the king's refining house to be separated.

If it is pure, or virgin ore, the *Costa ore* silver is us'd after this manner. After being well pounded in the mortars above mention'd, into fine powder, and sifted, it is moulded in a strong wooden box, with water, salt, and the dross of copper, if it were to make a clay to build walls. This done, they add the quicksilver to it, and tread it for twenty-four hours, so that it may mix through all the mass. Then they make a heap of it, under covert, but open to the air on the sides, with a mark to know the day it was made; for every two days it must be work'd up again with water, be stamp'd for twenty-four hours, and be put in the same place.

All the heaps, thus made, are visited, as if they were sick persons, by the *Azogue-ro*, or quicksilver man; who washing a little of that mass, by the silver that remains clotted together in the dish, and by the outward heat of all the heap, understands what quantity of *Mercury*, and of dross of copper, must be added to it, or taken from it; because too much quicksilver makes it turn black, and it must be cool'd with the ouse taken out of neighbouring rivers. If it is cold, they add more copper dross, because the quicksilver's no fermentative menstruum, and it receives but gives no quality. Skillful men say, that when the mass is of a colour like bran, it shews there wants more quicksilver; if of a pearl colour, that the work is in a good condition; if of an ash colour, that the heap cannot be better than it is. This perfection it comes to in twenty days, or a month, more or less, according to the nature of the ore.

This mass, or mixture is afterwards wash'd Washing, at the *Lavadero*, or washing-place, with hand-

GEMEL-hand-wheels: the earth thus wash'd running through spouts into three several vessels, one under another, that the silver running off from the first, may stop in the second or third; from the last of which the water runs out through a spout, and falls into a place, where the women always find some small quantity of silver.

The silver that remains at the bottom of the vessels, is put into a thin cloth bag ending in a point at the bottom, that the Mercury may drop out at the point, the weight at top pressing it. Yet only the fifth part goes off this way; for which reason they use to put several balls off about three pounds each, of that first paste, or *Amalgama*, as the chymists call it, into a brass or earthen bell, or crucible, with little plates of iron across the mouth of it, that the silver may not fall when it is harden'd. Such another bell is put into the ground, one third part of it full of water; and then the mouth of the other is fitted to it so exactly that nothing may evaporate. Then they make a coal fire on the uppermost, till it is red hot; which is the sign that the quicksilver is separated, and the silver alone remains in a body.

This is carry'd to the king's officers to be assay'd; and if not standard, is again run to refine, and cast into bars, on which they put the stamp to shew it has paid the fifth, and the mark denoting how many grains of gold it contains, as has been said.

The silver might be separated in a few hours by only fire, but then there would be a great loss; on the other hand, it requires a whole month to do it with quicksilver; and a greater expence, because mercury coming from *Spain*, or *Peru* is very dear; they paying eighty-four pices of eight the hundred weight, and being oblig'd to separate an hundred marks with it. In my time I saw three hundred pices of eight given for it; not that the king sells it so dear; but because his officers sometimes make

their advantage of the necessity of the owners of the mines; and this want of quicksilver is what impoverishes *Mexico*. Hence it is also, that in *New Spain* for the king's fifth, they take but ten in the hundred, and one call'd *de Cobos* for the *Affayer*, and other officers, by reason of the great expence the proprietors are at; whereas in *Peru* they take twenty in the hundred to the full, the quicksilver being cheap there. In former times the silver was separated with only mercury and salt, and it lay a whole year; but afterwards a *Dominican* friar made the work easier, by the invention of the dross of copper, which presently heats the mass.

There is one wonderful particular to be observ'd in this matter, that is, that the quicksilver receiv'd by the water in the lower bell is found so much short of what is put in, as is the weight of the silver gain'd by its means. And therefore some make a question, whether the mercury fixes, or whether evaporating, it consolidates the silver. The first is counted the more likely opinion, because of the equality of the silver and of the mercury that is missing.

Saturday 20th, I set out from *Pacheca* betimes, and having travell'd seven leagues, din'd at the inn of the village of *Telayuca*. Then riding two leagues further I lay at *St. Lucia*, a farm of the *Jesuits* belonging to the noviceship of *Tepelestan*. This farm contains many leagues of pasture, and tillage. There are on it about an hundred marry'd *Blacks*, who living in cottages multiply, to the great benefit of those fathers; every one being sold for three or four hundred pices of eight. They have about fourteen hundred thousand sheep and goats; five thousand horses and mares; and ten thousand cows and oxen. Those that look after them have the tithe of all the increase, which is bought by the fathers, at a set rate. Sunday 21st, I travell'd seven leagues on a good road to *Mexico*.

A Voyage round the World, by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part IX.

Containing the most remarkable things he saw
in NEW SPAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Upon what conditions the mines are granted to proprietors.

Mines
free to all.

ANY person whatsoever that discovers a mine, whether of gold or silver, may make this advantage of it, paying the king the fifth part of its product. A mine forsaken by the first discoverer for three months, falls to the king; so that any man is free to go dig in it, giving notice to the first owner. If he opposes, and shewing a reason why he has not kept men at work, the royal court judges whether this opposition is to take place or not.

How dis-
posed.

The king gives sixty *Spanish Varas*, or yards, such measure as above, towards every quarter of the heaven from the mouth of the mine, or all on one side, as the miner likes best; without which space another may open another mine, leaving five yards between them to part their ground. As they sink under ground, one may work into the other's division, till he meets with the

other's workmen, for then he must retire to his own; or dig lower that the other may not meet him again digging in the upper part.

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If the lower mine be drowned by any spring, as often happens, he that is above is oblig'd to give him the sixth part of the metal ore he gets; and if the water breaking out in the upper should run into the lower, the owner of the first of them is bound to drain it, because the veins of metal being like those in the body, full of moisture, and water instead of blood; when open'd, they send the water down; which if it were not drain'd by the lower miner, the higher would be forced to do it.

These, as has been said, pay the tenth to the king, wherein they differ from the *Peruvians*, who pay the fifth, as to silver; due, but as for gold, there is no privilege, and they are all bound to pay the fifth.

CHAP. II.

Of the mint, and royal office of the Apartado, or house to separate the gold from the silver.

How much
Para is
deter'd.

ALL the plate dug out of the mines in *New Spain* is to come to *Mexico* to be entred in the exchequer; and they say there are two millions of marks of eight ounces as has been said, entred in a year, besides what is slipt aside, or conceal'd; and out of this sum they coin every year seventy thousand marks into pieces of eight at the mint.

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The silver that is to be coin'd into pieces of eight, besides the first entry to pay the king's fifth, is to be again entred in the exchequer, there to pay to the king a rial in a mark, which the *Spaniards* call *Senmoraje*, that is, the duty of lordship, to wit, when the plate is such as they call *de ley Canfada*, that is, bare standard, which is two thousand two hundred and ten *Maravedies*.

Manner
of coining.

6 O

GENE-*rales* a mark, and so up to two thousand three hundred sixty seven *Maravedies*, call'd 1.1. 1698. *Ley Subida*, that is, the high standard. The king's officers will not mark it, unless it be so fine; and if it be otherwise, they first reduce it to the fineness of two thousand three hundred seventy six *Maravedies*; and then add to every mark five eighth parts of an ounce of alloy, to reduce it to two thousand two hundred and ten *Maravedies*; such as is the plate of the common pieces of eight. The owners are at the charge of this work in the furnaces of the mint, where a great deal of silver is lost in casting the bars, for want of good utensils. These bars are carry'd to the assayer, for him to see whether they are standard, that is, worth two thousand two hundred and ten *Maravedies* a mark; and he finding it right, they are carry'd to the *Ornazas*, which are the eight places where they coin. In each of them is a *Capataz*, or head, of ten or twelve men. To him the bars are deliver'd, being weigh'd by the weigher, and entred in their books by the clerk and treasurer. Here the bars are put into the fire, that they may be cut, and when cut, because the silver is harsh, they are wetted with water, and being put into the fire again are coin'd.

Sort of coin.

There are five sorts of money made there, which are pieces of eight, half pieces of eight, quarter pieces, single rials, and half rials. When cut according to their due weight, they return to the treasurer, who receives them at the hands of the same weigher, clerk, and other officers. The money coming out black by reason of the copper, it is lent first to the whiteners; and then passing the officers who are to see it has the just weight of sixty seven rials to a mark, it is deliver'd to twenty coiners who are together in a great room. To them are deliver'd every day the five stamps call'd *Trueles*; but at night they are carefully kept by the proper officers upon danger of their lives. The money being stamp'd, returns to the treasurer, with all the formality before mention'd, and he delivers it to the owner, deducting what belongs to the officers, viz. the treasurer himself, the assayer, cutter, clerk, weigher, two guards, and other under-officers, and twenty coiners. But this deduction is no less to the owner, because it is taken out of two rials added to the value of the plate before it was coin'd; which being worth sixty five rials before it came to the mint, according to the common weight of thirty four *Maravedies*, goes thence worth sixty seven royals, according to the weight of thirty three *Maravedies*. This increase is divided among the officers by *Maravedies* and *Raciones*, that is, shares, or parts, e-

very *Maravedi* having one hundred thirty seven *Raciones*, or parts, as follows.

To the treasurer twenty two *Maravedies*, Feet, and one hundred and twenty *Raciones*, or coin's parts.

To the assayer one *Maravedi*, and sixty *Raciones*.

To the cutter five *Maravedies*, and sixty *Raciones*.

To the *Escrivano*, or clerk, one *Maravedi*, and sixty *Raciones*.

To the weigher one *Maravedi*, and sixty *Raciones*.

To one guard one *Maravedi*, and sixty *Raciones*.

To another guard one *Maravedi*, and sixty *Raciones*.

To a *Merino*, or under-clerk, sixteen *Raciones*.

To an *Alcade*, sixteen *Raciones*.

To the *Capataces* and *Brazajeros*, that is, heads of the firemen, and firemen themselves, twenty four *Maravedies*.

To the coiners eight *Maravedies*.

Which in all make sixty eight *Maravedies*.

All the chief officers, as treasurer, assayer, cutter, clerk, weigher, two guards, and two *Alcades* are appointed by the king, and all the inferior are appointed by the treasurer, paying three thousand pieces of eight. The first are all liable to pay for any cheat or fraud committed by their companions, that they may all be a check upon one another, and this upon pain of death, particularly to the assayer.

The said principal offices are bought, ^{of the} and every one has a right to make his over, ^{of the} or resign it to whom he pleases. But that this resignation may stand good, he that resigns must live twenty days after it; and he who has the benefit of it, is to make it known to the viceroy within sixty days; and pay the third part of the value of the place to the king, and the other two to the owner, or his heirs. If he that resigns does not live twenty days, or he to whom it is made over does not make it known in sixty, it is forfeited, and sold for the king; and therefore they that have the places resign them once a month, that they may always reckon they liv'd twenty days after. The treasurer's employment is worth ^{Value of} between fifty or sixty thousand pieces of their pla- ^{of their pla-} eight a year. Those of assayer, and four, ^{con-} der (given for ever to the monastery and hermitage of the barefoot *Carmelites* of *Mexico*) being serv'd by the same person, yield fifteen or sixteen thousand pieces of eight. That of cutter ten or eleven thousand; and the rest of the great ones above-mention'd, some three thousand five hundred, and the worst of them eight hundred pieces of eight a year. The masters of the eight

one hundred thirty
as follows.

Two *Maravedies*, *Reales*,
twenty *Raciones*, or *Colonias*.

Maravedi, and sixty

Maravedies, and sixty

clerk, one *Maravedi*.

Maravedi, and sixty

Maravedi, and sixty

the *Maravedi*, and

der-clerk, sixteen

Raciones.

Brazajeros, that

and firemen them-

Maravedies.

sixty eight *Maravedies*.

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ousand five hun-

m eight hundred

eight furnaces, and twenty coiners, have e-
very one between eight hundred and a thou-
sand pieces of eight a year, and the mean-
est servants earn a piece of eight a day. A
good number of these being the treasur-
er's slaves, he makes the profit of their
places.

Selling of
plate.

Though every private citizen that has
silver may have it coin'd into money, yet
the mint is almost continually employ'd by
merchants, and at present there are three
richer than the rest, who buy the metal of
private persons, who are not so rich, pay-
ing two rials short of the value in a mark;
one that they pay to the king of *Seunorage*,
or duty of lordship, and the other for the
cost of work; for whereas the value of
standard silver of two thousand three hun-
dred seventy six *Maravedies*, is eight pieces
of eight, and six rials a mark, they pay
but eight pieces of eight and four rials.

Separat-
ing of gold
and silver.

There being some gold, as has been said
before, mix'd with the silver, it is separa-
ted in another place, call'd *el Apartado*, or
the separation. Before the plate goes thi-
ther, it must go to the exchequer to pay
the king's fifth, to be then sent thither.
The separation is made in the aforesaid
house after this manner. The silver being
run is converted into little balls, which are
put into vessels with *aguafortis* to dissolve.
The gold remains at the bottom of the
vessel like black powder; and the *aguafor-
tis* containing the silver is put into two

glasses with their mouths together; by the
Spaniards call'd *Cornamusas*. Putting fire
to it, the silver remains in one of the two
glasses, and the *aguafortis* in t'other. The
gold is run in a furnace, and is first cast
into round pieces, and then into bars, as is
done with the silver separated from it. For
this trouble there are six rials a mark al-
low'd to the *houle del Apartado*, or of separa-
tion. Both the gold and silver return to
the exchequer, where the first appearing to
be twenty-two carats fine, and the silver
two thousand two hundred and ten *Marave-
dies*, 'tis stamp'd, as has been said above.
The office of the *Apartador*, or separator,
belongs to a private person in *Mexico*, who
bought it of the king for seventy-four thou-
sand pieces of eight.

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1698.

When the gold is coin'd, 'tis done after
the same manner, as has been said of the
silver; and they may have pieces of sixteen,
of eight, of four, and of two pieces of eight,
which are call'd crowns of gold. But
there's a difference in the fees; for whereas
the silver pays two rials a mark, the gold
pays three and a half; the money being
deliver'd out by a weight which is less than
the common, by which the gold is receiv'd,
as has been said of the silver.

This is all I could learn touching this
matter, part of which I was an eye-witnes
to, and the rest was told me by D. *Philip
de Rivas* of *Seville*, who had been assayer
thirty years.

CHAP. III.

The Journal continued.

UPON Sunday the 28th, I went to
divert me on the canal of *Xamaica*,
in a boat made of one tree, call'd a *Canoo*.
This being the only diversion at *Mexico*,
there used to come aboard there men and
women, young and old, fair and foul, with
garlands of flowers on their heads, and so
go up and down the canal, after having
fill'd their bellies with those wretched dain-
ties I have spoke of before, which are sold
along the banks. If they would cleanse the
canal, and make convenient boats, this
would be a pleasant diversion. I went in
the canoo as far as the village of *Ixtacalco*,
which in the *Mexican* language signifies the
white house. The water of this lake being
boil'd with a sort of earth they call *Tecbif-
ebite*, or of saltpetre, and run off thro' a
pipe, makes salt. By the way I saw an
ear of corn like a pyramid, with eight
other ears joining to it, all upon the same
reed; a sufficient argument of the fruitful-
ness of the soil.

Monday 29th, five thieves were hang'd,
a *Spaniard*, a *Mestizo*, a *Mulatto*, and two
Indians. The *Spaniard* had kept a *Mejiza*
woman, whereupon his father-confessor pre-
vail'd with him to marry her; which done,
the criminal press'd to consummate the
marriage, pleading the legality of it, and
was so eagerly bent upon it that the priest
had much difficulty to dissuade him, tho'
he was to be executed the next morning,
which was done accordingly, they being
carried to execution clad in white, with
caps on their heads on which was the cross
of the brotherhood of the *Misericordia*. 'Tis
the custom there, when any are hang'd,
to pull down their feet by a chain they carry
dragging with 'em.

Tuesday 30th, I went to *Tacubaga*, two
leagues from the city, where there are fe-
veral pretty country-houses, with fountains
and gardens, and particularly the count *de
Santiago's* olive-garden, which at present is
going to ruin. Thursday the 2d of May, I
went

GEMEL-went to *S. Cosmo*, half a league from *Mexico*, to see the house and garden of *D. John de Vargas*; the first finely furnish'd, and the second full of pleasant fountains. This gentleman keeps his coach and six, and spends six thousand pieces of eight a year, without any other revenue but what he has from cards and dice, for some nights he wins thirty thousand pieces of eight.

Friday 3d, I went to shoot rabbits at the *Pedregal de S. Angel*, that is, a stony spot of ground, extending two leagues, which, they say, was made by the eruption of a burning mountain, but found no sport. The next day I saw the farm of the *Jesuits* of *Manila*, which they bought for an hundred thousand pieces of eight. There was a good house, and they were building the *Hospitium*, or place to entertain the fathers that come from *Spain*, to go to the *Philippine* islands. *Tuesday* 27th, I saw forty-five thousand marks of silver carried into the mint, brought from *Parral* in carts, a journey of six months; and *Wednesday* 8th, two hundred thirty-six marks of gold twenty-two carats fine from *S. Luis de Potensi*, to be coin'd into *Spanish* pistoles. *Thursday* 9th, I visited the infirmary of the fathers of *Bethlem*, for the use of sick persons that are recovering. There were two galleries, of a good structure, with decent beds. The church has beautiful altars, and a fine sacristy, for the use of secular priests, because the religious themselves never ascend to the degree of priesthood. Their place of burial is a long gallery, with benches on the sides, where they place the dead sitting. *Friday* 10th, there was new barley and wheat in the market, but the scarcity was yet so great, that the magistrates were fain

to deliver it out to many thousands of *Indians* by measure, as they saw the greatest necessity. *Saturday* 11th, the bishop of *Mechoacan*, who had been viceroy *pro interim*, or till the new viceroy came, was attended out of town by him, and had the right hand, abundance of the nobility and great officers following in their coaches. *Sunday* 12th, was the solemnity of the *Dominican*, electing a provincial, which is alternative, for one time they chose a *Spaniard*, and another the son of a *Spaniard* born there. The *Franciscans* chose one time a *Spaniard*, the next the son of a *Spaniard* born there, and the third time a *Spaniard* that has taken the habit in the *Indies*. *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday*, there were processions, being *Rogation-week*, but nothing worth the observing. *Friday* 17th, a collegian was examin'd in the university, in order to take his degree of bachelor in philosophy: they who were to be his judges argued against him: his master, the professor, being a religious man, of the order of the *Mercenarians*, sat in the pulpit above him, and wore on his head a priest's cap, such as they use in *Spain*, with some purple tufts on it, as doctor in philosophy; and two white ones, as doctors in divinity. The doctors of the civil law wear 'em red; those of the canon law, green; and the doctors of physick, yellow. The votes being for the candidate, when he had made a profession of his faith, he went up to the pulpit where his master had been, and the ceremony ended with a great noise of trumpets; the new graduate mounting a horseback, to be attended about the city by others of his profession:

CHAP. IV.

The description of the Hermitage of the barefoot Carmelites.

HAVING obtain'd leave of the provincial of the barefoot *Carmelites* to see the hermitage of that order, which is not to be seen without his leave, I went thither upon *Saturday* 18th, and came to it an hour before night, the way being bad, and having spent much time in climbing the mountain, up a path half a league in length, which cost the order six thousand pieces of eight to make it passable. Being come to the gate of the first enclosure, we waited there half an hour after ringing the bell for admittance; the monastery being a full mile from thence, so that we were forced to send an *Indian*, who was within, and he return'd with the key. The father rector, and some other religious men, came out to receive, and entertain'd us courteously. *Sun-*

day 19th, one of the fathers shew'd us the church and dormitories: the first is small and has five altars, modestly adorn'd, and in it is the burial-place of the founder and his family. In the dormitories the roof is low, and the cells small. At small distances there are small oratories, where the fathers may say mass when they please. There's a good library, and a garden that produces nothing but apples and roses. Besides the monastery, there are nine solitary places, to which the fathers may retire in *Lent*, *Advent*, or any other time: in each of these is a little cell, with a kitchen, and a little garden with fruit and flowers, water'd by a clear cool fountain. Here the fathers may not eat so much as fish, but only fruit and cheese, or, at most, boil'd herbs.

BOOK V.

herbs. They pray at the same time as those in the monastery, being govern'd by the same bell.

All the ground belonging to this monastery being about seven leagues, is encompass'd with a good wall of lime and stone. Within it there are vast high mountains cover'd with tall thick pine-trees, and a few fir-trees, so that the inclos'd deer, lions, tygers, and rabbits, have liberty enough, and come under the windows of the monastery. I happening to kill a deer, the fathers were very much displeas'd, it being forbid to kill any creature there.

The most wonderful thing is, that ever since the first founding of this solitude, there have always been two crows there, which suffer no others from abroad to come in; but, as soon as their own young are able to fly, drive them away. The cook calls them with a whistle, and they come and feed, and then fly away into the wood. The feat is melancholy and unwholesome, by reason of the continual fog rising every morning from the rivers and valleys about; and therefore the fathers suffer much who reside there.

At a small distance from it, is a mountain, call'd of the *Idols*, because formerly the *Indians* sacrific'd there. There are still to be seen some little idols of clay in the hollow of a low ancient wall, and some *Indians*, who are not well grounded in the faith, go thither to make their abominable offerings.

The hermitage was founded on the 25th of January 1605, under the invocation of our lady of *Carmel*, or the *Carmelites*, by *D. Melchior Quellar* an *European*, who liv'd in the city of the *Angels*. Besides the building of the monastery, and settling revenues to maintain the religious men, he laid out twenty-six thousand pieces of eight upon walling in so great a tract of ground, and then presented the monastery with the employments of assayer and founder (as has been observ'd above) which are worth near sixteen thousand pieces of eight; so that, calculating the whole expence as near as a man can guess, it amounted to about six hundred thousand pieces of eight, which he got by his ingenuity in the aforesaid employment, for he came poor out of *Spain*. His Wife, *Do. Mariana Nino*, was also a benefactress to the order, founding the college of *S. Angel*, to which, out of her portion, she left a sufficient revenue for the maintenance of the fathers.

There's no reason to think this strange, because many other *Spaniards*, from mean beginnings have arriv'd to vast wealth, and then finish'd prodigious works: among the rest, one *James del Castillo*, born at *Granada*, coming poor out of *Spain*, laid the

foundation of his fortune by following the trade of a brazier, and in progress of time came to be worth above a million of pieces of eight, built the great monastery of *Cibola*, of the order of *S. Peter de Alcantara*, a league from *Mexico*; that of *S. Elizabeth*, of barefoot *Franciscan* nuns, within the city; and that of *S. Agnes*. After all this vast expence, when he died, he left a million to *D. Dominick de la Rea*, knight of the order of *Santiago*, or *S. James*, who had married a young maid kept out of charity by *Castillo*.

Joseph de Retes, knight of the order of *Santiago*, after building a nunnery of the invocation of *S. Bernard*, left a million to his daughter, who obtaining the pope's dispensation, married her cousin *D. Dominick de Retes*, knight of the order of *Alcantara*, and marquis of *Xorke*. His wife dying without issue, he restor'd the million portion, and yet was not left poor, for his brother, *D. Joseph de Retes*, had left him one hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight.

D. Francis Canales, knight of the order of *Calatrava*, having made his wife heir of all he had, which amounted to six hundred thousand pieces of eight, she, tho' left young, despising many rich and noble persons who courted her for a wife, gave all she had to the poor, and in the year 1695 became a nun, to the great edification of all people, in the monastery of the *Capuchin* nuns. This nunnery was founded by *Simon de Haro*, as was that of the *Conception*, and yet this *Haro* brought nothing out of *Spain* but the clothes on his back.

Dominick Laurencana coming poor into the *Indies*, acquir'd so much wealth that he built the famous monastery of the *Incarnation*; and afterwards a nun of the same, without letting it be known who did it, built the nunnery of *Valvaneda*.

John Navarro Pasfrana, by no better a trade than a coachman, got so many pieces of eight, that he built the nunneries of *St. Joseph de Gracías*, and that of the *Conception*.

Stephen de Molina Mojquera, tho' he had built the church and nunnery of *St. Teresa*, yet at his death he left a hundred thousand pieces of eight.

D. Mark de Guevara made the aqueduct of *Mexico*, a league in length, which was a vast expence by reason of the many arches it lies upon. As an acknowledgment for his good work, he was made *Alguazil Mayor*, and had place in the chapter for him and his heirs. I pass by many other instances, to avoid being tedious, and think it enough to say, that all that's great and magnificent in the structures of the *Indies* (which cost four times as much as they do in *Europe*)

GEMEL- is all the work of Europeans and Spaniards, who by their industry have rais'd their fortunes there.

It being forbid to stay above twenty-four hours in that solitary place, we return'd upon Monday 20th, by the way of Santa Fe, to see the source of the water that goes to Mexico, which is two leagues from the hermitage. It rises at the foot of a mountain, and is convey'd into open troughs about a

league from Mexico, and then into close pipes, which convey it to all the quarters of the city. Near the spring is the house where Gregory Lopez, born at Madrid, led an eremitical exemplary life for several years. A Mexican lady built an oratory there, and a convenient house for any that would go thither to say mass. That night we return'd to Mexico.

CHAP. V.

What more the author saw during his stay at Mexico.

Escapusalco. FRIDAY 24th, I went to Escapusalco, to see whether there were any foodstuffs left of the palace of the king so call'd. Having rode a mile and a half out at the quarter of St. Cosmo, I came to the little village of that name, which is a parish of the Dominicans, where I found no other structure of stone but a little monastery of that order, no bigger than for five friars, and a very plain church with twenty altars in it. The palace, we may suppose, was destroy'd by the first conquerors. Calling, as I return'd, in at the Hospitium of the Dominicans, call'd St. Hyacinth, the vicar in the garden shew'd me that so highly valued *Cocbinille.* Cocbinille for dying scarlet. There were certain worms of an ash-colour sticking to the leaves; these, he told me, when ripe, they shook off upon a cloth, and when dry they turn scarlet. The greatest quantity of 'em is gather'd in the province of Uguaxaca, or rather Guaxaca, famous for good chocolate.

The royal palace. Saturday 25th, the viceroy remov'd to the new palace, rebuilt after it had been burnt. They say this belongs to Cortes, and that, for the viceroy's greater convenience, it was exchange'd for that of Montezuma, which belong'd to the king. Whilst the royal palace was rebuilding, the marquis del Valle, successor to Cortes, gave the viceroy house-room gratis in that we have mention'd of Montezuma, opposite to the cathedral. The said royal palace has a front to the great square, nothing inferior to that of Naples, the beautiful symmetry of open windows, or balconies, supplying the want of curious carv'd work; and the want of other ornaments being sufficiently recompens'd by its being square, with a court in the middle, and two towards the great square, on which there are small brass guns, to make use of in case of any mutiny.

From the great court there's a pair of stairs (like that of the palace at Naples) leading to the apartments, which are not only beautiful, but many and large. The

courts of justice are apart, and is the Corps de garde for those few soldiers that mount. The viceroy, in the morning, went to the court of criminal causes, in order to the goal-delivery for Whitsuntide, and took his seat between five Oidores, or judges, of the royal court, and five Alcades de Corte. There were four hundred prisoners Spaniards, and Many all for theft; for, living idle, and like vagabonds, they must steal and cheat to live; and therefore, tho' a stranger be never so much upon his guard, he'll never get out of Mexico without losing some money or equipage; for they are so expert at lying, that they will deceive a man, tho' never so cunning. They had rather be poor and naked, than follow any trade, or serve; and yet they may get four times as much as in Spain. If vagabonds were taken up, as is practis'd in other countries, people might live safe in their houses; but, as 'tis, tho' they be shut, they are not safe, the thieves making their way in at the tops, or else burning the doors: besides, in the day-time no purse is safe in the church, they are so very dexterous; and one day I saw my sword taken from my side. Tho' this was a day of mercy, yet very little was shewn by the viceroy and his ministers: mentioning of whom puts me in mind, that when any of them is dying, the viceroy is oblig'd, by special order from the king, to go visit, and ask whether he has any thing that lies upon his conscience to discover to him; and, when he's dead, he is to attend the body to the church.

Wednesday the 5th of June, I saw the Trinity Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, which is only for sick priests, of any nation whatsoever. The church is well adorn'd with twenty-one altars gilt. The infirmary holds about twenty beds, and is serv'd with great charity and neatness. There's an apartment for the superior, and some lodgings for the chaplains, as also to cure madmen. The licenciado, de Alphonso Gomez, made a present to this charitable place, of the twelve pictures of the apostles, of a great value.

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Thurs-

Corpus
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Thursday 6th, againft the proceffion of *Corpus Christi* all the ftreets and windows of the city were richly adorn'd with images, carpets, and quilts, which together with the green herbs and beautiful flowers, made a delightful fhew. In the filver-fmiths ftreets was the conquest of Mexico curioufly painted, with the houfes exactly as they were then, and the habits the Indians then wore. The proceffion began with about one hundred images adorn'd with flowers, then follow'd the brotherhoods, and religious of all orders, except the *Jesuits* and *Carmelites*. Then came the canons carrying the bleffed facrament on a thing like a bier. The laft were the archbifhop, the viceroy, the miniftry, magiftrates of the city, and nobility.

Friday 7th, I went to the monaftery of St. Francis the Great, to fee the tomb of Ferdinand Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico. On the right hand of the high altar was his picture under a canopy; and a little higher than the ground a tomb, where he told me the bones of that great commander were preferv'd, not yet honourably beftow'd. The feaft of S. Peter and S. Paul, being the 29th, was kept in the cathedral, the high altar being fo richly adorn'd, that it was valu'd at an hundred and fifty thoufand pieces of eight, the chalice alone, which was fet with emeralds, having coft eleven thoufand. Sunday, being the laft day of the month, I went in a coach to the Alameda (which is the place to take the air like the park in London) all the diversion there is

about a fountain, becaufe there are feveral GEMEL-water-works. The bafon is of brafs, much better than that in the middle of the great square.

There having been a plentiful harveft of the grain they call *de Riego*, that is, which comes up with watering, the viceroy, on Monday the 1ft of July, fent for all the bakers and farmers, and defir'd them to make the bread of the weight it us'd to be; and the more to oblige them, treated them with bifkets and chocolate, being by himfelf all the while. They promis'd fairly, whilst they were drinking, but were very unwilling afterwards to be as good as their words; being us'd to get half in half; or elfe they could never wear cloaths worth four or five hundred pieces of eight.

Tuesday 2d, being the vifitation of the College of bleffed virgin, the viceroy and his lady orphans. went to the college of the maids of St. Elizabeth, where they were entertain'd. Here twenty fix orphans are maintain'd by the brotherhood of the bleffed facrament, which allows every one of them fourteen rials a week, and five hundred pieces of eight portion when they marry. However they have a chance to partake of other portions given in other charitable places.

Saturday 6th, I went to the college of *Amor de Dios*, or the love of God, which has thirty fix thoufand pieces of eight a year of royal foundation to be fpend in the cure of thofe that have the French difeafe.

CHAP. VI.

The funeral of the lady Faufta Dominica Sarmiento, grandchild in the fifth defcent of Montezuma; alfo the feftival of St. Hippolito, and Pendon.

Montezuma's
offspring.

ON Tuesday 16th, dy'd the lady Faufta Dominica Sarmiento, grandchild in the fifth defcent to the emperor Montezuma, and daughter to count Montezuma the prefent viceroy. She was but eight years of age, and by her death a revenue of forty thoufand pieces of eight a year she had in the Indies, fell to her younger fiftter. For the clearing of her genealogy the reader is to underftand that the emperor Montezuma, among his many wives, had one call'd Miyabuaxocbite, who was alfo his niece, as being the daughter of his brother *teftilcuecabuac*. By her he had a fon, whole name was *Tlacabuc-pantizinyobualycabua-catzin*, who was afterwards baptiz'd, and took the name of Peter. He took to wife the lady Magdalen Quayaubxocitl, his own coufin (as being the daughter of *Tlacabucpan*, third brother to Montezuma) of

whom was born D. James Luis Ikuil Temolzin, who marry'd in Spain. From him are defcended the counts of Montezuma, Tula, &c. to whom the king's exchequer of Mexico pays forty thoufand pieces of eight a year. By another wife, whole name they fay was *Teitcalco* (which it is likely has been ill fpelt, becaufe it is no Mexican name) Montezuma had a daughter call'd at firft *Tecubieb potzin*, and when baptiz'd, *Elizabeth*. Her firft husband was her uncle *Chitlabuatzin*, who ought to have fucceeded Montezuma in the empire, had not Quaubtimoc ufurp'd it. Her fecond husband was Quaubtiemolzin; after whole death Ferdinand Cortes gave her in marriage to D. Alonfo de Grados, who had no iffue by her. She had to her fourth husband Peter Gallego de Andrada, from him are defcended the *Andradas Montezumas*, now living

GEMEL-living in Mexico. Her fifth husband was
 L.T. John Cano, from whom come the Canos
 1698. Montezumas.

The funeral.

This lady, above-mention'd, her funeral was put off to the next day, being Wednesday 17th, and in the mean while all the bells in the city rung peals. About ten in the morning all the religious orders in the city came to the palace to pray for her soul. She lay on the same brocade'd bed, on which her mother dy'd, under a canopy, in a room hung with damask. Then all the religious nobility and officers came to attend the funeral. The first that took up the body were the judges of the royal, and criminal courts, who upon occasion represent but one body, after them the officers of the court of *Cuentas* and exchequer took it, then the magistrates of the city, and lastly four *Dominicans*. Next the body march'd the *Spanish* company with their arms revers'd, and drums unbrac'd; and then the doctors of the civil and canon law, and of physick, being distinct parts of the university, with their mace-bearers. Then follow'd the magistrates of the city and courts, in their proper places, and lastly the viceroy nephew clad in sad colour. By the way there were three canopies erected upon scaffolds only for shew; not that the body was to be set down there. All the religious, with the clergy, and chapter, being come to St. *Dominick the Great*, the body was set upon a high mausoleum, with a garland of flowers, as being a maid; and the mafs being sung, the foot-company that was in the church-yard gave two volleys; for at the elevation nothing was done but only the ensign flourish'd the colours near the high altar. Then the body was carry'd to be bury'd in the chapel of *Peter Montezuma*, before spoken of. The arms of his family are an eagle with her wing extended towards the sun, and *Indian* legs about her.

Monday 29th, I went to the hospital of the love of God to see D. Charles Siguenza y Gongora, of whom I had the cuts I have inserted in this volume, and found him busy distributing a purse of an hundred pieces among the poor. Inquiring of him about that D. Francis de Aguilar y Sexios Gallego, the archbishop of Mexico, provided such a purse every Monday to be distributed among poor women, that could not work; and that with his own hands he gave two pieces of eight to every person recover'd after sickness, that carry'd a certificate from the hospital. This good pleasure in the year gives about one hundred thousand pieces of eight more than his revenue in charity; for besides what has been said, he distributes one hundred pieces eve-

Notable charity.

ry Friday in his palace. and every day twenty bushels of *Indian* wheat, which cost eighty pieces of eight. He allows the hospital of the trinity thirty pieces a day; among all the sick two pieces; to the dead twelve rials; to private poor men and women about three thousand pieces every first day of the month.

Friday the 9th of August, going to the college of *Ildefonso* to see some antiquities; I found on the east side of it, some ancient stones, upon one of which there were figures and hieroglyphicks carv'd; and among the rest an eagle with leaves of the *Indian* fig-tree about it; and another on the wall, besides circles, and other figures. D. Charles Siguenza, a great antiquary in what concerns the *Indies*, told me, those were the remains of a temple of *Huitzilpochtli*, dedicated in the year 1486; because by other pictures, and ancient pieces of the heathen times, it appear'd that temple had stood there; but others will have it, that it stood where the cathedral is. Both may be true, for it might be so large as to reach to both places. Saturday 10th, I saw some *Indians* that kill'd the least birds upon the highest trees with pellets shot out of trunks.

On Monday 12th, after Vespers began solemnly the solemnity, they call *del Pendon*. or of the standard, which is the greatest that is kept in Mexico, in memory of the conquest of Mexico, which fell out upon the day of St. *Hippolitus*. All the magistrates of the city, and gentlemen invited by them, being assembled, they took up the standard with which Cortes conquer'd Mexico, and went to the viceroy's palace, where they found all the officers of state. Here the procession began after this manner. First went four kettle-drums upon two asses (asasts esteem'd in America) then follow'd the trumpets, twelve *Alguaziles* on horseback, and the city's two mace-bearers; then the gentry and magistrates of the city, and then all the king's officers, and among them the standard, carry'd by a magistrate of the city. In all they were about an hundred, ill mounted. They were all displeas'd at the viceroy for refusing to go with them, contrary to the king's orders, which particularly enjoin him to mount and attend the standard, going to the left hand of it; and therefore to omit, it is reckon'd an offence he may be call'd in question for. It was said he staid at home for fear, having fallen from his horse at his entry. Having left the standard in the church of St. *Hippolitus*, they all return'd in the same order to the palace. The same company heard mafs on Tuesday 13th, being the day of St. *Hippolitus*, and then carry'd back again, the

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the standard. *Thursday* 15th, was the fe-
stival of the *Assumption* of our lady, when
her image was carry'd in procession, being
all of beaten gold, set with diamonds and
rubies. It weighs, with the four angels at
its feet, 1684 *Castellanos* of gold, and the
whole value of it is about thirty thousand

pieces of eight. It belongs to the *cathedral*, where there are other precious reliicks, rich furniture, and vessels of silver and gold. Here several maidens chew lots for three of them to have three hundred pieces of eight a piece, portion.

CHAP. VII.

Of the sport the Spaniards call la Gamita.

MONDAY 26th, I set out of *Mexico* with some friends to shoot deer, but finding none where we expected on *Tuesday* 27th, went away upon *Wednesday* 28th, to the village of *St. Jerome*, inhabited by *Otomito Indians*, where we were fain to make use of an interpreter, because they understand not the *Mexican* language. These wretches, like many more in *New Spain*, live rather like beasts than men, among frightful mountains. They live the most of the year upon herbs, because they have no *Indian* wheat, by reason they till but little land, and are given to idleness. The tears stood in my eyes to see them in that miserable condition, that they had scarce wherewith to cover their nakedness, both men and women; and grinding the empty ears of new *Indian* wheat on a stone to make chocolate, to which they added some bran to make dough of it, and bake that green paste. Seeing one of them pick up the crumbs of bread that fell from me, I gave him some. Their lodging is answerable to their diet, for they have no other bed all the year round but the bare ground. There is no doubt but their own sloth is the cause of their misery, as also the avarice of some *Alcades*, who take from them all they have got in the whole year, obliging them to buy oxen, mules, horses, and quilts of them, at three times the value, and taking their provisions at their own rates.

After an uneasy night spent in a cottage, we went upon *Thursday* 29th in the morning to the mountain to shoot by way of the *Gamita*. This is a noise resembling the cry of the young fawns, which draws the does within reach of the gun to be shot. Many thots were made all day, and but one doe kill'd. The next day, being *Friday* 30th, though twenty six does came to the noise of the *Gamita*, only two were kill'd; but having now venison enough, we return'd to *St. Jerome*. By the way we

met abundance of bucks (I kill'd a great one) and *Guaquilotes*, or *Turkeys*, that went about the wood in troops. These are the best fowl the Spaniards found in *América*, so good that they bred some tame, and brought them into *Europe*. That night we lay at *St. Jerome's*, and the next day, being *Saturday* the 31st of *August*, return'd towards *Mexico*, with four deer upon a mule, but it is to be observ'd they are no bigger than a good fawn in *Europe*. Night overtook us in a farm, where we were fain to lie that night. The man of the house civilly gave us cheese, and milk, without taking any money for it. *Sunday* the 1st of *September* we return'd to *Mexico*. Nothing remarkable happen'd till *Saturday* the 14th, when the price of bread having before at half a rial for fourteen ounces, a baker was fin'd for selling sixteen ounces for the same price. An action altogether unaccountable.

Monday 16th, going to the palace, I *Chicimecas* found in the great hall four *Chicimecas* (a *cali* word signifying, bred up amidst bitterness) come from *Parral*, to beg an alms of the viceroy. They had no part cover'd but their privities; all the rest of their bodies being naked, and stain'd of several colours. All their faces were streak'd with black lines made by pricking the skin till the blood comes, and rubbing it with ink. Some cover'd their heads with a stag's skull with all the horn on, and the skin of a beast's neck fitted to theirs. Others carry'd a wolf's head with all the teeth; others a tyger's, and others a lion's, to look the more terrible. But when they are abroad, the cries are more terrible, than their presence. The mules and horses smell the stink of their flesh at a great distance, and will not go on. They desire above all things to kill *Spaniards*, that they may flea their heads, and fit that skin upon their own heads, with all the hair, and so wear it as a token of valour, till it rots off in bits.

GEMEL-

L.I.

1698.



C H A P. VIII.

Of the Cus, or pyramids of St. John Teotl, Guacan.

Pyramid
of the
moon.Pyramid
of the sun.

THE time of my departure from Mexico drawing near, I thought fit to see some Indian antiquities, not far from the city, and in order to it on Thursday 19th, I rode a-crois the lake of St. Christopher to Acotlan, or Acotlan, a parish of the Augustinians; and having rested there a while went on to the village of Teotiguacan (which in that language signifies a place of Gods, and of adoration) six leagues distant. That night I lay in the house of D. Peter de Alva, Grandson to D. John de Alva, descended from the kings of Tescuco. Friday 20th, in the morning, he bore me company to see the pyramids, a league from his house. First we saw that call'd of the moon standing towards the north, two sides whereof we found to be two hundred Spanish yards in length, that is, about six hundred and fifty spans, or a hundred and sixty yards English, the other two sides a hundred and fifty Spanish yards. We had no instrument to take the height, but as near as I could guess it was about two hundred spans, or fifty English yards. To say the truth, it was nothing but a heap of earth made in steps like the pyramids of Egypt; only that these are of stone. There stood once on the top of it a vast great idol of the moon, made of hard stone, coarse enough; but the lord Summarica, first bishop of Mexico, caus'd it to be broke in pieces, out of a religious zeal; and there are three great pieces of it at the foot of the pyramid to this day. Within this great pile, there were some vaults, where the kings were bury'd; for which reason the road to it is still call'd Micaotli, which in the Mexican language signifies, the way of the dead. About it are several little artificial mounts, suppos'd to be the burying places of lords. Thence we went southward to see the pyramid of the sun, call'd Tonagli, two hundred paces distant from the other. Measuring two sides, we found them three hundred Spanish yards in length; but the other two were not above two hundred. Its height was about a fourth part more than that of the moon. The statue of the sun that stood at the top of it, after being broken and remov'd out of its place, was left in the middle, there being no throwing it down to the ground by reason of the greatness of the stone. This figure had a great hollow in the breast, where the sun was placed; and all the rest of it was cover'd with gold, as was that of the moon, which afterwards the Spaniards

took away at the time of the conquest. At present, there are two great stones at the foot of the pyramid, which were part of the idol's arms and legs. This gives occasion for two doubts or questions; the first, how the Indians, having no use of iron, could cut so hard a stone: The second, how they could carry and raise it to such a height, being destitute of convenient engines, and wanting the art to make them. Besides, there are no such hard stones in the neighbourhood, and they had neither mules, horses, nor oxen, to draw it so far, those creatures having been carry'd thither by the Spaniards. The word Cu is not Mexican (it might perhaps be of Aztec or some other province) for the Mexicans call the church Teocalli or Zopli.

The building of these pyramids is attributed to the Umecos, the second planters of New Spain, who came from that island Atlantis, Plato speaks of in his Timæus. This conjecture is made because all the Indian histories, unanimously agree, that these Umecos came by sea, from the east; and on the other side, according to Plato, the inhabitants of the island Atlantis, deriv'd their original from the Egyptians, who had the custom of raising pyramids. Aristotle, in his book de Admirandis, says, that the Carthaginians use to sail to an island, very far distant from Hercules's pillars; and that many of them settled themselves there; but that afterwards the senate forbid them, for fear that, being taken with the delights of the place, they should forget their country. If this be true, it is not to be look'd upon as any wonder, that the Mexicans should raise pyramids after the Egyptian manner, and have the same year; no more than that which Ammianus, in his 17th book, relates, viz. That on the Egyptian obelisks, there were sometimes birds, and beasts of another world carv'd. No Indian historian has been able to discover when the American pyramids were set up; but Dr. Charles Siguenza believes them to be very ancient, and not much later than the flood. It is certain, that where they stand, there was formerly a great city; as appears by the vast ruins about it, and by the grots or dens, as well artificial as natural; and by the number of mounts, believ'd to be thrown up in honour of their idols. One of them is call'd Tonaghi-iguenza, which signifies, the fall of the sun. Saturday 21st, I return'd home. Monday 22d, it rain'd so much that

that several houses were ruin'd, and they were forc'd to go in boats, in the quarters of St. John de la Penitencia, or of penance

St. Francis, and St. James, almost as far as the Alameda, or publick place of taking the air.

L1.
1693.

CHAP. IX.

Of the birds and beasts of New Spain.

BAGS.

There is such variety of beautiful birds in *New Spain*, that no country in the world can parallel it. The preference among them all is given to the *Sofontle* (which, in the *Mexican* language, signifies five hundred voices) a small matter less than a thrush, and of an ash-colour; only the tail and wings, which are speckled with white. That the *Spaniards* call *Gorrión*, or sparrow, sings sweetly, is as big as our parrow, and its colour inclining to black. The bird call'd the *Cardinal* sings well, is as big as a wood-lark, and has not only the feathers, but the beak scarlet; and besides, on the head a most beautiful tuft. It is taken in the temperate parts of *New Spain*, and *Florida*; and the *Spaniards* give ten, or twelve pieces of eight apiece for them, to send into *Spain*. There is another small bird of the same colour; he is less than the other, and does not sing. There is another as big as a thrush, by the *Spaniards* call'd *Tigrillo*, or little tiger, because spotted like a tiger, valu'd for singing. The *Cuir-lacobe*, has dark feathers; and is as big as the *Sofontle*, but has a longer beak, and red eyes. When kept in a cage, it must have a pounce-stone by to grind its beak on as it grows, that the length may not hinder its eating. There is another call'd *Cacalototol*, which in the *Mexican* tongue, signifies black-bird. It is as big as our black-bird, of a yellow colour, and sings delightfully enough. The *Silgueros*, are black and white, as big as a sparrow, and are valu'd to keep in cages. There are some black wood-larks, black and yellow, who build their nests, hanging at the trees, by horse-hair, wove like a purse, and they sing well.

PARROTS.

As for those that imitate the voice of man, or speaking, there are parrots of several sorts. Some call'd *Catanarillas* green; others *Loros* which are green, but have the tips of their wings and their head yellow. *Pericos* little bigger than a thrush, and green. Others as big as a dove, call'd *Gnaccanayas*, very beautiful; for they have red, green, and yellow feathers, and a beautiful tail, as long as a pheasant's; but these do not talk.

FOWLS.

As for eatable fowl, there are two sorts of pheasants; one with black wings and tail, and a dark body, which they call *Gri-zones*; another of a murrey, much bigger than the last, call'd *Real* or royal, because

it has a thing like a crown on its head, better relish'd. There are *Chachalacas*, in all respects like our hens, but their feathers are of a murrey colour, and they are not so big. Abundance of wild turkeys, which about the new moon, are easily kill'd upon the decay'd trees, on which they perch; for when one falls to the ground, there is no danger, the rest should fly away at the noise of the guns. There is another sort of birds good to eat, which they call black-birds, who go tamely into the houses. There are several sorts of them, some quite black, others with red wings; others with yellow heads and breasts, and others bigger than a black-bird, black, and with a long tail, call'd *Urracas*, that is, pies.

The quails are of the same colour as ours, but with some feathers standing upon their heads, and not so well tasted as ours in *Europe*. The *Pito Real* is as big as a turtle-dove, and with a bill as long again as its body. Its feathers are all black, except those about the neck, which are yellow. The *Spaniards* look upon the tongue of it, as a sovereign remedy against the heart-burning; giving the patient warm water to drink, that it has been steep'd in. Besides, the smok of the feathers cures other pains by sympathy; as for instance, those of the wings, pains in the arms; those of the legs, in the legs, and so of the rest. There is another wonderful bird, call'd *Guachichil*, or *Chupastores*, that is, sucking flowers, because it is always seen in the air, sucking flowers, without ever lighting on the ground. The *Indians* say they flick their beaks in the boughs of trees, for several months in the year, where they take them asleep, to make of them their images, and other curiosities abovemention'd.

The *Suppilotes* are as big as crows, there are two sorts of them, the one has a tuft of flesh on the head, and do not eat carrion; the other, a tuft of feathers, and these last eat all the carrion and filth of the city and country. At *Vera Cruz*, it is forbid to kill these birds, for the good they do; and it is allow'd to kill pigeons in the house or abroad. Of *European* birds, there are geese, cranes, ducks, pigeons, turtles of two sorts, some as big as ours in *Europe*, and others less, and several sorts besides.

As for beasts, there are bears, wolves, Beasts, wild boars, but different from ours, for they

GEMEL-they have the navel upon their back,
 LI. hares, rabbits, deer, foxes, tigers, lions, and
 1698. other forts. The lions are not so fierce as
 those in *Africk*, but being pursu'd by the
 dogs, run up the trees. For such as are pe-
 culiar to the country, there are *Siboles*, as
 big as a cow, whose skin is much valu'd for
 its long soft hair. *Ardillas* black and sad-
 colour'd, like dormice; *Lobos* like leo-

pards; *Zorillas*, as big as a cat, with black
 and white hair, and a beautiful tail. These,
 when pursu'd, stop to piss for their defence;
 because this water of theirs infects the very
 air for an hundred paces about, and over-
 comes those that pursue it; and if it light
 upon any garment, it must be bury'd to
 get out the stink.

CHAP. X.

Of the fruit and plants of New Spain.

TO speak the truth, the best product of
New Spain, is the gold and silver, the
 pearls taken in its seas, the emeralds found
 among the rocks, in the kingdom of *Santa*
Fe, and precious stones of *Peru*, but hav-
 ing spoke of them elsewhere, there is no
 need of repeating it here.

Fruit. But to speak of the fruit growing
 on trees, there are all sorts that *Europe*
 affords, except nuts, cherries, medlars, and
 service berries. Those peculiar to the
 country, are plantans, pine-apples, or *Ana-*
nas, *Anonas*, *Cocos*, *Alcs*, and *Dates*, of
 which I have given an account elsewhere,
 and set down their shape and figure. Those
 which grow in no other country, or if they
 be in the *Philippine islands*, have been car-
 ry'd out of *America*, are these that follow.

Aguacates. The *Aguacate* grows on a tree like a walnut,
 but thicker. It is sometimes long like a
 pear, and sometimes round. The colour
 without is green, and green and white with-
 in, with a large kernel in the middle. It
 is of a most exquisite taste, so that it is ei-
 ther eaten raw with salt, or boil'd; for it
 is very unctuous and sweet. Physicians
 count it hot, and therefore forbid it to nur-
 ses, for fear they should lose their milk.
 All that have tasted, do allow it exceeds
 all the fruit of *Europe*.

Sapotes. The next place is due to the *Sapotes*,
 whereof there are four several sorts. Some
 they call black *Sapotes*, their tree is as big
 as a walnut, and thick; but the leaves ve-
 ry green, and smaller than those. The
 fruit is round, and has a very thin green
 rind; within it is of the colour and taste of
Cassia, with four small kernels. Green, it
 is poison for fish; ripe, it is very whole-
 some for sick people. The second sort
 is call'd, white *Sapote*. The tree is as tall
 as a pear-tree, the fruit as big as a pear,
 green without, and white within, with four
 white kernels. It is good to make people
 sleep. The third sort is call'd *Sapote Bor-*
rachio, or drunken *Sapote*. The tree is like
 the last, but the branches more slightly.
 The taste of the fruit, is between sweet and
 tart, but very pleasant; the colour is green

and yellowish without, and whitish within,
 with two kernels. The fourth is call'd
Cibico Sapote, or little *Sapote*. The tree is
 higher, bigger, and thicker than the wal-
 nut. The fruit without is almost purple, and
 within higher colour'd. It has four small
 kernels placed as it were in niches. The
 taste is sweet, and the most valu'd of all
 that grow in a hot country. They make a
 composition with it, which the ladies chew
 to keep their teeth white.

The *Mamey* is a very tall thick tree, *Mamey*,
 which always has fruit on it, from one year
 to another, and it is as big as a large lemon.
 The outside is a barly colour, and red with-
 in, with a large purple stone, in which is
 a kernel like a bitter almond, call'd *Pestle*,
 which they make use of in glisters.

The *Granadilla de China*, grows on a *Grana-*
 plant like the ivy, which winding about *dilla*,
 any tree, covers it all. It is as big as an
 egg, and as smooth; white and yellow
 without, and whitish within; and has seeds
 like those of a grape. Its taste is sweet,
 somewhat inclining to a pleasant tartness,
 very pleasing to ladies. Some fancy they
 see the instruments of our Saviour's passion
 represented in it, as may be seen in the cut.

All the aforesaid sorts of fruit are eaten
 in *Mexico*, from *March* till *September*; but
 the *Mameys* and *Black Sapotes*, are always
 to be found on the mountains, when any
 body wants them.

Among the *Indian* plants the first place *Cacao*
 is due to the *Cacao*, as well for the profit it
 yields the owners, as for being the chief
 ingredient of a sort of drink become almost
 general to all the world, and very grateful
 and delightful, particularly to *Spaniards*.
 It is sow'd in a soil that is hot and dry,
 with the eye upwards, well cover'd with
 earth. It springs out within a fortnight;
 and does not grow above three spans in two
 years; at which height it must be trans-
 planted; where it is to be observ'd, That
 the plant must be taken up with all the earth
 that covers the root. When they are trans-
 planted they must be set in rows eighteen
 spans from one another. A stick is set up
 to

Book V.

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to support every one, and about them plan-
tains and other fruit-trees, because it grows
well under their shade. Besides, all sprigs
that shoot out at the foot of the plant must
be cut off, that they may not hinder it run-
ning up; the ground must be weeded, and
the roof must be kept warm, from too much
wet, and from some worms that use to
come about it. After five years, it is as
thick as a man's fist, seven spans high, and
then bears. Its leaves are somewhat like
those of the chestnut-tree, but a little nar-
rower; the blossom comes out all over the
body and branches, like the jessmin; but
scarce the fourth part of it holds. From
the blossom there shoots out a little sort of
an ear, like that of the *Indian* wheat, which
before it is ripe is greenish, and when ripe
of a chestnut colour, and sometimes yellow,
white, and purple. Within them are found
the cacao nuts with a white down upon them,
being from ten to fifteen in number. These
ears are gather'd after the full of the moon,
open'd with a knife, and the nuts taken
out, which is then kept three days in the
house a drying in the shade; then laid three
days longer in the sun; then again as many
more in the house, and lastly in the sun a-
gain, that it may be thorough dry. These
thrubs make the air somewhat unwhole-
some.

Bainilla, is a sort of *Indian* cane by
the *Spaniards* call'd *Bexuca*, which twines
about the orange-tree like ivy. That long
rod it produces, when gather'd, is green,
but is dry'd in the sun, and stretch'd out
now and then, that it may not split, and
at last it remains hard and blackish. The
Spaniards, to make them the sweeter, use
to sprinkle them with rich wine, in which
a *Bainilla* has been boil'd cut in bits. It
grows on the south coast of *New Spain*.

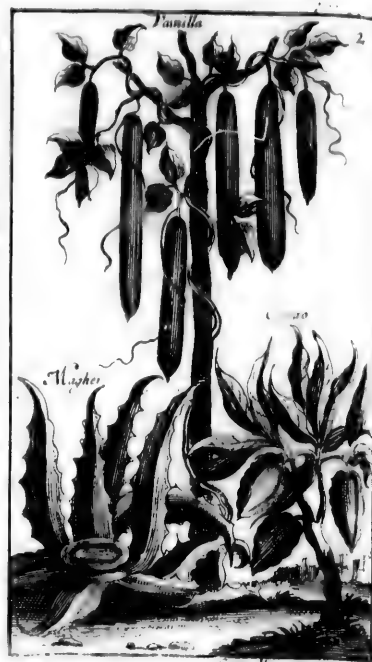
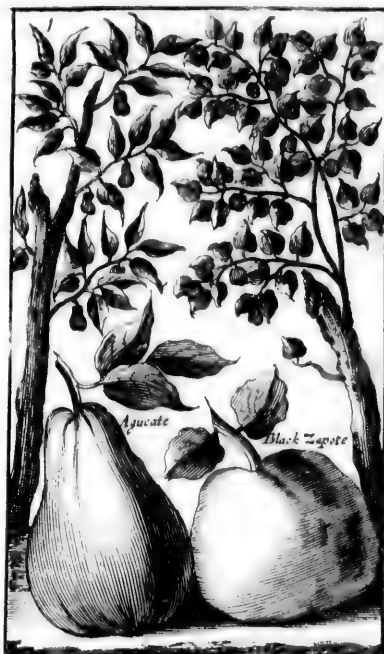
Every body knows that *Cacao* and *Bai-
nillas* are the principal ingredients of cho-
colate. The *Europeans* to every pound of
cacao add a pound of sugar, and an ounce
of cinnamon. The *Indians* use no *Bainil-
la*, whether they be rich or poor; nor the
Spaniards that live in *America*, because they
say it is not wholesome; and the goodness
of their chocolate consists in good cacao and
cinnamon; adding to every pound of cacao
two ounces of *Indian* wheat, that it may
froth the better; nor to save cacao, which
is very cheap in those parts. Others add
some of the cacao to the same purpose. In
Europe they use to add some nuts to the ca-
cao, which gives the chocolate a pretty res-
lish. This drink is very ancient, and us'd

by the *Indians* before the *Spaniards* conquer-
ed the country; but the *Spaniards* improv'd
it. In the *Indies* it is so common now that
there is not a *Black*, or a porter, but drinks
it every day, and the better sort four times
a day.

There is another usual plant in the *Indies*
call'd *Maghey*, which grows in a temperate
soil. From the leaves they draw something
like hemp to make ropes, sacks, shirts, and
several sorts of curious works. It also yields
wine, honey, and a good balsam. The
liquor, when it comes from the plant, is sweet
as honey; a while after it is like mead, and
good for the strangury and other distem-
pers. The *Indians* put into it a root that
makes it boil up and ferment like wine, and
it makes people as drunk as wine, and
is call'd *Pulebe*. The plant is frequently
found about the fields; and there is of it in
Spain, especially between port *St. Mary*
and *St. Lucar*. It is like our house-leek,
but much taller, and its leaves thicker, and
more solid. When it is of six years stand-
ing, they cut away the middle leaves, mak-
ing a concavity in the middle, which re-
ceives the liquor, and the *Indians* every
morning take it away, and keep it a month
in vessels; after which the plant withers,
and young sprouts shoot out, so that it is
with good reason call'd the *Indian* vine. If
it be not cut, it produces nothing but a
stalk like a ferula, with a fruit that is of
no use. They make *Aquavita* of it after
the same manner as was said of the coco
wine in the foregoing volume.

This drink is so universal among the *In-
dians*, that the excise upon it was no less
than 110000 pieces of eight; but it was
taken off by his majesty's order, after the
Indians set fire to the great square, and pa-
lace in the year 1692, as was said above,
and the drink it self was prohibited. Ne-
vertheless it is conniv'd at, and some *Spa-
niards* drink it as well as the *Indians*; for
which reason, whilst I was there, fresh or-
ders came from the king to receive the du-
ty again, and allow of the drink as formerly.

The *Indian* fig-trees do not only produce
pleasant fruit, but also the cochinille for dy-
ing scarlet, as was said before. For dying
blew there is the plant they call *Annil*,
whereof there is great plenty in the island
Hispaniola and elsewhere. This is what
we call indigo. Besides these, and many
more *Indian* plants too tedious to be men-
tion'd here, there grow almost all that *Eu-
rope* affords, of which it is needless to give
any account.



*A Voyage round the World, by Dr. John
Francis Gemelli Careri. Part X.*

Containing the most remarkable things he saw
in NEW SPAIN.

B O O K VI.

CHAP. I.

*The author's journey to the city of the Angels, and an account of what
is remarkable there.*

GEMEL-
LI.
1698.

First day's
journey

BEING weary of my long stay
in Mexico, and having taken
leave of all my friends, I set out
from that city on Thursday the
10th of October, intending to embark a-
board the advice-boat, bound for the Ha-
vana, in order to sail from thence for the

Canary islands, there being no hopes that
the fleet would sail in any reasonable time.
After two leagues riding, I came to Mexi-
calingo, a little village, where a river that
comes out of the lake of Chalco, runs out
towards that of Mexico, and is very service-
able for conveying of goods. Travelling

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on a league further, over marshy plains, I came to the village of *Itapalapa*, and, at the end of four leagues more, to the inn of *Chalco*, where the host made me pay dear for a bad supper, and worse bed.

Chalco is an indifferent village, and the best *Alcaydeship*, or little government, upon that lake, thro' which all the meal, sugars, and several other things, are convey'd to Mexico. Near *Mexicalcingo* the river is so rapid, that it may be said to hurry the boats on headlung.

Friday 11th, I set out before sun-rising, with other company; and after riding up a dirty steep way a league in length, baited at *Cordoba*; whence entering upon a mountain which was all-along cover'd with pine-trees, we went four leagues further, to lie at *Rio Frio*, that is, *cold River*, an inn in the middle of the mountain, where every horse pays a rial to the guard. Our host look'd mere like a robber than any thing else.

Saturday 12th, we proceeded betimes along the mountain-way two leagues, to the inn of *Tejmeluca*, thence I descended into a delightful plain strew'd with little country houses; and three leagues thence, by noon, to the little village of *St. Martin*. After dinner, I would go to *Tlascala*, three leagues distant, to see the remains of that city, against which the arms of the Mexican empire could never prevail. Having rode thro' some marshy plains partly under water, near the city I crok'd a river, where I had like to have perish'd, by reason of the flood and darkness of the night; and, to mend the matter, lodg'd in a scurvy inn, after so troublesome a journey.

Sunday 13th, I heard mass in the parish church, where there hangs up the picture of the ship that brought *Cortes* to *Vera Cruz*. And being satisfied there was nothing worth seeing in *Tlascala* (which is become an ordinary village) besides a monastery of *Franciscans*, I set out for *Puebla de los Angeles*, or the city of the *Angels*, to which the bishoprick is translated. Thither I came at one in the afternoon, having rode five leagues over the plain, and was lodg'd in a private house near *St. Christopher's*, for a piece of eight a day.

Puebla de los Angeles, or the City of *Angels*, was founded by the *Spaniards* on the 26th of April 1531, and so call'd, as they say, because queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth*, of *Spain*, whilst the city was building, saw in a dream a great many *Angels* with lines marking out the ground. The buildings here, for the most part, are of lime and stone, and vie with those of *Mexico*; but the streets are much neater, tho' not pav'd, all of 'em handsome and straight, crossing one another towards the four quarters of

the world; whereas those of *Mexico* are always stinking and dirty, so that a man had always need to go in boots. About the city there are many mineral waters; on the west side they are sulphureous, on the north nitrous and allumy, and on the east and south sweet.

Monday 14th, I went to see the great square: three sides of it are adorn'd with good porticoes, uniform, and set off with rich shops of all sorts of commodities. On the other side is the cathedral, with a most beautiful front, with a high tower, the fellow to which is not yet finish'd, so that this square is finer than that of *Mexico*. Going into the church, I found it built after the same model as that of *Mexico*, but somewhat less. It has seven stone pillars on each side, like that of *Mexico*, which make three isles. The choir and high altar are also like those of *Mexico*, but lower, and have only twelve pillars of good marble. The entrance was then adorning with marble, and good iron-work. The church has twenty-five altars in all, a decent sacristy, and a little room call'd *Ochavo* (to keep the things of most value) richly gilt, as is its little *Cupula*. The chapels are well painted and gilt. Near the same church, towards the square, is another chapel, where the blessed sacrament is kept, with three altars. There are three gates on another side, which is handsomely wrought, leading to the bishop's palace and the seminary. The bishop's canopy is in the church, on the right side of the altar; whereas the archbishop of *Mexico*, to avoid contention with the viceroy, has none, but sits in the choir, in pursuance to the king's orders. This bishoprick is worth eighty thousand pieces of eight a year, besides two hundred thousand that go among the canons and officers of the church, whose whole revenue is about three hundred thousand pieces of eight. Ten canons have every one five thousand pieces of eight a year; the dean fourteen thousand; the chanter eight thousand; the master of the school seven thousand; and the archdeacon and treasurer not much less. There's a proportionable allowance to six demi-canons, six half-demi-canons, and other inferior officers.

Monday 14th, I saw the college of the *Holy Ghost* of the *Jesuits*, whose church has fourteen altars richly gilt. Tuesday 15th, I saw the church of the barefoot *Carmelites*, without the city, which is small, and has ten altars; but the monastery is large, and has a good garden. This day *D. Nicolas Alvarez*, master of the ceremonies, shew'd me a loadstone as big as an ordinary apple, which holds up twelve pounds *Spanish* of iron, also a giant's rib as thick as a man's arm, and ten spans long. There's a tradi-

GEMEL-
LI.
1698.



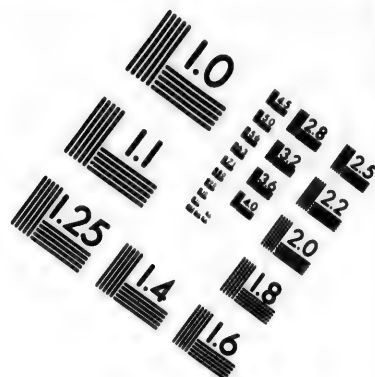
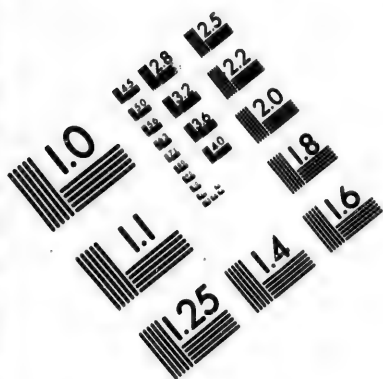
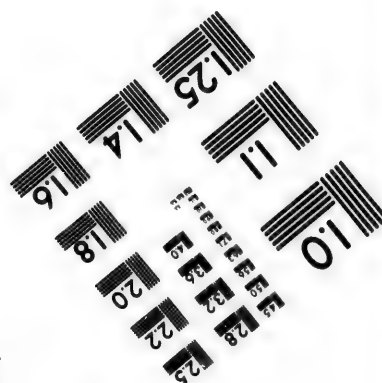
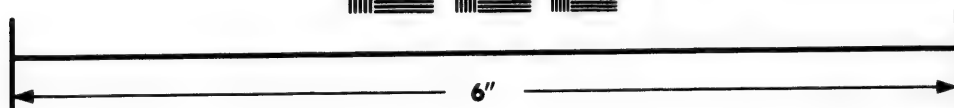
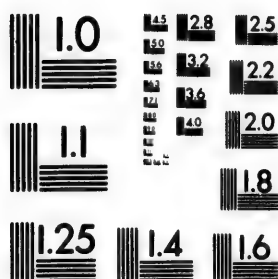


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GEMEL-tradition, that these giants dwell on the mountains above *Tlaxcala*. In this city it rains in the afternoon, as at *Mexico*, and that day the flood carried away houses and cattle, and, what was worst of all, four men and two women.

Churches.

In the church of the nunnery of *St. Jerome*, there are seven altars very well adorn'd. The monastery of *S. Dominick* is a noble structure, the church vaulted, and has about twelve chapels richly gilt, particularly that of the *Rosary*. The church of the *Augustinians* is also vaulted, very large, and more magnificently built. The parish-church of *St. Joseph* has three isles vaulted, and twelve altars. On the right hand of it, the chapel of *Jesus of Nazareth* was building, with a *Cupula* upon four large stone arches. *S. John de Dios*, of the fathers hospitallers, has a large cloister with good pillars, but the monastery is poor. In the church there are eleven altars. The church of the nuns of *S. Monica* is worth seeing for the gold about its six altars. Nor are the nine of the nuns of *S. Catherine* inferior to them. The church of the nuns of the *Trinity* is beautiful, and has six altars, and the monastery has a curious front. The college of *S. Luis*, of the *Dominicans*, without the city, is not very great, and the church has only four altars: twenty fathers live there, subject to the provincial of *Mexico*, and keep the schools.

Cholula.

Sunday 20th, I went to the village of *Cholula*, a league from the city: it looks more like a wood, for all the houses are among gardens. The government is profitable, because many rich merchants live there. In the midst of it is an ancient pyramid of earth, on the top of which at this time there is an hermitage. To return to the city; the church of *S. Christopher* is richly adorn'd, being vaulted, and having

nineteen altars. Nor is that of the nuns of *S. Clare* inferior to it, in which there are six curious altars. The monastery is vastly rich, having five hundred thousand pieces of eight rais'd by portions, which lie dormant. *S. Francis* is a very spacious church, with twenty-four chapels well set off, as is the arch. Before one comes into the church, is the chapel of the third order, with nine altars well gilt: in the monastery there are a hundred and fifty religious men. That of the *Recolets* is not so big, where there are but twenty-five friars; and the church is small, and has but five altars. *S. Paul*, the college of the *Dominicans*, is also but small, containing twenty religious men, and the church has but four altars. As I went out of this city, I could see the burning mountain of *Mexico* cast out mighty flames. The monastery of the *Mercenarians* is convenient for fifty religious men it contains; the church is beautiful, has twelve altars, and ten chapels, well gilt. That of the fathers of *Beblem* has been fifteen years building, with the monastery. The college of *S. Radebonfus*, of the *Jesuits*, newly built, is very large, and there are fifty fathers in it; the church has seven altars, well gilt. Adjoining to it, is the parish-church of *S. Mark*, in which there are twelve altars. The church of *S. Agnes* has seven altars; that of the *Conception*, eight; the *Holy Cross*, a parish of secular priests, fourteen; and *S. Roch*, of the fathers of *S. Hippolytus*, only four.

The reader, by the number of monasteries so rich and well provided, may judge of the greatness, magnificence, and wealth of the city. The bishop, when I went to take my leave of him, made me a present worth fifty pieces of eight.

CHAP. II.

The author continues his journey to Vera Cruz.

5th day's journey
5 leagues.

PROCEEDING on my journey towards *Vera Cruz*, upon Monday the 21st, three leagues from the city I came to the village of *Amataque*; and then travelling two leagues further, lay at the village of *Quacbiula*, in the Indian governor's house.

6th day
7 leagues.

Tuesday 22d, after riding a league on a plain road, I rested at the village of *S. Augustin*. Near to the parish-church of this place is a great pyramid, like those before mention'd. After dinner I travel'd three leagues further, and set up that night at the farm of *Istapa*.

Wednesday 23d, having rode up a dreadful mountain, I met the guards of the way, who took a rial for each horse. Soon after, upon another boggy mountain, my mule fell into a slough, where several of the country people were fain to help her out. Having travel'd a league further over precipices, I rested at the village of *Aculingo*, built in a wood of *Cirimoya*-trees. I dined with the *Alcayde's* deputy, and then set out again; and travelling three leagues further, stopp'd at that they call *Ingemo del Conde*, or *the Earl's engine*, passing over a large river on a long bridge. I found no body to entertain me here, besides that it would have

have been dangerous, the people being all Blacks, and therefore I went on, guided by a Black on horseback, because the place was so dirty that the mud and water reach'd up to our stirrups. I came late, after riding a league, to the farm of S. Nicolas, crossing the same river again upon another bridge at the foot of the mountain Orizava. Here a Spaniard, who was owner of the farm, receiv'd me courteously; but a fowl I gave him to dress came to table without legs or wings.

Having rode a league on Thursday 24th, I was oblig'd to take a great compass to cross the white-river, over a bridge, and go to Orizava to take fresh horses: where, at the Alcade's house, I found the vice-admiral of the windward navy, who would make me stay and dine with them. Mounting after dinner, I rode a long way thro' the town of Orizava, which, standing among so many trees of Cirimoyas and Anonas, looks like a wood, and came into a spacious plain, near the burning mountain of the same name, which is cover'd with snow. The guide led me thro' a dirty way to a more dirty mountain, therefore call'd Despenadero, or the Precipice, where I thought it a miracle that our beasts came off safe. Being over this mountain, I was forced to climb such another; and being come down into the valley under it, cross'd a great river upon a bridge. Having in all travel'd five leagues of very bad way, I came to lie at the town of Cordova, the head of that Alcadeship, or little government. The place is inhabited by rich merchants, who have sugar-works; most of 'em are Spaniards, the air being wholesome, and the soil producing all sorts of fruit-trees. I lay that night in a pitiful inn, where the Black that was my guide, seeing he could steal nothing else, took away my mule's halter.

Friday 24th, coming into a hotter country, I saw parrots of several sorts, and abundance of turkeys (call'd by the Spaniards Guaxolotes, or Gallos de la tierra, which shews they are not right turkeys, these being call'd by them Pavos) sitting tamely on the trees. Having travel'd four leagues thro' the wood, I baited in the village of S. Lorenzo de los Negros, or S. Lawrence of the Blacks, in the midst of a wood. This place being all inhabited by Blacks, looks like some part of Guinea, but they are handsome, and apply themselves to husbandry. They are descended from some runaway slaves, and they were afterwards permitted to remain free, upon condition they should not entertain any more fugitive Blacks, but restore them to their owners; which they religiously observe. Riding fix leagues further, I lay at the inn of S. Compus, where there was neither man's

meat, nor horse meat; and, for our greater plague, the hungry dogs and rats would not let us sleep, so that we were forced to hang up our stirrups and shoes, that they might not be eaten. The host was a lean naked Spaniard, who led an eremitical life there, rather than serve any body. Many Spaniards of quality, for this reason, marry Indian and Mulatto women, and live miserably as herdsmen on those plains, being ashamed to return into Spain poor; as if the soil of America were all gold and silver, and every man that goes thither must of necessity be immediately rich: How many perfectly starve, in respect of those few that rise to great honour and wealth in the Indies? even as 'tis in the army, where many thousands perish, for some few that rise to be colonels or general officers. Abundance of Blacks and Mulattos live in the neighbouring plain, like so many wild beasts.

Saturday 26th, I travel'd four leagues, which might pass for six, over a wild plain not till'd, no more than the last, and rested at Passo de las Carretas, or the pass of the Carts. In this place there's nothing but a house of Mulattos, without any provision, so that the horses fasted, and we eat some small matter we carried with us. The neighbouring mountain might have furnish'd fruit enough to fill our bellies, but the Indian fruit cannot be eaten till it has been three days in the house. These Mulattos make good thread, call'd Pita, to sew shoes, of an herb like Magbey, which they plant. Here I found my self in some distress, being to ford a great river; at length making a virtue of necessity, I and a Spaniard of Orizava made one of those Mulattos guide us; and, being come to the bank, caus'd him to go over first upon a tall mule, and saw the water come up to her crupper. There being no going back, I made the Mulatto come again to carry over my portmanteau, in which were all my manuscripts; and then recommending my self to God's protection, went into the rapid river bare-leg'd in great fear; and tho' there were two several branches to divide the river, yet the water came almost over my mule, and wash'd my thighs. Being by God's mercy come to the other side, and having recover'd our selves, we bethought us how little we should have been pitied, had the Mulatto left us in the lurch, and gone away with the mule and all we had, that is, a thousand pieces of eight of the Spaniard's, and my four years and four months manuscripts of my travels, and my money for my journey: but fear had blinded our understandings, so that we forgot that one of us ought to go over first to the other side. There was formerly a boat in this place, to waft over travellers, but the

GEMEL- Alcade, to punish the *Mulatto* that kept it
 LI. for some offence, took it from him, forbid-
 1698. ding him to receive or entertain any passen-
 gers, but to send 'em the way of *Cotapa*,
 which was for his advantage; and the *Mu-
 latto* answering, *He might order them to be
 call'd, and told of it by the inhabitants of that
 village*, he was abused by the covetous *Al-
 cade*. Thence we travel'd over a plain,
 and thro' a thick wood, of a sort of palm-
 trees that bore a fruit like green walnuts,
 hanging in clusters; the pulp within 'em
 tastes like our almonds. We pass'd several
 small lakes, and had like to lose our way,
 by reason of the high grass; and the more,
 because there being no boats to carry us
 over, we were forced to ford, and were
 very wet. Having travel'd four leagues,
 we came to a farm call'd *Alperilla*, where
 there was an infinite multitude of gnats,
 and we were forced to pay dear for two
 hoods to defend us against 'em.
 11th day, Sunday 27th, we rode two leagues, to
 5 leagues.

the farm of *Xamapa*, and cross'd the river
 of that name in a boat. A *Spaniard* there
 confirm'd what *F. Colin* writes, in his *Histo-
 ry* of the *Philippine* islands, concerning the
 bird *Carpintero*, viz. that it finds an herb
 which makes iron file like glass; which, he
 said, he had try'd by nailing an iron plate
 over that bird's nest, but, that he never
 could find out the herb in all those plains.
 After dinner, we travel'd three leagues fur-
 ther, to the port of the new *Vera Cruz*,
 where I found my equipage, sent thither a
 month before by *Ferdinand Mercado*. There
 are no inns in the city, so that a stranger
 is forced to hire a house. Here I rested
 after my journey, and tho' a small vessel
 sail'd for *Havana* on *Wednesday* the 30th,
 would not go aboard it, being promis'd
 better conveniency aboard another that was
 to set out soon after. Being ill lodg'd where
 I was, *D. Antony Penalosa*, lieutenant of a
 troop of horse, generously gave me an apart-
 ment in his house.

CH A P. III.

The description of the new town and port of Vera Cruz.

Vera Cruz. THE new city of *Vera Cruz* is seated
 in the latitude of 19 deg. and 16 min.
 and 27 1/2 degr. of longitude, on a sandy
 barren soil, so that provisions coming a
 great way, 'tis very dear living there. Its
 figure is longish, lying east and west, and
 the whole compass scarce half a *Spanish*
 league. The air is not wholsom, especial-
 ly in summer. Very often, when the north
 winds blow, to which 'tis very subject, the
 houses are half buried in the sand about
 them.

The walls. They who were entrusted to wall it in,
 cheated the king impudently, making a
 thin wall about six spans high, which would
 scarce serve for a cover'd way; besides that
 at present every body rides over them, be-
 cause they are buried with sand; and there
 is no need of shutting the gates, all parts
 being passable. Some bastions and redoubts
 there are about it, at a great distance from
 one another, and irregular; only two little
 forts or redoubts on the shore, at both ends
 of it, might make some defence. This
 city was built instead of the old *Vera Cruz*,
 because that port was not fit for great ships.
 In 1683 'twas taken and sack'd by one
Torrenillo, a pirate of *Petiguayas*: he land-
 ed one morning early half a league west of
 the city, and surpriz'd the inhabitants, who
 made no opposition; afterwards his ships
 anchor'd at the island of *Sanfco*, because
 'twas out of the reach of the castle-guns.

The castle. This castle is half a league from the city,
 so that it can no way defend it, but only

serves to secure the port and ships that an-
 chor under its walls. The port is natural-
 ly strong, because on the east and west 'tis
 defended by abundance of rocks, which
 strangers, who are not acquainted, cannot
 avoid running upon.

Now, tho' all the fleets, or single ships, ^{inhab-}
 that go out of *Europa* to *New Spain*, ^{port towns}
 into this port; yet the city, instead of be-
 ing rich and large, like *Mexico*, is, for the
 reasons above alledg'd, small and poor, lit-
 tle inhabited by *Spaniards*, but the most
 part by *Blacks* and *Mulattos*; so that there
 are scarce any white people to be seen, but
 only when the flota is there: as soon as that
 is gone, they that are well to pass retire up
 the country, as well because of the unwhol-
 somness of the air, as because their effects
 are not safe; and therefore they build
 none but little wooden houses, not at all
 lasting.

Friday the first of *November*, I went to
 the parish-church, which has four pillars on
 a side, that support the vaulted roof, and
 has three isles, in which there are nine cha-
 pels. The church of the *Jesuits* is poor,
 has but ten altars, and those meanly adorn'd.
Sunday 3d, I dined with the governor, be-
 fore whose house one of the two *Spanish*
 companies that are in garrison in the city
 always keeps guard; as does a troop of
 sixty horse, to scour the coast. *Saturday* 9th,
 there being no diversion in the town, I went
 out a shooting, and riding five leagues, fer-
 ry'd over a great river to the old *Vera Cruz*.

This

cross'd the river
A Spaniard there
rites, in his Histo-
ries, concerning the
it finds an herb
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Cruz.

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This

This at present may more properly be cal-
led a village of fishermen, than a city; for
it has no houses, but cottages cover'd with
leaves and enclos'd with canes. The inha-
bitants are always tormented with the sting-
ing of gnats. Before me they took some
fish in the river called *Bobos*, or *Fools*; be-
cause when the north wind blows they make
to the sea, and so fall into the nets. Their
rows dry'd are excellent to eat. These ri-
vers and all those of *New Spain*, but par-
ticularly those of *Guatemala* being full of
crocodiles or alligators, it is worth observ-

ing, that the dogs when they cross them, ^{GEMEL}
knowing by instinct of nature, that the al-
ligators are most fond of their flesh, go ^{L.I.}
first, to secure themselves, and bark in one ^{1698.}
place, that the alligators may come thi-
ther, and then run to swim over at another
place. *This same is related by F. Navar-*
rete in his account of the Philippine islands.
That day I kill'd abundance of *Pheasants*,
of a better sort than the black ones. They
were as big as turkeys, with a black and
white tuft on their heads, and all the rest
of their feathers murrey.

CHAP. IV.

A short account of the discovery and conquest of New Spain.

CORTES's ships having anchor'd in
the port of the old *Vera Cruz*, it will
not be from our purpose to say something
in this place of the discovery and conquest
of *New Spain*; adding to what other au-
thors have already made publick, some par-
ticulars kept in that country by tradition
from father to son, and extracted out of
four letters writ by *Cortes* to the emperor
Charles V. printed copies whereof are still
preserv'd by *D. Charles Siguenza*.

Some will have it that *America* was acci-
dentally discover'd by a ship drove thither
by tedious storms, which returning after-
wards to *Lisbon* with but a few men, the
master of it gave *Christopher Columbus*, born
at *Nervi* on the coast of *Genoa*, an account
of his voyage and what he had found, and
then dy'd. Many other preposterous noti-
ons go about this particular, too tedious
for us to handle, and therefore we will
come to the point.

^{Columbus.} *Columbus* being himself in no condition
to undertake this voyage upon his own ac-
count, apply'd himself to the kings of
England and *Portugal*, who both giving
him but little encouragement, he in the
year 1486, went and offer'd himself to *Fer-*
dinand and *Isabel* or *Elizabeth*, king and
queen of *Spain*, who were then engag'd in
the war against the *Moors* of *Granada*, and
so far prevail'd, being seconded by cardin-
al *Mendoza*, archbishop of *Toledo*, that he
had sixteen thousand crowns allow'd
him, wherewith he fitted out three ships,
mann'd with one hundred and twenty soldi-
ers and sailors. He set sail on the 3d of
August 1492, and having furnish'd himself
with necessaries at the *Canary* islands, con-
tinu'd his voyage. On the 11th of *Octo-*
ber he discover'd land, which was one of
the islands *Lucayos*, call'd *Guanabani*, be-
tween *Florida* and *Cuba*, where he landed
and took possession of the *Indies*. Thence
he pass'd on to the island *Hispaniola*, where

he gain'd so far upon the *Caique* or lord of
that place, that he allow'd him to build a
fort of earth and wood on the shore, in
which he left thirty eight *Spaniards* under
the command of *Roderick de Arana* of *Cor-*
dova; and taking ten *Indians*, forty par-
rots, some gold, *Indian* wheat, and other
things to make out the truth of his disco-
very, return'd to *Spain* with two ships. The
court being then at *Barcelona* he repair'd
thither. The king was much pleas'd with
what he brought, and the account he gave
of his discovery. Six of the *Indians* were
baptiz'd, the king and queen being god-
father and godmother. *Columbus* had much
honour done him, and pope *Alexander VI.*
granted the crown of *Castile* all the islands
and continent that should be discover'd west-
ward, and all eastward to the *Portuguese*,
dividing the world between those two kings,
by two lines drawn from north to south.

Columbus for a second voyage was fur-^{Second}
nish'd with eighteen ships, and one thou-^{voyage.}
sand five hundred men aboard them, be-
sides mares, cows, sheep, goats, swine and
asses to breed in the *Indies* where there were
none; besides wheat, barley, and several
herbs and plants of *Europe* to bring up in
that country. This fleet sail'd from *Cadiz*
on the 25th of *September*, and keeping a-
long near the line, the first land it disco-
ver'd was, the island afterwards call'd *De-*
feada. Then they came to *Puerto de Plata*
in the island *Hispaniola*, and thence to
Puerto Real, where they found the thirty
eight *Spaniards* who were kill'd for having
attempted to force the *Indian* women. Here
Columbus founded a city and call'd it *Isa-*
bella, in honour of the queen. This done,
he sent back *Antony de Torres* with twelve
ships into *Spain*, to carry presents of gold,
parrots, *Indians* and other things, and he
with three other ships went on to discover
further according to his orders. He disco-
ver'd the island *Buba*, and other lesser i-
lands,

Discovers
Land.

GEMEL-lands. He fell at variance with the pope's vicar for his severity towards the priests and 1698. *Spaniards*, and thereupon was call'd to court, whither he carry'd rich presents, and yet was reprov'd for his harshness to the *Spaniards*.

Third voyage. Having obtain'd eight sail more he sent away two before him under the command of his brother, loaded with provisions and ammunition; and he himself with the other six set out from *S. Lucar de Barrameda* in May 1697. From the *Madera* island he sent three ships to *Hispaniola* with three hundred men. With the other three he kept close to the line till he discover'd the continent call'd *Paria*, along which he coasted three hundred and thirty leagues, as far as cape *Vela*, where striking athwart a great tract of sea he arriv'd at *Santo Domingo*, a city built by his brother on the banks of the river *Ozama*, where he was receiv'd as governor. Here the *Spaniards* suffer'd much, because the *Indians* thinking famine would drive them away, did not sow their wheat, which forced them for want to eat snakes and filthy vermine. The *Spaniards* are also said to have got the pox of the *Indian* women, and some of them bringing it over to *Naples*, gave it to the *Neapolitans* and *French*, which made the first of these call it the *French* disease, and these the *Neapolitan*.

Fourth voyage. *Bartolomew Columbus*, brother to the admiral, having disoblig'd the *Spaniards*, they made their complaints to the king, who sent over *Francis de Bovadilla*, who clapt the admiral and his brother in irons, and so put them aboard and sent them into *Spain*. After some trouble *Columbus* was restor'd to his authority, and return'd with three ships to *Hispaniola*, where the governor would not suffer him to come into the port, and therefore he went on to discover as far as cape *Higueras*, and then on the fourth coast to *Nombre de Dios*. He return'd to *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, but could not get to *Santo Domingo* for want of ships. Here his men mutiny'd, but the mutiniers were defeated in fight by *Bartolomew Columbus*. The admiral after this return'd to *Spain*, and when he thought to have gone back to *America*, was prevented by death at *Valladolid*, in May 1506. I omit to say more of him, because his life is to be seen at large in this collection of travels.

Afterwards several attempted to conquer the continent discover'd, but without success. *Francis Fernandez de Cordova* sail'd thither in 1517, with three small vessels, and discover'd from *Compeche*, to *St. John de Ulva*. *John de Grijalva* in 1518, with four sail set out by *James Velazquez*, governor of *Cuba*, both of them had skirmishes with

the *Indians*, but could make themselves masters of no place.

Heaven had design'd this conquest for *Cortes*. *Ferdinand Cortes*, born at *Medellin*, in *Estremadura*, who was sent thither by the aforesaid governor of *Cuba*, in November 1518, with the command of ten sail; which he would afterward have taken from him, ordering the alcade of the town of the *Trinity* to secure him. But he could not bring it about, *Cortes* being very much belov'd by five hundred and eight soldiers, and one hundred and nine sailors he had with him.

His first conquest, was over the village of *Tabasco*, where the inhabitants made some opposition. They having never seen any horses, thought the horse and the rider had been all one creature. Upon Maunday Thursday, in the year 1519, *Cortes* arriv'd at *St. John de Ulva*, where all his men landed upon Good-Friday, for which reason, that place was call'd *Vera Cruz*. Here they continu'd some months, by reason of the opposition made by the *Indians*; till at length, being resolv'd to conquer, or to dye, *Cortes* caus'd the ships to be broke up, that his men might have no hopes left of retiring; and be sensible their safety, consisted in their swords. Accordingly on the 15th of August 1519, he set forward with four hundred men, for the province of *Tlascala*, leaving a sufficient garrison at *Vera Cruz*. He had several encounters, with the *Tlascallans*, who thought they were sent against them, by the *Mexicans* their enemies. The *Spaniards* dress'd theirs and their horses wounds, with the grease they took out of the bowels of the *Indians* they kill'd. The *Tlascallans*, at length dismaying, su'd for peace. Whilst they were treating, four *Indians* came from *Montezuma* to bid him welcome, and offer a tribute, provided he would not go to *Mexico*. *Cortes* entred *Tlascala*, on the 23d of September 1519, attended by *Caciques* and lords of towns; who, after giving him the best accommodation they could, offer'd him their daughters for wives; and set free many wretches they kept up a fattening for sacrifice. *Montezuma* sent other ambassadors with gold and jewels, fearing some ill consequence after the peace concluded with the *Tlascallans*. After this *Cortes* was receiv'd by the chief men of *Cholula*; but being inform'd that they, by order of *Montezuma*, conspir'd to betray him, he put a great number of them to death, and rescu'd the prisoners kept to be sacrific'd. Hereupon *Montezuma*, being more terrified than before, sent another embassy to him, with presents of gold and rich coverlets, excusing himself on account of the business

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his conquest for Cortes.
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finets of Cholula, and offering vast gifts to Cortes, and tribute to the emperor Charles the fifth, provided he would not come into the city, which was all in confusion, for fear of him, and for want of provisions. Cortes persisting in his resolution to go, severely reprimanded the ambassadors, Montezuma perceiving there was no putting a stop to this evil, making a virtue of necessity, sent his nephew Camatzin, lord of Tezcuco, and other noblemen in great pomp, to meet him a day's journey off, and conduct him. Cortes came with them, thro' Iztapalapa, to the broad caufway of Mexico; whither Coadlavacca and Cuyoacan, the emperor's near kinsmen, came out to meet him. After them, came other lords, and Montezuma himself alighted when he saw Cortes, who did the like and presented him with a collar of false stones. After this ceremony Montezuma departed, ordering his nephews, the lords of Tezcuco and Cuyoacan, to conduct him to the palace, where his father Axayaca had liv'd, whose idols and treasure were there still; and to provide quarters for the soldiers. Here Montezuma again met Cortes, and presented him a collar of gold, treating all his men plentifully at supper. This they say was on the 18th of November 1519.

The emperor was then forty years of age, of a good stature, a dark complexion, a cheerful countenance, wore short hair, and a little black beard. He liv'd in great state, as well in regard of the number of his courtiers, as of his soldiers. When he went to the Cu, or temple, he carry'd a rod made half of gold, and half of wood, several great men going before him; two of whom carry'd two maces, as the hieroglyphick of justice. Cortes and some of his officers desiring to see this great temple, to which there was an ascent of one hundred and fourteen steps; Montezuma receiv'd him very courteously, and from the top of it, shew'd him all the city, most of it in the lake, to which the way was over three banks, or dikes, one call'd of Iztapalapa, another of Tacuba, the third of Tepeaquilla, with draw-bridges, at certain distances. He also shew'd him the temple of Huycilobos, the god of war, and of Tezcatlipuca of hell, both brothers, full of a deadly stench caus'd by the men there sacrific'd.

The soldier one day searching about for a place to make a church of, broke through into an apartment, the door whereof had been lately made up, where they found a great quantity of gold and jewels, it being Montezuma's treasure, which they thought fit to shut up again without taking any thing away. Cortes had resolv'd to secure Mon-

tezuma, but was afraid of the success, be-cause of the small number of his men. For this reason he contriv'd to deceive him, bringing him by fair means to his quarters, and then tell him he must be content to live a prisoner or to dye. Afterwards understanding that the Indians at Vera Cruz had kill'd John de Escalante, and six other men (which made the Indians take heart, perceiving that the Teulis, or Gods come from the east, were mortal) he laid hold of this opportunity to quarrel with Montezuma. Having therefore sent a message before, he went with five of his most resolute commanders to the emperor's palace, and there loudly upbraiding him with breach of faith, told him, he must submit to be his prisoner, or resolve to die. Montezuma excus'd himself, promising satisfaction, and urging it was not proper to make him a prisoner; but being frighted at the officers swords, and at the words of Marina the woman interpreter, who made him sensible of his danger, he offer'd a son and two daughters as hostages, and Cortes refusing, suffer'd himself to be carry'd to his quarters, where a guard was put upon him. Lords and other subjects came from places far distant to him about their affairs, and went into his presence bare-footed, not right forward, but sideling with their eyes fixt on the ground, and ordinary coverings on them, leaving the rich ones without. When they came before him, they bow'd three times, and when they went away were not to turn their backs. The four commanders who had kill'd Escalante, were brought prisoners, and Cortes condemn'd them to be burnt; putting fetters upon Montezuma whilst it was doing. He ask'd leave once to go a hunting, and another time to the temple; that his people might believe he was not kept prisoner, which was granted him with a guard of a hundred and fifty Spaniards, and notice given him, that upon the least commotion of the people they would kill him. Cacamatzia king of Tezcuco, seeing his uncle Montezuma made a prisoner, thought of rescuing him, and crowning himself emperor, which his design he imparted to the lords of Iztapalapa, Tacuba and Cuyoacan, Montezuma's nephews. He having notice of it, would have Cortes secure them all, as was accordingly done by his orders, which were obey'd, tho' he was a prisoner. The imprisonment of these great men embolden'd Cortes to demand of Montezuma, that he should swear fealty to the king of Castile; and he consulting with the principal Caciques, resolv'd to do it, which he did in form, promising to pay a tribute, with the tears standing in his eyes, and the same was done by the petty kings subject to him.

GEMEL-
LI.
1698.

Cortes seeing so much gold, would needs know where they found it, and *Montezuma* sent some *Indians* to three several places with *Spanish* officers, who return'd with the value of fifteen hundred pieces of eight in gold dust, which the *Indians* had gather'd in the find of certain rivers. After this the emperor made a present by way of tribute to the king *Spain*, of all his father's treasure, which was shut up in the aforementioned apartment; besides many jewels brought him by the *Caciques*. All the gold being melted into plates by the king's officers and seal'd, there was found to the value of 600000 pieces of eight; whereof one fifth part being deducted for the king, and another for *Cortes*, the rest was divided among the men. The idol priests, provok'd that *Cortes* had set up the cross upon their temple, excited the peop^{le} to fall upon 'em, and therefore *Montezuma* advis'd him to be gone; but he, to save time, said he had destroy'd his ships, and could not go till he had built three ships. *Montezuma* allow'd of the delay, order'd workmen to build the ships, and promis'd to keep the people quiet.

Narvaez,
sent to
assist
Cortes.

This being the posture of affairs at *Mexico*, and *James Velasquez* understanding that *Cortes* had sent deputies to the emperor with rich presents, without giving notice of him, he fitted out nineteen ships with fourteen hundred men and twenty pieces of cannon, and sent them under the command of *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, with whom went an *Oydore*, or judge, of *Santo Domingo*, to mediate between him and *Cortes*, since it had been in his power to hinder his setting out. The fleet coming into the port of *St. John de Ulva*, *Montezuma* soon had notice of it; because the *Indians*, who were upon guard at that port, brought the whole fleet painted upon a cloth of *Nequen* or *Maghey*. He sent *Narvaez* a good present of gold, quilts, and provisions, and had in answer from him, that *Cortes* was a run-away and rebel to his king, and that he was come to secure him, and deliver *Montezuma* from his imprisonment. *Cortes* being inform'd hereof by *Montezuma*, who thought he had known it all before, having advis'd with captains, writ to *Narvaez*, desiring him for the honour of their nation, and the sake of the king's service, not to raise the city against him, caus'd *Montezuma* to be set at liberty, offering him all that was conquer'd, and promising to retire to another province. *Narvaez*, instead of giving ear to these fair proposals, put the *Oydore* into irons, because he advis'd him to peace, and march out with his forces towards *Mexico*. *Cortes* hearing of it, left *Pedr de Alvarado* with some men to secure *Montezuma* and their fort, and set out himself with the rest of his

forces to meet *Narvaez*, demanding assistance of his friends at *Tlafcala*. His men, and above six thousand *Indians* arm'd with pikes to keep off the horse, prepar'd to defend themselves. *Cortes* being come with his little army within a league of *Compoalla*, in the dark of the night, pass'd over a brook that was before him, and surprizing *Narvaez* and his forces, routed, and took him prisoner, with others of his officers, and all his cannon; obtaining a compleat victory over an army six times more numerous than his. The next day all the foldiers of the adverse party took an oath to be obedient to him; so that he having now secur'd nineteen ships, sent to several parts to make new conquests. Advice was brought him from *Peter de Alvarado* that he was besieged, the city having revolted, and stood in need of speedy succour. *Cortes* therefore leaving *Narvaez* in custody at *Vera Cruz*, march'd away in all speed with thirteen hundred foot, and ninety six horse, besides two thousand *Tlafcallans*. He enter'd *Mexico* on the 24th of *June* 1520, and *Montezuma* coming to meet him in the court, he would not speak to him, being angry that he had held a correspondence with *Narvaez*. This so incens'd the emperor, that not regarding the fealty he had sworn, he caus'd *James de Ordaz*, as he was marching out of the garri- son with four hundred men, to be set upon by an infinite multitude of *Indians* with slings, arrows, staves, and stones; so that they wounded him, and kill'd several of his men, and then went to fire their quarters, which was put out at night. In the morning the *Spaniards* renew'd the fight, but being overpower'd by the multitude of enemies, many were kill'd, though they fell not unreveng'd; and the rest retir'd to their quarters, to fortify themselves. Here they were so vigorously assaulted in the night, that many dropt on both sides.

The war continuing, the *Spaniards* made some wooden towers to remove, and went out to burn the temple, but were beaten back to their quarters with the loss of forty six men. This made them resolve to sue for peace the next day, and to depart *Mexico*; but as soon as ever it was day they were attack'd by the *Indians* on all sides, with such fury, that *Cortes* was forced to send a religious man to *Montezuma*, to desire he would make his subjects desist, and he would be gone immediately. *Montezuma*, being still angry, refus'd at first, but then comply'd, and from a gallery commanded the *Mexicans* to lay down their arms. This was accordingly done, but immediately four *Caciques* came up to the emperor, and told him, that the people being highly offended, and resolv'd that the *Spaniards* should perish, whatever came

Montezuma kill'd.

Cortes to *Tlafcala*.

demanding assistance. His men, the Indians arm'd with bows, prepar'd to do being come with Narvaez, the siege of Cempoalla, routed. As he pass'd over a brook surprizing Narvaez, and took him and his officers, and all the Spaniards, more numerous than the soldiers of the Spaniards, the path to be obeying now secur'd several parts to make was brought him that he was besieged, and flood in need of therefore leaving Vera Cruz, march'd with thirteen hundred, besides two thousand Spaniards, to Mexico on the 15th of May. Montezuma, coming to court, he would not be angry that he had with Narvaez. This that not regarding him, he caus'd Jamexco, coming out of the garments, to be set up of Indians with stones; so that he kill'd several of them to fire their quarters at night. In the renew'd fight, by the multitude of Indians, though they fell, they rest retir'd to their selves. Here they altered in the night, the Spaniards made remove, and went to the lake, but were beaten with the loss of forty men, and to depart was ever it was day the Indians on all that Cortes was for-
ward to Montezuma, his subjects desist, immediately. Montezuma refus'd at first, but from a gallery he caus'd his men to lay down accordingly done, the Spaniards came up to him, that the people, and resolv'd that they, whatever came of it,

of it, had chosen another emperor, for which they nevertheless begg'd his pardon. No sooner were these words spoken, but the Indians let fly many stones and arrows towards Montezuma, so that he was wounded in the head, arms, and legs, whereof he soon after died, having reign'd seventeen years.

Cortes acquainted the new king with Montezuma's death, and sent him his body, that it might be honourably buried, and then demanded of the Mexicans to put one of Montezuma's sons in possession of the empire, because he, whom they had chosen, was not lawful emperor; renewing his demands of peace, in order to depart Mexico. Instead of peace, they fell so furiously upon his quarters, that they kill'd many soldiers; whereupon, the next day, Cortes march'd out with all his forces to be reveng'd, burnt many houses, and kill'd abundance of Indians, but with great loss on his side. Perceiving 'twas impossible to withstand such numbers of enemies, provisions and powder growing scarce, he resolv'd to depart Mexico. First he kill'd Montezuma's kindred, and the petty kings he had prisoners, and then on Thursday the 10th of July 1520, when the Indians least expected it, having divided the aforementioned gold among his soldiers, began to march silently out of the city, carrying along with him a wooden bridge, to pass over those places where the banks were broken down. As he was passing over the banks at midnight, tho' 'twas very dark, the enemy perceiv'd him, and attacking him both by land and from the canals, in a great number of boats, kill'd at least twenty Spaniards, part with the sword, and part drown'd in the water, besides several prisoners, the canals being choak'd with dead men and horses. Alvarado here taking a wonderful leap, to escape falling into the enemy's hands, that place is to this day call'd Alvarado's Leap. Having pass'd the bridge, Cortes came in all haste to Tacuba, with the Indians always at his back; but being ashamed that many were left behind wounded, expos'd to the cruelty of the barbarous enemy, he turn'd back to fetch 'em off: but seeing the people of Tacuba and Escapuzalco all in arms against him, he was forced, following Tlascallan guides, to take the by-roads, still pursued by the Indians in the dark night. Being come to a temple, he halted, fortifying himself, to have the conveniency of dressing his wounded men; for which reason afterwards the church of our Lady de la Remedias was erected there. This was call'd the dismal night, because of the great slaughter, especially of those who forwarded their own death by not forsaking their gold. They continued their retreat, still facing

the Mexicans; but the battle on the 14th of July, near Otumba, was very remarkable, and the slaughter was great on both sides, after which, upon a muster, there were found but four hundred and forty Spaniards. This small body coming to Tlascala was well receiv'd, tho' it had lost twelve hundred Tlascallans.

Quauhtimoc, Montezuma's near kinsman, began his reign at Mexico, being elected, as was said before, and at the same time one hundred and twenty men, and seventeen horse, accidentally reinforced Cortes; for Francis de Garay having sent three ships to take possession of the river of Panuco, the soldiers, meeting with more opposition than they expected, went all away to Cortes.

He now thought good to send away some officers and soldiers, part into Spain, and part to Hispaniola and Cuba, to make known what he had done till that time; and some to Jamaica to buy horses. Another parcel of soldiers came out of Spain, and arriving at Vera Cruz, join'd him; so that on the 26th of December he march'd towards Tescuco with his Spaniards and ten thousand Tlascallans. There he was honourably receiv'd by seven of the principal lords of the country and the petty king, who gave him a gold banner. Some days after, finding himself strong, having receiv'd another recruit brought by the king's treasurer in one ship, and thirteen brigantines he had caus'd to be built being ready, he first subdued the country about, which had revolted, and then resolv'd to go about the lake, thro' the canals, to find out the properest way to besiege Mexico.

Accordingly he set out on the 5th of April 1521, with three hundred sixty-five Spaniards, and above twenty thousand arm'd Indians, besides those who follow'd the army, like crows, only to glut themselves with man's flesh. After subduing Tescutlan, passing forward thro' Cornavaca, he overthrew the Mexicans in a bloody fight, but they bringing fresh forces, attack'd the Spaniards several times at Suchimilco. Cortes return'd to Tescuco, and understanding that a friend of Narvaez was conspiring with others to murder him, he caus'd the conspirators to be hang'd.

Upon a muster at Whitsuntide 1521, he found he had eighty-four horse, six hundred and fifty foot arm'd with sword and lance, and one hundred ninety-four with fire-arms. He took one hundred and fifty of these, and distributed 'em among the brigantines, each of which carried twelve oars; the rest of his men he divided into nine companies, giving one man the chief command over three of 'em. He order'd eight thousand Tlascallans to go to besiege Iztapalapa, Cuicacan,

Cortes
leaves
Mexico.

Cortes to
Tlascala.

Montezuma
kill'd.

CHAP. V.
111.
1698.

GEMEL-can, and *Tacubá*, and broke down the aqueduct of *Chapultepec*, that carried the water to *Mexico*. He went in his brigantine about the lake, and sinking several canoes of *Indians*, made his way over to *Iztapalapa*, to relieve *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who was beset by several bodies of *Mexicans*. Having brought him off, he sent him to attack the bank of *Tepeaquilla*, now call'd the caufway of our lady of *Guadalupe*, whilst he, dividing his forces into three parts, and back'd by the brigantines, went to assault the *Mexicans*. The *Spaniards* could do little good, because at night they had lost all the ground they had gain'd upon the caufways; for, all the houses being encompass'd with water, with trenches round about 'em, the *Indians* open'd them at night, that the men and hories might drop in.

On the 24th of *June* the *Spaniards* were attack'd on all sides, and tho' they kept their ground with a very small loss, yet *Cortes*, being sensible that all delays were prejudicial, his army decreasing, he resolv'd to break on a sudden into *Tlatelulco*, then the greatest square in *Mexico*, now the monastery of *Santiago*, or *St. James*, of the *Franciscans*, and thence advance to gain the streets of *Mexico*. The three little squadrons advanc'd three several ways, but all to no purpose; for *Cortes* pushing too forward upon one of the caufways, whither the *Indians* had drawn him by giving way, and being bore down by the water and mud, was wounded in the leg, and sixty of his men taken prisoners: nor did the other squadrons suffer less, being attack'd in canoes by water, and by land with sticks and stones from the tops of the houses; nor could the brigantines relieve 'em, being kept off by the timbers laid across the channels. The *Indians* sacrific'd all the *Spaniards* they had taken to the idol *Huycbilobos*, casting their bodies out to be devour'd by wild beasts, and keeping only the legs and arms, to eat them with *Chilmole*, a hot sauce. They flea'd their faces, to put on that skin they took off like a vizor at the solemnity.

After so many losses, the soldiers of *Tascale*, *Tescuco*, and other places, went a way home, despairing of success; so that a few *Spaniards* were left to keep the posts they had secur'd, part of them filling the ditches with earth and falcine, whilst others stood upon their guard; the brigantines, at the same time, with all their force, striving to break thro' the obstructions laid against them in the canals. Thus they advanc'd so far without falling into the water, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Mexicans*, that the soldiers of *Tascale* and *Tescuco* came again to their assistance.

In the mean while *Cortes* made application to the king for peace, but he daily turn'd more obstinate in carrying on the war, which made *Cortes* demand supplies of his confederates. They being come, perceiving the king would not hearken to any accommodation, he caus'd the city to be assaulted at all three attacks, and gain'd ground as far as the great temple of *Tlatelulco*, on which he set up his colours. Three days after, all the three attacks were carried on so successfully, that they met in one body. Then the king and his men retir'd to that part of the city where the houses were encompass'd with water, but there many were kill'd by the *Spaniards* shot, who had drawn up all their force in the place of *Tlatelulco*.

Peace was demanded a third time, but the *Indians*, after a cessation of three days, fell again upon the *Spaniards*, who had been supply'd with powder and other necessities by a ship come from *Spain*. *Cortes*, seeing the king would not hearken to peace, relying on the water that secur'd him, order'd *Christopher de Sandoval* to besiege him with the brigantines. This done, the king fearing the people would kill him, got into a boat with his wives and best moveables, and fled over the lake; which *Sandoval* understanding, he sent *Garcia Holguin* after him, who took him and all his company, and brought him to *Cortes*, without touching any thing that belong'd to him, particularly the women, for whom the king was concern'd. *Cortes* had been on the top of a temple, to view the action, but as soon as he heard of the king's being taken, he came down, to prepare a place to receive him friendly. The wretched prince, with tears standing in his eyes, said to him, *Lord Melincue, I have done my duty in defending my city and people: since fortune has thrown me into your hands, I desire you to kill me with that sword by your side, that I may not be reduced to a more miserable condition*. Because you have bravely defended your city (answer'd *Cortes*) you deserve the greater honour and esteem. That same day he sent him to *Cuyoacan* with *Sandoval*. This happening in the evening, on the 13th of *August* 1521, being the day of *St. Hippolytus*, after a siege of ninety-three days; therefore the anniversary of the conquest was kept on that day, as has been said before. *Quauhtimoc* was about twenty-four years of age, well made, of a dark complexion, and a long face. For this conquest *Cortes* had given him for his coat of arms three crowns, with a bordure of seven kings heads. He dismiss'd all the *Indians* that had assisted him, with thanks, sending them away loaded with spoils of the conquer'd; and the *Mexicans* thought themselves very rich,

Indians
forfake
Cortes.

P. Carro's
discovery.

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of the slain *Mexicans*.

After cleansing the streets, and removing
the dead bodies, the next thing was, the
torturing the lord of *Tescuco*, to oblige him
to discover where the gold was hid, all they
had found being worth but three hundred
eighty-six thousand crowns. Then the city
was rebuilt, that it might be again inhabi-
ted; and several commanders were sent to
subdue other provinces; and Cortes went
in person, and conquer'd that of *Panuco*.
After his return to *Mexico*, he sent two ships
to *Spain*, and in them *Alonso de Avila* and
Antony de Quinones, with a present of twen-
ty-two thousand crowns in gold plates, and
all that was left of *Montezuma's* treasure, to
ask of the king the government of *New*
Spain for him, and entreat him not to send
lawyers into the *Indies*, to breed dissension
among the inhabitants.

These two sail'd on the 20th of *Decem-*
ber 1522; but being come to the *Tercera*
islands, *Florin*, a French pirate, took both
the ships, gold, and jewels, and carried
Avila prisoner into *France*, *Quinones* being
dead before. The king of *France*, when
that rich treasure was brought to him, said,
The emperor Charles V. and the king of Por-
tugal have divided the new world between
'em, without allowing me any share; I would
desire them to shew me Adam's will which
entitles them to it.

Avila going into *Spain*, did not only ob-
tain the government of *New Spain* for *Cor-*
tes, but a confirmation of the division he
had made of the country among the con-
querors, and power to do the like for the
future. Some time after, Cortes sent the
emperor eighty thousand crowns, and a
small culverin curiously wrought, all of
gold and silver, call'd the *Phoenix*, with this
inscription,

*Ave nacio sin par,
Tò en serviros sin segundo,
Y vos sin igual en el mundo.*

That is, as the phoenix has no mate, so nei-
ther had any man serv'd you like me; nor
have you any equal to you in the world.

CHAP. V.

The discovery and conquests of Peru.

Pizarro's
discovery. **FRANCIS PIZARRO** met not
with so much difficulty in *Peru*. He
sail'd thither in the year 1525, with two
ships fitted out by *James de Amagro*, and
Ferdinand Luque, a priest of *Panama*, ha-
ving the governor's leave. Landing when
he had sail'd an hundred leagues, he fought

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Cortes going afterwards to punish the re-
bellion of *Christopher de Olid*, in the pro-
vinces of *Higueras* and *Honduras*, took a-
long with him *Quaubtimec*, and the lord of
Tacuba, and caus'd 'em to be hang'd in
the village of *Gbeyacola*; which action his
own men did not approve of. The king,
before his death, said, *I have been long con-*
vinced of the falshood of your words, captain
Melinche, and that you would put me to
death: unhappy I, that did not kill my self
that same day you were victorious over me.
I hope God will punish you for killing me so
wrongfully. The lord of Tacuba, said he,
was pleas'd to die with the king his uncle.
Finding *Olid* already put to death, Cortes
with incredible celerity subdued those and
other provinces, and return'd to *Mexico* in
June 1525.

Being afterwards put upon his trial by
the emperor's order, he was depriv'd of made a
the government of *New Spain*, and there-
fore went away to court. He was there
honourably receiv'd in the year 1527, and
created *marquis del Valle*, worth at this day
sixty thousand pieces of eight a year, and
had the title of captain-general of *New*
Spain, and of the south sea; and, to com-
pleat his honour, falling sick, the emperor
went to see him. Then returning into the
Indies, he retir'd to his own estate, and ap-
ply'd himself to building of ships, as he
had promis'd to do, to discover other islands
and countries on the south sea. After dis-
covering *California*, with a thousand disas-
ters, and the expence of three hundred thou-
sand pieces of eight, he came over to *Spain*
to have his expence allow'd him, but was
so far from getting his money, that he was
forbid going over to the *Indies* till he had
stood trial. At length returning with the
emperor from the siege of *Argier*, he died
at *Castilleja*, on the sea-coast, near *Seville*,
on the 2d of *December* 1545, at the age of
sixty-two. His bones were convey'd to the
monastery of St. *Francis* in *Mexico*, as he
had desir'd. He was of a proportionable
stature, a swarthy complexion, a black
beard, and had the scar of a cut on his un-
der-lip.

the inhabitants with much bravery, and
was wounded by them; but *Amagro*, who
had been with him in the fray, lost an eye,
and then return'd to *Panama* for more men.
Pizarro continuing his discovery, came to
a country all overflow'd, where the inhabi-
tants lived like birds, upon trees. Being

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there

GEMBL- therefore in no condition to do them any
11. harm, he retir'd to the island *del Gallo*;
1698. and *Almagro* went again for recruits to *Pa-*

nama. *Pizarro* suffer'd much want in the island; and sailing thence after *Almagro's* vessel return'd, he stood towards *Tangarara*, and at *Tumbez* set ashore *Peter de Candia*, who afterwards return'd astonish'd at the wealth of king *Atabaliba*. Upon this information *Pizarro* return'd to *Panama*, and advising with *Almagro* and *Luque*, resolv'd to go over to *Spain*, to ask the government of those places he should conquer. The emperor, besides the government, gave him the title of captain-general and *Adelantado*, or lord-lieutenant of *Peru* and *New-Castile*; whereupon he, overjoy'd at the honour done him, return'd to the *Indies* with his brothers *Gonzalo* and *Ferdinand*, and *Francis Martin*, his brother by the mother's side; but, instead of a kind reception, he found *Almagro* much offended, because he had not obtain'd any honour of the emperor for him. At length being reconcil'd, he had two ships, with a sufficient number of men. Not being able, by reason of a storm, to arrive at *Tumbez*, he landed in that part which is properly call'd *Peru*. First he conquer'd the island *Puna*, not far from the shore, and then govern'd in the name of *Guascar Inga*, brother, but enemy to king *Atabaliba*; and thinking it convenient to gain his friendship, he sent him six hundred prisoners he had taken in *Puna*: yet this did not avail him, because *Guascar* was acquainted with his design. This done, he sail'd to *Tumbez*, and landed his men; and because the governor would not receive him peaceably, he cross'd the river by night in a boat, and routed him. *Pizarro*, allur'd by *Atabaliba's* wealth, after plundering the place, which he call'd *St. Michael*, set forward for *Caxamalca*; and being threaten'd on the way by the king, civilly answer'd, that he only desir'd to visit him from the emperor, and so went on. Being come to *Caxamalca*, he fortified himself against the will of *Atabaliba*, and then sent two messengers to acquaint him with his arrival at that place. They brought back a very ill answer; whereupon he prepar'd to give battle, tho' much inferior in power. The king being inform'd of the rashness of the *Spaniards*, mov'd with all his army towards *Caxamalca*. He was carried upon a seat of gold, adorn'd with parrots feathers; on his head, which was shav'd, he had a woollen crimson cap, which shew'd him to be king of *Cuzco*, and his ears were almost rent with the weight of the gold hanging at 'em. Being come to *Caxamalca*, and having heard of one sent from *Pizarro*, who advis'd him to pay tribute to the emperor, he was so much offend'd that he presently began to shew him-

Began his conquest.

self an enemy. Then the *Spaniards* fell upon the *Peruvians* on all sides, but more particularly upon the king; who, after much opposition, being at last pull'd by his garment off his seat, was made prisoner. Thus the *Spaniards* were soon victors, and took all the baggage, which was worth a treasure; but *Pizarro* was wounded in both hands. *Atabaliba*, for his ransom, offer'd to fill a great room with silver and gold, as high as *Pizarro* could reach with his hand; and his offer being accepted of, when his victorious commanders brought his brother *Guascar* prisoner, he commanded him to be kill'd. This *Guascar* had been appointed heir of all the kingdoms of *Peru* by their father *Guaynacapa*, and to *Atabaliba*, who was the younger brother, he left only the kingdom of *Quito*; and this was the occasion of a war between the two brothers: this was also the cause of *Guascar's* death; for the other being then lord of all, hoped to be able to pay *Pizarro* the promis'd sum: but he was punish'd after the same manner for his barbarity; for, having deliver'd the ransom, instead of being set at liberty, he was strangled, in vain suing for mercy, upbraiding *Pizarro* with breach of faith, and desiring to be sent prisoner to the emperor. Thus a vast country was subdued without any bloodshed, both brothers being dead, and none opposing the *Spaniards*.

The war with the *Indians* being at an Civil end, it began among the *Spaniards*, thro' ambition of command and hunger of gold; for *Pizarro* fell at variance with *Almagro*, and at last strangled him, and beheaded his own brother *Ferdinand Pizarro*. *D. James de Almagro* reveng'd his father's death, stabbing *Francis Pizarro*, bastard son to *Gonzalo Pizarro* of *Navarre*, at *Lima*, in the year 1541. This done, he rais'd considerable forces, and at length being in rebellion, came to a violent death. The emperor being inform'd of all these disorders, sent four *Oydores*, or judges, and *Blasco Nunez* to be viceroy, with new laws and ordinances; but the new conquerors refusing to obey 'em, rebel'd, and made *Gonzalo Pizarro* their commander. The *Oydores* seeing the country up in arms, imprison'd the viceroy, and took upon them the care of the government. Some were for putting him to death, and others for sending him into *Spain* to the emperor.

In the mean while *Gonzalo Pizarro* made himself governor of *Peru*, with absolute power; but the *Oydone Alvarez*, who had been entrusted to carry the viceroy into *Spain*, when they came to *Guauro*, set him at liberty. The viceroy now thought he had overcome all difficulties, but *Pizarro* routed his forces at *Quito*, and caus'd his head

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head

head to be cut off by a *Black*; the same he afterwards did to *Vela Nunez* the viceroy's brother upon some slight jealousy. The emperor was much concern'd at the imprisonment of the viceroy, and insolence of *Pizarro*; and therefore to redress these disorders, sent *D. Peter Gasca* a priest, with full power, and blanks subscrib'd, to make use of as he saw occasion.

Gasca went over in the year 1546, with two *Oydores*, or judges, his friends, and very few others; and being come to *Panama*, writ to *Pizarro*, advising him to lay down his arms and submit to the emperor, who would pardon all that was pass'd, as might appear by his majesty's letter. These letters had no good effect on *Pizarro* or his principal associates; who joyning, to the number of sixty, answer'd *Gasca*, *That they thought it not convenient for him to come into Peru, after so much slaughter committed there, the minds of the people being still very much exasperated; and that they would write themselves, and send their deputies to the emperor to justify their proceedings.* *Gasca* perceiving there was nothing to be done by fair means, began to raise men, and manag'd *Peter de Hinojosa* so dexterously, that he put *Pizarro's* fleet into his hands. This discouraging *Pizarro's* party, many of them we t over to *Gasca*, who, by that means being grown formidable, went away into *Peru*.

There after several defeats given *Pizarro*, he at length took him prisoner in the last battle of *Xaquixaguana*. *Gasca* refer'd the trial of him and twelve others to the licentiate *Cianca*, and the marshal *Alvarado*,

who pass'd sentence of death against them for high treason. *Pizarro* was carry'd to the place of execution on a mule, with his hands ty'd, and a cloak over him. His head was carry'd to *Lima*, and set upon a pole in the market-place, with this inscription;

This is the head of the traitor Gonzalo Pizarro, who join'd battle in the valley of Xaquixaguana, against the emperor's standard. Monday the 9th of April 1548.

After the unfortunate end of the first conquerors of that country, and the imprisonment of the *Oydore*, or judge, *Zepeda* (for the other three who had seiz'd the viceroy were dead) *Gasca* apply'd himself to settle the government; and thus a churchman brought the war to that happy end his predecessors could not attain. He return'd to *Spain* in July 1550, and presented the emperor with a million and a half, for all which good services he was made bishop of *Placentia*.

The civil wars being ended with the death of at least an hundred and fifty captains, and other commanders; the soldiers carry'd on the conquest, always following the rich country, and leaving the poor; so that at present the crown of *Spain* is possess'd in *America* of a country nine thousand three hundred leagues in extent, viz. three thousand three hundred and seventy five southward, and the rest northward. It is to be observ'd before we leave this country, that in *Peru*, for five hundred leagues in length, from *Tumbez* to *Chile*, and fifteen leagues in breadth, it never thunders, lightens nor rains.

CHAP. VI.

The further account of what happen'd to the author at Vera Cruz before he embark'd.

SUNDAY the 10th, I return'd in the evening to *Vera Cruz*, and carrying the dainty pheasants I had kill'd with me, din'd with the governor on Monday 11th. Tuesday 12th, I went again a shooting to the farm call'd *St. John*, where besides the garden abounding in all sorts of fruit and especially of the tart, I found a little wood full of birds and wild beasts; and was courteously entertain'd by the owner. Wednesday 13th, I went out a shooting with a *Mulatto* for my guide, in a wood by the bank of a good river, where I kill'd some royal pheasants; and having shot down a wild boar, the ignorant *Mulatto* ran and catch'd him by one of his feet, and the boar turning, struck him through the arm with his sharp Tusks. It is to be observ'd, that though the boars of *America*, do not emit any excrement at that navel I said they

have on their back, a span from the tail; yet they send forth such a filthy scent, that if it be not cut off as soon as the beast is kill'd, it so infects all the flesh, that there is no eating of it. I return'd home full of *Garrapatas*, a sort of Vermin bred in the woods like crab-lice, which from the plants get upon people's cloaths as they go by, and pierce into the very flesh, so that it requires much trouble and dexterity to get them out.

Sunday 17th, I heard mass in the church of the *Mercenarians*, where there are thirteen altars, but ill set off. The monastery is very mean, but they have a fine bell-fry. The monastery of the *Franciscans*, which I saw Tuesday 19th, has large dormitories, and the church eleven altars. The *Dominicans* convent is poor, the church small and has nine altars. The parish church

GEMBL-
LI.
1698.

from
him and
quest.

Churches
and me-
nasteries.

GEMEL-church is call'd *Nuestra Sennora la Antigua*,
 LI. or *Our Lady the ancient*. The *Augustinians*
 1698. are so poor that they have no church, but
 only a little chappel. The hospital of
S. Hippolitus is divided into two parts, one
 for men, and the other for women; but
 both finall.

Friday 29th, I went out to divert me,
 and happening to shoot a parrot, as he fell
 he cry'd out like a man, as it were to call
 the rest to his assistance, and they flew a-
 bout in swarms crying out, so that they
 seem'd to cloud the sky. Then I shot
 two royal pheasants, a cock and a hen, for
 they always go together. The cocks fea-
 thers are all black, except those upon his
 belly, and a curious curl'd tuft on his head;
 the hen is of a cinnamon colour. Those

they call *Gritones* are '60 bigger than a
 pheasant in *Europe*, and all black. Their
 bones are venomous to dogs. The wild
 turkeys here are mortal enemies to the
 tame ones, and kill them whenever they
 can.

Being near the time of my departure, *D*
Francis Loran y Roda, Knight of the or-
 der of *Santiago* or *St. James*, recommend-
 ed me to the captain of a vessel that was
 to carry me to *Havana*, and gave me let-
 ters of recommendation to captains of ga-
 leons there, as alio a present in money. *D*
Aloñs de Penaloja, captain of horse, sent
 me another present of sweetmeats for my
 voyage. I felt a fit of a fever, and had a
 mule stolen from me out of the king's stables.

CHAP. VII.

The author's voyage to the port of Havana in the island of Cuba.

HAVING taken leave of the gover-
 nor and friends, on Saturday the 14th
 of December, I went aboard the vessel cal-
 led the *Sevillian*, that came with licence from
Maracao, to joyn the galeons at *Havana*,
 and sail with them to *Cadiz*. The gover-
 nor added one favour to all the rest, which
 was not to suffer my trunks to be open'd
 at the custom-house. About noon we fell
 down the western channel, close to the cas-
 tle, which is little and inconvenient as well
 for the governor as soldiers; keeping a
 very watchful eye, because of the many
 flats on all sides; and that it was but now
 newly settling after the north winds, which
 hinder ships getting out of the bay of
Mexico, whose form is like a half moon,
 and much more out of the channel. There
 is another way in on the east for small boats.
 We got out about evening, and steer'd N.
 E. and by N.

Sunday 15th, we held on the same course
 with the wind at N. W. the lat. 20 deg.
 12 min. Monday 16th, held the same
 course, the wind S. E. lat. 21 deg. 1 min.
 Tuesday 17th, we had a great storm, which
 made the captain sick, much more the pas-
 sengers, and the same wind continuing, we
 run to northward to avoid certain rocks,
 and then sail'd upon a line for *Havana*, the
 lat. 22 deg. 5 min. Wednesday 18th, the
 wind blew stormy at N. which made us
 run away to E. the lat. 24 deg. The same
 wind continu'd Thursday 19th, and we kept
 upon the same line; but Friday 20th, the
 wind coming to S. we stood N. E. and by
 E. being 24 deg. 3 min. of lat. At night
 we stood E. N. E. and so continu'd Satur-
 day 21st, making much way. Finding 25

deg. 30 min. lat. which was enough to a-
 void the flats, we stood for the island of
Cuba due E. Four hours after night the
 wind blew hard at N. W. with rain, which
 made us steer E. and by S.

Sunday 22d, tunny-fish being seen, it was
 suppos'd we were near land, lat. 25 deg.
 26 min. Monday 23d, the wind at N. we
 ran E. S. E. and then E. and by S. finding
 the lat. 25 deg. 20 min. At night we were
 quite becalm'd; but Tuesday 24th, being
Christmas Eve, the wind came up at S. W.
 and drove us E. S. E. At night we were a-
 gain becalm'd; and Wednesday 25th, be-
 ing *Christmas Day*, the wind blowing at
 N. E. we sail'd S. E. lat. 24 deg. 55 min.
 That night no body slept, the waves beat
 so furiously.

Thursday 26th, we steer'd E. S. E. the
 wind at N. E. which drove us from the land
 we were in sight of, and gave us a more
 restless night than the last, lat. 23 deg. 17
 min. The wind coming about to S. we
 steer'd E. Friday 27th, we saw land, and
 coasted along it all day and night, our
 course E. At length we came to an an-
 chor near the castle call'd *del Morro*, which
 is at the mouth of the harbour, for though
 we fir'd two guns, the castellan took no
 care to put a light to shew the way into the
 port.

Saturday 28th, a south wind blowing out
 of the port, would not permit us to get in
 till noon, and that always upon a tack; so
 that at last we arriv'd safe at *Havana*, after
 a voyage of three hundred leagues. I lay
 aboard the vessel, because there were no
 inns ashore. Sunday 29th, the wind blew
 so furiously at north, that the waves beat
 over

over the castle *de Morro*, and had not we got in as we did, we had been in great danger. Monday 30th, I landed and car-

ry'd my goods to a house I hir'd near the hospital of *S. John de Dios*.

GENE-
L.
1698.

C H A P. VIII.

The description of Havana, and particulars of that country.

Havana. **T**HE *Havana* is a little city, half a league in compass, seated in a plain, and in the lat. of 23 deg. 20 min. It is almost round, enclosed with poor low walls on the land side, and defended on the other part by the water. The inhabitants are about four thousand souls, *Spaniards, Mulattos* and *Blacks*, who live most of them in low houses. The women are beautiful, and the men ingenious. The governor has also the title of captain general of the island, and administers justice with the assistance of an assessor, call'd a lieutenant, who is appointed by the council of the *Indies*.

It is very dear living there, for three ounces of bread cost fifteen grains of *Naples* money, that is, about three pence *English*; and half a pound of meat the same price. A hen is worth a noble, and fruit and other things proportionably; so that a man can scarce live under two pieces of eight a day, especially when the galeons are there. Though the climate is temperate, wheat has not thrive there for some years, and the reason is not known; so that what comes from abroad to the bakers is dearly paid for. But this want is in some measure supply'd by a root call'd *Jucca*, whereof they make bread, grating, and then pressing it to get out a venomous juice there is in it. They bake it upon little earthen stoves, and this bread serves not only the poor, but the better sort who have large families. This root produces neither leaves nor feed; but they set bits of it in the ground to grow again.

The island is three hundred leagues in length from east to west, and about thirty in breadth. The inhabitants are poor having no trade but tobacco and sugar. All the labour falls upon the *Blacks*, of whom their masters exact four rials a day, and six when the fleet is there, and at least three of the women; now what can a miserable *Black* do who has two masters, as often happens? In *Peru* the master's avarice is greater, for they send the *Black* women to be got with child like cows, and if they prove barren they sell them.

The city of *Havana* is encompass'd on two sides by its safe harbour, which is so deep, that the ships anchor within a few steps of the shore. It is defended by three castles, the chief of them call'd *del Morro*, on the left hand of the mouth of it; the

second, *de la Punta*, or of the Point, on the right; and the third, call'd only the foot, on the right of the last; we shall speak of them at large elsewhere.

Friday 3d, I saw the little, but neat church call'd *Santo Christo del buen viaje*, serv'd by secular priests. Next day that of the recolets seated on the best ground in the city, and in it twelve beautiful chapels, and in the monastery cells for fifty fathers. The weather, which had continu'd serene and warm as summer, on Thursday 9th chang'd so cold with rain, that I believe the like has scarce ever been felt in a place lying in 23 deg. and 2 min. of lat. Saturday 11th, a boat arriv'd in twenty four hours from the opposite coast of *Florida*. Sunday 12th, I set ashore some *Indians* of *Cuyo*, subjects to a *Cacique*, whose name was *Charles*. These, as well men as women, had no part of their bodies cover'd, but only a cloak before their privities; and wore long hair bound behind their heads. They were idolaters, of those that are given not only to idleness, but to all abominable vices. They were allow'd to trade in hopes to convert them, because their prince, or *Cacique*, had consented to receive fourteen *Franciscan* missionaries into his country. Their chief commodity is fish; some little amber they find along the shore; tortoiseshells, and a sort of scarlet birds to keep in cages, for their colour call'd cardinals.

Monday 13th, a small vessel from *Jamaica*, brought the news of the peace concluded betwixt *France* and the confederates. Wednesday 15th, I heard mass in the church of *S. Clare*, which has seven altars well adorn'd. The monastery will contain an hundred religious women and servants, who are there clad in blew.

Thursday 16th, the chests of pieces of eight began to be put aboard the galeons, the kings held three thousand each, and the rest two thousand, in all amounting to thirty millions, as well belonging to the king as merchants, for goods sold at the fair of *Porto Bello*, carry'd on between the traders of *Seville* and those of *Lima*. The great faith these traders repose in one another, is very remarkable; for, when once agreed about the price, they interchangeably deliver one another the bales of goods, and chests of pieces of eight, without seeing any thing of the contents, but giving

GEMEL-entire credit to the written particulars they
L.I. deliver to one another; for afterwards the
1698. bales and chests are open'd in the presence
of publick notaries; if they find any thing
amiss, the companies of *Seville* and *Lima*
are to make all good. This year the com-
pany of *Lima*-traders paid five thousand pie-
ces of eight for goods found over and above
in the bales at the foregoing fair. The
same is practis'd at *Acapulco*, when the ga-
leon comes from *Manila*.

A rich
pearl.

There was also deliver'd to the master of
plate (which is an officer aboard the ga-
leons, who had charge of all the plate and
jewels) aboard the admiral, a pearl weigh-
ing sixty grains, shaped like a pear, by
F. Francis de la Fuente, a *Jesuit*, to be deli-
ver'd to the king. This pearl was taken
at *Panama*, in the king's island, by a *Black*
belonging to a priest, who being rich, would
not sell it to the president of *Panama* for
fifty thousand pieces of eight, nor to the
viceroy of *Peru* for seventy thousand, both
of 'em being to send it to the king, but
said, *He would carry it to his majesty himself*.
Being come to *Porto Bello* with the pearl,
which he call'd *la Perseguida*, or *the Perse-
cuted*, he there died before he went aboard,
and therefore committed it to the care of
the afore said *F. Puente*, who told me 'twas
larger than that call'd *la Peregrina*, but
somewhat duller. The *Black* had his liber-
ty for his reward.

There went aboard the guleons twenty
doctors of *Peru*, being the sons of *Spaniards*
and *Indian* women, going to court for pre-
ferment; and the least that every one of
'em carried was thirty thousand pieces of
eight.

Cotorreras and Guacamaijas birds, Monday 20th, going abroad a shooting,
I kill'd a great many of those birds they
call *Cotorreras*. Some of 'em have black
and green feathers, and others blue; others
black and green wings; their breasts red,
and half the head white. They are not
amiss to eat. Returning home, I kill'd
two *Guacamaijas*, which, tho' they do not
talk, are so finely colour'd, that the best
pencil can scarce equal 'em. The country
is very delightful, being full of little hou-
ses with gardens and farms, where there is
no want of *Indian* fruit. I found a sort of
snails very large, like the sea-snails. Fri-
day 24th, I saw the church and monastery
of the *Augustinians*; the first has thirteen
little altars; the latter, very poor dormito-
ries. Sunday 26th, I was at the mother-
church of the city, where the bishop offi-
ciates with the clergy belonging to it, his
residence being at *Havana*, tho' the cathed-
ral is at *Cuba*, where the canons reside. I
spent some hours on Monday 27th, with the
governor of the island, and several other
gentlemen, that delighted to hear me dis-

course of my travels, and see the curiosities
I had, among whom was *D. Charles Soto-
mayor*, knight of the order of *Calatrava*,
and *Oydore*, or judge, of *Santa Fe*, to whom
an incredible accident happen'd.

This gentleman went, by order of his A very
court, to receive informations against the markab
governor of *Caribagena*, for having deli. Passage
ver'd up that place to the *French*, and car-
ried along with him the governor of *Santa
Marta* to put into his place. He going
alone into *Caribagena*, because the gover-
nor of *Santa Marta*, who was more crafty,
remain'd without to see what the event
would be, began to proceed with more ri-
gour than was convenient, without shewing
his commission; whereat the governor of
the place being highly offended, as thinking
he had defended it as became a good soldier
and man of honour; that is, as long as
'twas practicable; he in the night secured
the *Oydore*, notwithstanding he laid hand on
his sword, and call'd for aid and assistance:
thus the judge, instead of imprisoning, was
imprisoned, and his commission taken from
him, instead of removing the other from his
post. That same night, after he had been
twenty-four hours executing his commission,
he was put aboard a little boat, without
any other provision but biscuit and some
fruit, not being allow'd to take his own
equipage. Thus the governor of *Cariba-
gena* sent him to the governor of *Havana*,
to be kept as a disturber of the peace, till
the king were inform'd of the matter. The
governor of *Santa Marta*, who was two
leagues off, hearing what had happen'd,
fled, to prevent being seiz'd. The poor
gentleman was much concern'd at this acci-
dent; notwithstanding the governor, instead
of sending him to the castle, kept him in
his own house with very civil entertainment.
This gave me an opportunity to acquaint
him with my misfortunes, tho' I had never
been imprison'd, but undeservedly perfec-
ted.

Tuesday 28th, I heard mass in the church
of *S. John de Dios*, which is small, and has
nine altars; the monastery is also small,
and the hospital is for soldiers: its reve-
nue is twelve thousand pieces of eight.

On Saturday the 1st of February, arriv'd
the long-wild-for vessel, with provisions
for the fleet, being seventeen hundred *Quin-
tals*, or an hundred weight of biscuit, six
hundred load of meal, fish, and other ne-
cessaries for the galeons.

Tuesday 4th, I went to the ermitage of
S. James, a church built by the bishop,
within the walls of the city, for his own
particular devotion, well adorn'd, and with
an apartment for him to retire to some-
times. Wednesday 5th, I saw the castle of The fort
the Point, which is very small, and has four
bastions,

Fruit of
Havana.

Birds and
cattle.

and see the curiosities
as *D. Charles Solis*
order of *Calatrava*,
Santa Fe, to whom
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bastions. *Monday 10th*, going to visit the
castellan *D. Antony de Roxas*, I had the op-
portunity of seeing the castle they call *the*
Fort. Its compass is small, but it has four
good bastions, and a platform towards the
port, well furnish'd with brass cannon.

Sunday 16th, the admiral made procla-
mation by sound of trumpet, that the fleet
should sail on the 11th of the next month;
and, that all persons must be aboard on the
8th. *Tuesday 18th*, by his order 'twas pro-
hibited, upon pain of death, for any boat
to go out of the harbour, for fear the ene-
my should have notice that the galleons were
ready to sail; notwithstanding, the depu-
ties of the company of *Seville*, not liking the
admiral, used all means to obstruct his sail-
ing. News had been brought before from
Jamaica of the conclusion of the peace with
France, and a vessel from the *Canary* islands
brought the confirmation of it.

Fruit of
Havana.

There are two particular sorts of fruit at
Havana, which do not grow elsewhere:
one is like a heart, call'd *Guanavana*, green
without, and has some thorny prickles;
within, made up of white morsels of an un-
pleasant taste, between sweet and sour, with
some stones: the tree is as big as that which
bears the *Anonas*. The other sort, call'd
Camito, is exactly like an orange on the
outside, and within has a white and red
pulp of a sweet taste. The tree is as tall
as a pear-tree; the leaf on the one side is
green, and on the other of a cinnamon co-
lour. Of *European* fruit there grow quin-
ces, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and
other sorts.

Birds and
cats.

The mountains are full of wild boars,
cows, horses, and mules. Of birds there
are abundance, especially parrots, and par-
tridges bigger than quails, with blue heads;
and, as for those that are fit for the cage,
there's great plenty of those they call *Cham-
bergos*.

Friday 21st, there arriv'd a bark from
Matacumbe, a small island on the coast of
Florida, with five *Franciscans*, who in *No-
vember* before had been sent for by the
Carique Charles, as missionaries, and were
since expel'd naked, for offering, out of an
ill-timed zeal, to make a procession in the
night before the temple of the *Indian* idola-
ters; who fled at first, but then came again
arm'd, and abused the friers, driving them
out of their country, so that they were for-
ced to go away half naked to *Matacumbe*,
a territory of christian *Indians*.

Saturday 22d, the captain of the *Matevan-
zas*, that is, of the several trades belonging
to the building of ships, represented to the
admiral, that the ships being higher built
than men of war, 'twould be sending of
them to be lost, if they went out under-
loaded, as the deputies intended to do.
Hereupon, on *Sunday 23d*, there was a
council held of all the sea-officers, where
they concluded that the hold must be well
flow'd, that the vessels might lie lower in
the water; a determination of judges who
spoke for their own interest, but that could
not be approv'd of by the council of the
Indies, which had order'd, that the galleons
should not be loaded with merchandize.
The admiral therefore, having on *Monday*
24th acquainted the captains of the galleons
and the deputies of the merchants, that it
was convenient for the king's service (or
rather for their own) that the gal'ons should
be more loaded, it began to be very dili-
gently put in execution on *Tuesday 25th*,
the time appointed for sailing drawing
near.

Monday 3d of March, I saw the castle *Calle del*
del Morro, built upon a rock, on the left *Morro*.

of the mouth of the harbour, which it de-
fends with a platform of eleven pieces of
cannon, call'd *the Apostles*, which lie level
with the water: there are in all about fifty-
five guns in the castle. The ditch about
it is cut out of the rock, and fill'd by the
sea. Abundance of the birds they call *Car-
dinals* being brought over from *Florida*, I
saw the people belonging to the galcon give
ten pieces of eight apiece for some of 'em,
and six for the worst. Upon computation,
they said, there had been eighteen thousand
pieces of eight laid out upon those foolish
birds, notwithstanding the deplorable loss
of *Caribagena*, and the expensive delay of
keeping the fleet three years in *America*.
Saturday 8th, proclamation was made, for-
bidding any that belong'd to the fleet to
stay in *Havana* upon pain of death; and
in the evening a cannon was fired, to warn
all aboard.

D. Ferdinand Chacon having generously
given me my passage gratis aboard his gal-
leon, he sent on *Sunday 9th* for my equi-
page. *Monday 10th*, several grummetts,
who had receiv'd their pay, ran away.
Tuesday 11th, I took leave of my friends,
and provided sweetmeats for my voyage.

GEMEL-
LI.
1698.

C H A P. IX.

The author's voyage from Havana to Cadiz.

THE fleet being under sail, I went aboard on *Wednesday* 12th, in the afternoon. *Thursday* 13th, the warning-piece being fired, all the galleons weigh'd anchor again, and the admiral, by firing, made way out of the harbour. She touch'd upon some flat, and it cost time to get her off. Being out of the harbour, she saluted the castle *del Morro* with seven guns; the merchant-ships follow'd, and then our galeon, which saluted that they call *the Fort* with seven guns, and was answer'd with six; and then the castle *del Morro* with six, and was answer'd with the same number. We coasted along all day, to give the vice-admiral and the ship call'd *Garai* time to come up with us. At night it blew a storm, which oblig'd us to lie upon a tack.

Friday 14th, we were twenty leagues from *Havana*, but the two aforementioned galleons not appearing, we stood back again; and, meeting the *Garai*, understood she came out with the vice-admiral, but had parted in the storm, which made us stand our course again. A woman being found aboard in man's clothes, and there being no possibility of setting her ashore, she was left among the other women.

Saturday 15th, the wind E. we steer'd N. N. E. the lat. 23 deg. 40 min. *Sunday* 16th, the wind N. W. we steer'd N. E. and then N. N. E. lat. 25 deg. which is the latitude of the point call'd *Cabeza de los Martyros*, and entrance of the channel of *Babama*, form'd by the aforesaid point and *los Cayos*, or *little Islands*. In this place the galleons the year before were in such a terrible storm, tho' it was in *September*, that they had all like to have been lost, some of 'em return'd to *Havana* unmailed, and others had much ado to clear the water with several pumps. About evening we discover'd the small islands *de los Caimanos*. The wind came to E. which made us steer N. N. E. and then N. *Monday* 17th, the wind S. E. we steer'd the same course, the lat. 26 deg. 30 min.

At night it blew hard, and fiercer on *Tuesday* 18th, at N. N. E. lat. 27 deg. 40 min. The night was as uneasy as the last. The wind being N. E. on *Wednesday* 19th, we steer'd N. N. W. and coming about at noon to E. N. E. we alter'd our course to N. The lat. was found to be 28 degrees; wherefore the admiral gave notice by firing a gun, that we were out of the channel. This channel being eighty leagues

in length, and between eighteen and twenty in breadth, is very dangerous, by reason of the violence of the current, and the great number of islands about it, which is the cause that many ships have been lost, believing they were out of it. When the wind is fair, they run thro' it in little above twenty-four hours; but 'tis absolutely impossible for ships bound for the *Indies*, by reason of the force of the current.

Being come into the gulph *de las Téguas*, or of *Mares*, we steer'd N. and by E. Before sun-set, a ship made a sign that they saw land, which made all found, and they found first twenty-five, and then thirty fathom. *Thursday* 20th, the wind S. E. we steer'd N. E. the weather being bad because of the Equinox. *Friday* 21st, we steer'd E. and by N. the wind blowing hard at S. which parted our ships, so that on *Saturday* 22d, of twelve that we were at the first, only seven were to be seen; the lat. 28 deg. 30 min. because we had made but little way. *Sunday* 23d, the wind blew hard at N. which made us run E. and by S. We were inform'd by one of the seven vessels, that the admiral, with the rest of the ships, after the storm, had steer'd N. E. whereupon our galeon commanded as admiral; lat. 29 deg. 45 min. The wind being contrary, made us lie by all night, and before noon on *Monday* 24th, to run E. N. E. the wind at S. E. *Tuesday* 25th, held on the same course.

Wednesday 26th, the wind came to S. W. yet we held the same course, to get more to northward; the lat. 31 deg. 20 min. At night we made good way; but *Thursday* 27th, before noon, we were quite becalm'd.

Having lost sight of two merchant ships, our captain, *D. Ferdinand Cbacon*, call'd the other captains aboard him, and order'd 'em to follow his flag set up on the mizen, the admiral and vice-admiral being gone from us, because some danger was fear'd on the coast of *Portugal*, and appointed the best of the merchants to command as vice-admiral, since ours acted as admiral, and this notwithstanding all ships at *Havana* have their instructions how to sail in case they should be parted. The lat. 31 deg. 50 min. *Saturday* 29th, we sail'd E. N. E. the wind S. S. E. *Sunday* 30th, steer'd E. and by N. and then E. N. E. the wind at S. the lat. 33 deg.

Being near the *Bermudas*, which lie in 32 deg. 30 min. and four hundred and fifty leagues

leagues from *Havana*, the soldiers and gunners began to be exercis'd, for fear of meeting any enemy. The island *Bermuda* belongs to the *English*, is said to be very low, ten leagues in length, and fruitful: we left it to the southward. *Monday* 31st, steer'd E. and by N. the wind S. W. the lat. 33 deg. 40 min.

Tuesday the 1st of *April*, we held the same course; the lat. 34 deg. 13 minutes. *Wednesday* 2d, the wind at N. and the vice-admiral's mast failing, we lay by for him to repair it. The cold was very sharp, which made some gentlemen, who were clad in silk, and had no cloaks, fare but hardly. The lat. being found to be 34 deg. 32 min. we steer'd E. and at night, the wind failing us, S.

Thursday 3d, the wind being E. S. E. we steer'd N. E. and by E. and then E. N. E. *Friday* 4th, we made good way with the same wind, and found the lat. 34 deg. 40 min. At night the wind blew hard, and the sea beating in at the port-holes, abundance of goods were wet. *Sunday* 6th, the wind at N. W. and then at N. we steer'd E. N. E. the lat. 35 deg. 40 min. At night our galeon gave notice to the rest, that he alter'd his course, by reason of the contrary wind; but it blowing fresh on *Monday* 7th, at S. we steer'd the same course as before; as we did *Tuesday* 8th. *Wednesday* 9th, the wind continuing, we fail'd E. and by N. the lat. 37 deg. 10 min.

Thursday 10th, we having notice by a gun fir'd, that a sail was seen, our galeon made towards her, and found her *Dutch*, bound home from *Curacao*. The latitude 37 deg. 30 min. we steer'd the same course with the wind at S. W. At night we made much way, and the same on *Friday* 11th, the wind being fair. *Saturday* 12th, before day, the wind blew hard at south, then came to N. W. and was a great storm at night.

Sunday 13th, the merchants endeavour'd to persuade captain *Cuacan* that he might safely deviate from the king's orders, which were, to run up to 42 deg. of lat. since there was a peace with *France*, and therefore the reason why that course was appointed, had ceas'd; and the rather, because the merchant-ships being disabled, could not follow the galeon in that latitude, where the storms are more violent. All the pilots and captains being consulted upon the matter, 'twas agreed in favour of the merchants, not to exceed 40 degrees of latitude about the islands *Cueruo* and *Flores*. Our latitude then was 39 deg. 10 min. *Monday* 14th, the lat. 39 deg. 11 min. we were all day becalm'd, as also on *Tuesday* 15th, till afternoon, when the wind came up at S. S. E. and we steer'd E. *Wednesday* 16th, in the

morning we ran E. with the wind at S. but in the afternoon lay by, by reason of the contrary wind; as we did on *Thursday* 17th. *Friday* 18th, steer'd E. the wind S. the lat. 39 deg. 30 min. *Saturday* 19th, held the same course, with the wind at S. S. E. *Sunday* 20th, kept upon the same line, with little wind, the lat. 39 deg. 40 min. *Monday* 21st, ran E. and by N. the wind S. the lat. 40 deg. 5 min. *Tuesday* 22d, the same wind and course. We first heard a gun, and then saw the ancient sit up at the stern of a ship that had made ahead to discover land, which caus'd great joy: yet we could not make near to land, by reason of the calm; nor on *Tuesday* 23d, because the wind was contrary; wherefore we lay by, in sight of the islands of *Cueruo* and *Flores*, four hundred and eighty leagues distant from the *Bermudas*: that of *Cueruo* is not inhabited, but serves to graze the cattle of the *Portuguese*, who live in the island of *Flores*, which is no bigger, but more fruitful. We being to pass thro' a chanel three leagues in breadth, made by the two islands, we could not advance a step all *Thursday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*, the 24th, 25th, and 26th. This last day, before noon, we discover'd a sail, which prov'd to be an *English* pink, bound for *Jamaica*, and confirm'd the news of the peace. All the rest of the day, and *Sunday* 27th, we lay still in the lat. of 41 deg. At night we steer'd south, and so on *Monday* 28th, till we came to 40 deg. 5 min. lat. Then we lay still without stirring *Tuesday* 29th, and *Wednesday* 30th.

Thursday the 1st of *May*, the wind blowing very hard, we lower'd our main-top-mast. *Friday* the 2d, upon observation, we found we were driving back against our wills, towards the *Indies*, by reason of the contrary wind, caus'd, as the pilots would have it, by the last quarter of the moon. The same wind blowing harder on *Saturday* the 3d, and not being able to lie by, we let it drive us to the S. W. What was a violent wind before, grew up into a dreadful storm, so that the waves broke over the galeon; and we being in danger of perishing, there were nothing but prayers, sighs, and weeping, but it soon pass'd over. *Sunday* 4th, tho' the wind was abated, still it blew hard against us, which made us steer south, having upon observation found the lat. 40 deg. 5 min. All the ships were scatter'd in the storm, and therefore we lay by for them, and to keep our latitude. The rain at night laid the E. S. E. wind, which had plagued us for fifteen days; yet tho' the wind blew fair at S. W. we did not sail till *Monday* 5th, because of the ships that were stray'd. Having discover'd five of 'em, we hoisted the top-sail, and steer'd E.

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Being come near one another, we understood that the vessel call'd *the Nazarene* was cast away. They told us, that being near to sink, because four pumps could not keep her above water, she call'd for help, and two other ships coming up to her, sav'd the men and money, and then fired her. God be prais'd, I went not aboard her, as I had design'd.

We steer'd E. with the wind at S. W. on *Tuesday* 6th, but that failing us at night, and coming to S. on *Wednesday*, we ran E. and by N. A great shower of rain in the night quite laid the wind. *Thursday* 8th, we again discover'd the islands of *Cuervo* and *Mores*, from which we had been drove an hundred leagues, and holding on our course S. E. and then E. found our selves in the self-same place where we had been fifteen days before. Being now so near *Europe*, I began to find my self better of the flux that had troubled me five years, caus'd by the mighty heat I had endur'd. The lat. upon observation, was found to be 40 degr. 9 min. We were becalm'd all midnight; but *Friday* 9th, we made way with the wind at N. and again at E. S. E. At night, for fear of land, we steer'd N. and by E. being in the lat. 39 deg. 50 min. *Saturday* 10th, steer'd S. S. E. the wind being E. About noon we discover'd the island of *Fayal*, which, they say, is very fruitful; the lat. 39 deg. 15 min. We coasted along the south side of the island, because we could not on the north side, the wind being contrary. After midnight we lay by, for fear of being aground. *Sunday* 11th, making much way towards E. S. E. with the wind at N. E. we pass'd by the island *Pico*, belonging to the king of *Portugal*, well inhabited, and fruitful in wheat and several sorts of *European* fruit. We were becalm'd at night. *Monday* 12th, the wind coming up at N. we steer'd E. and by S. and afterwards E. S. E. *Tuesday* 13th, sail'd E. and then E. S. E. the wind coming to N. E. the lat. 37 deg. 20 min. *Wednesday* 14th, steer'd E. S. E. and E. finding the lat. to be 36 deg. 56 min. *Thursday* 15th, we made little way upon the same point, the wind being northerly, and lay by at night, because the wind was contrary. *Friday* 16th, at break of day, we saw two *English* men of war among us, bound against the *Sallee* pirates. We lay by, the lat. 35 deg. 30 min. *Saturday* 17th, we steer'd N. E. the wind being E. S. E. and found the lat. 35 deg. 36 min. We made but little way; and *Sunday* 18th, the wind quite fell, which gave opportunity for a procession to be made aboard, and presently after it the wind blew fair at S. which carried us E. N. E. *Monday* 19th, the wind S. W. we steer'd E. N. E. to re-

cover the lost latitude; and, because we made good way, the captain recall'd the order he had given of shortening the mens allowance of biscuit to six ounces a day; the lat. 96 deg. About midnight the man at the helm cry'd out, that the rudder touch'd ground, which put all into a great fright; some said we were upon the flats, but the pilots deny'd it, saying, the flats were fifty-two leagues beyond the island of *St. Mary*. Others said, it had been an earthquake; others, that we had pass'd over a whale as the lay asleep; but hearing that the same had happen'd to the other ships, it confirm'd the opinion of the earthquake.

Tuesday 20th, it rain'd, and then the wind came to N. W. and we steer'd E. N. E. At night it blew a storm, which made us lie under a fore-sail, and it lasted till *Wednesday* 21st. After that, we were becalm'd, and then drove forward by a strong S. W. gale. At night it blew S. S. E. and we steer'd E. and by N. *Thursday* 22d, we steer'd E. N. E. the lat. 37 deg. 2 min. *Friday* 23d, we lay athwart the wind without any cloth abroad, because the wind was contrary. The pilots disputed about the distance from land, and the most favourable opinion was, that we were fifty leagues from cape *St. Vincent*. We continued in the same posture till *Saturday* 24th, at noon, the lat. 37 deg. 40 min. afterwards we steer'd S. and by E. rather than lie always in the same place. *Sunday* 25th, the order began to be put in execution, to give every man six ounces of biscuit a day, with a small measure of water, which rather increas'd than quench'd thirst. At night it pleas'd God to shew his mercy on us, sending a N. E. wind, which allow'd us to steer E. S. E. and *Monday* 26th, in the morning, we could lie E. and by S. the lat. 37 deg. 15 min. The same course was held at night, and *Tuesday* 27th till noon; when finding the lat. 36 deg. 50 min. we steer'd E. the pilot reckoning we were forty leagues from cape *St. Vincent*, and his mate but thirty.

That night, and all *Wednesday* 28th, we sail'd E. and by N. the wind at N. N. W. a small vessel keeping ahead and sounding all the way; the lat. 36 deg. 40 min. Two hours before sun-set we discover'd a small ship, which told us she was *French*, bound from *Brest* to the island *Madera*. Soon after, we saw four vessels more sailing the same course we did, whereupon our captain caus'd the guns (being about fifty brass pieces) to be made ready, and the deck to be clear'd of all cabins and other encumbrance. There was much confusion in stowing to many chests and bundles as lay about; then he furnish'd all persons with arms and ammunition, and assign'd every

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every man his post : at night he kept lights
between decks, and all his crew in a readi-
ness, having heard five guns fired one after
another, which gave notice that the four
ships were close astern of us. All things
being in order, we expected the five ships
under our convoy, and then held on our
course.

Thursday 29th, we sail'd E. and by N.
and then E. N. E. the wind at N. W.
We understood those ships were friends,
bound from the north for *Cadiz*. No ob-
servation was taken. Before night we saw
three ships, which again put our galeon in-
to an alarm ; but *Friday* 30th, being come
nearer, we found one of 'em was our admi-
ral, and the other two the galeons of *Ovella*
and *Garay*, parted from us in the storm
above two months before. The merchant-
ships saluted them with five guns, were an-
swer'd with three, and return'd the like num-
ber ; then the admiral gave one, and the
merchants did the same. We were inform'd
that the admiral, coming out of the channel
of *Babana*, sprung her fore-mast and main-
top-mast, and had her sprit-sail carried into
the sea, by the violence of the wind, and
therefore had lain by eight days to refit,
being almost ready to return unto the *In-
dies*. We steer'd E. the wind at W. the
lat. 36 deg. 35 min. *Saturday* 30th, sail'd
E. and then E. and by N. the wind N.
Finding the lat. upon observation 36 deg.
11 min. and perceiving the current had cast
us off from 36 deg. 30 min. the lat. of *Cadiz*,
we steer'd at night E. N. E.

Sunday, the 1st of *June*, when, according
to the pilot's account, we thought our selves
near land, we saw nothing of it : we found
the lat. 36 deg. 14 min. and soon after a ship
fired a gun, to give notice they saw land,
which was very joyful news to us. We
perceiv'd the current set S. E. since we had
got but three minutes to northward. *Mon-
day* 2d, we could not approach the land by
reason of the contrary wind, which was E.
and therefore we steer'd N. We made lit-
tle way that night, and *Tuesday* 3d were
becalm'd, but before noon the wind came
up at S. and set us forward for the shore.

The best was, that in three days nine pi-
lots could not decide what land it was, or
how far from *Cadiz*, tho' it was their native
soil. Then we discover'd a sail, which be-
ing call'd in by a flat from the admiral,
put up *French* colours, and answer'd with a
gun : then the *Frenchman* saluted with se-
ven, and the admiral answer'd with five.
The *French* captain presented the admiral
with some refreshment, saying, he came out
of *Cadiz* the day before on purpose to meet
him, because he was hourly expected in the
city. He added, he had that morning
spoke with the captain of a *Turkish* ship of
fifty guns, of whom he understood there
were two more at cape *St. Vincent*. The
French ship bore us company (having
thirty-six guns) we steering E. and by N.
and then E. N. E. Two messengers were
sent before in the tender, with two packets,
one for the king, the other for the *India*
house. We held on our course towards
land E. N. E. and after midnight began to
found, as is usual, to find out on what part
of the coast of *Cadiz* we were. *Wednesday*
4th, steer'd first E. N. E. and then S. E.
to get into the bay of *Cadiz*. We left the
land of *Rota*, belonging to the Duke of
Arcos, on the left, and abundance of ships
that lay at anchor in the bay. At last,
God be prais'd, we came to an anchor
near the *Puñales*, having sail'd four hun-
dred and sixty leagues from *Bermudas*, and
thirteen hundred from *Havana*, in eighty-
five days. All *Cadiz* rejoiced, forgetting
the loss of several millions by the sacking
of *Carthage* ; not only the houses, but
the steeples being adorn'd with colours set
up ; and all the shore cover'd with a mul-
titude of people come down to see us, the
Bells throughout all the city ringing, to
echo the people's joy. Before the anchors
were dropp'd, I went ashore in a boat,
leaving all my equipage behind, know-
ing it could not be carried off till the *In-
dulto* was settled, which is a composition
for the king's duties. I took a room in
an inn, to recover my self after my past
sufferings.

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1698.

CHAP. X.

The description of the island and city of *Cadiz*, and an account of what
the author saw during his abode there.

*Cadiz de-
scrib'd.*

THE island of *Cadiz* was first call'd
Junio's island, on account of a temple
there dedicated to her ; after that, it had
the name of *Gadir*, and *Gades*, and lastly
corruptly came to be call'd *Cadiz*. The
city is seated to the northward of the freight
of *Gibraltar*, in 36 deg. 30 min. latitude.

The port may be said to be one of the most
frequented in *Europe*, it being a place where
ships touch going to, or returning from, the
Levant, from the coast of *Africa*, the *East*
and *West Indies*, and those of the freights
bound into the ocean. The city is in an
island ; for on the east side, that is towards
the

GEMEL- the continent, it has a chanel that joins the
L.I. waters of the bay with those of the main
1698. ocean, over which is a most beautiful bridge;
its shape is irregular, the length east and
west, and the breadth north and south; yet
not above half a league in compass, and
that not at all enclos'd with a wall. Tho'
small, 'tis vastly rich, and the buildings,
as well publick as private, not inferior to
many in Europe, but the streets are ill-
shap'd and crooked. The island, tho' but
three miles in length, is very plentiful, and
supply'd with all sorts of flesh, fish, and
fruit, and most delicious bread, all brought
from the neighbouring villages, but at a
dear rate, so that a man can't live under a
piece of eight a day.

Forts,

On the east side of it is a small castle,
call'd *St. Catherine*; and two forts, call'd
los Puntales, upon the bay; one of 'em on
the island *Maia Gorda*, t'other near *Puerto
Real*, or *Port Royal*, both of 'em encom-
pass'd with water. The bay is about eight
leagues in compass, and deep enough every
where; but the dwellings all about, and
the great number of ships, that look like a
wood, make it very delightful to behold.

The bay.

D. Francis Gutierrez de los Rios y Cordova,
count of *Fernan Nunnez*, entertain'd me no-
bly on *Monday* 9th, to hear me give an ac-
count of my travels, and engag'd me to
take use of his table during my stay. Be-
ing there at dinner on *Tuesday* 10th, news
was brought us of the arrival of the tender
belonging to the galleons, with the news
that the vice-admiral was cast away five
leagues from *Havana*, thro' the fault of the
pilot, who was fled, who lay by on the
coast for the boat that was behind, and un-
advisedly fell into four or five fathom wa-
ter. This account turn'd all the joy of the
people of *Cadiz* into mourning, they having

twelve millions aboard: there was hopes
of recovering the plate, being in such shoal
water, but the goods were all spoil'd! I
had us'd all endeavours to come aboard
that ship, but it pleas'd *God*, for my
good, I did not prevail. *Wednesday* 18th, *Port St.*
the count carried me in his boat to *Port St.*
St. Mary, two leagues from *Cadiz*. This
place, and the country about it, belongs
to the duke of *Medina-celi*; 'tis much lar-
ger than *Cadiz*, the streets handfomer, as
are also the great houses. Lying west of
the bay of *Cadiz*, upon an inlet of the sea
that runs two leagues up the country, to the
monastery of *Caribushians*, call'd *Cartuja de
Xeres*, 'tis inhabited by very rich mer-
chants. *Friday* 20th, the count carried
me aboard *Monfieur Coetlogon*, who com-
manded ten *French* men of war, and re-
ceiv'd us very honourably, treating the com-
pany with coffee and tea, which the *Span-*
iards did not like. Thence we went out
as far as the *Puntales*, to see a vessel come
from the *West-Indies*, which, to my great
satisfaction, as having some concern aboard,
we found to be that call'd *Espanuoleta*,
commanded by *John de la Vaca*, which was
thought to be lost, and worth half a mil-
lion. There we were inform'd, that ano-
ther small vessel, call'd *the Sevillano*, was
put into *St. Lucar*, they having been both
thirty-one days at *Fayal*, by reason of the
contrary winds.

D. Thomas Eminente, having seen the ra-
rities I brought, presented me with a mine-
ral stone, in which was a large emerald,
that I might add it to the rest of my curio-
sities; a generosity unusual in these days,
for which I own my self extremely oblig'd.
The following days I spent in taking leave
of my friends, being to depart soon, as will
appear in the next book.

*A Voyage round the World, by Dr. John
Francis Gemelli Careri. Part XI.*

Containing the most remarkable things he saw
in NEW SPAIN.

B O O K VII.

CHAP. I.

An account of what is most remarkable in the city of Seville, and the author's journey to Madrid.

ON Wednesday the 2d of July, I set out for *Port St. Mary*, and took up my lodging at the *Flemmings* inn, who gave good entertainment for nine rials a day; but I could have fasted all day to hear him talk of his quality. He drew out a greasy parchment which he said was a grant from king *Philip* the fourth, and had cost him four pistoles. But a *Dutch* captain of a ship made him mad, ridiculing him, and saying, the arms on the parchment were none of his; and that, as he had bought it for some sharper, so he cry'd it up to sell it him for a piece of eight.

Having hir'd a calash upon *Thursday* 3d, for twelve rials, I went in it through a well cultivated country three leagues to *St. Lucar de Barrameda*, a town bigger than *Cadiz*, seated on the left hand bank of the river *Guadalquivir*, which makes it abound in all things, and belonging to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*. Here I took boat, before sun-set, and having run up about six leagues with wind and tide, till about midnight, the watermen cast anchor, and we lay there the remaining part of the night. *Friday* 4th, the tide serving three hours after sun-rising, we went on again. This river, though winding, is smooth, and about one hundred paces over. At night we came to a village call'd *la Puebla*; and thence to *Corea* belonging to the king, not far from the other, both of them on the right side of the river, and twelve leagues from *St. Lucar*. Two leagues farther we came to *Gelves*, a village belonging to the duke of *Verraguas*, where we anchor'd, because the tide was ebb, and against us. About two in the morning we advanced again

with the flood; so that an hour before day we anchor'd at the *Golden Tower*, where I was forced to give the officers something that they might not search my trunks.

Saturday 5th, we got into *Seville*, through the gate of the arsenals where I gave the officers half a piece of eight to pass my goods. *Andrew Castagnola*, a *Genoese*, courteously receiv'd me in his house, and after dinner we went in a coach and four horses to take the air in the *Alameda*. Here are long rows of trees, and in the midst of them a fountain, which serves to water the place every night, and to fill the trenches about it. At the entrance into this place there are two high, and ancient pillars, with two statues on them much impair'd with age, one of which they say represents *Hercules*, and the other *Julius Cæsar*; it is not known whether they were erected by the *Romans*, and I doubt of it much, because of the words *Plus ultra* carv'd on them; unless perhaps they were not cut when the pillars were erected.

Seville is seated in a plain, in the latitude of 57 degrees, and 20 minutes. It is almost round, and not much less than two leagues in compass; so populous that it contains about forty-two monasteries of religious men, and thirty-six nunneries, and twelve hospitals, besides the parish churches; and all those good structures, as are the palaces and the houses of the citizens. But the streets are not pav'd, narrow, crooked, and much like those of the *Moorish* towns, which makes them very inconvenient in summer for dust, and in winter for dirt, besides their being so intricate that a stranger easily loses himself. There are fourteen gates in its low walls; the most remarkable

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L.I.
1699.
The Alameda.

there was hopes
being in such shoal
ere all spoilt! I
to come aboard
d God, for my
Wednesday 18th, *Port St.*
his boat to *Port Mary*,
rom *Cadiz*. This
about it, belongs
eli; 'tis much lar-
ects handfomer, as
es. Lying west of
an inlet of the sea
the country, to the
i, call'd *Cartuja de*
y very rich mer-
the count carried
etlogon, who com-
n of war, and re-
y, treating the com-
a, which the *Span-*
ence we went out
o see a vessel come
which, to my great
me concern aboard,
call'd *Espanoleta*,
la Vaca, which was
worth half a mil-
inform'd, that aro-
the *Sevillano*, was
having been both
l, by reason of the

having seen the ra-
ed me with a mine-
s a large emerald,
he rest of my curio-
sity in these days,
extremely oblig'd.
ent in taking leave
depart soon, as will

GEMEL-ble of which is that of *Xeres*, at which king
 11. *Ferdinand* made his entry, when he took
 1699. it from the *Moors*. The suburbs are those
 of *St. Bernard*, *St. Benedict*, *St. Roeb*, *Tab-*
lada, *la Fuente del Arcobispo*, and others.
 On the right side of the river is another lit-
 tle city, call'd *Triana*, join'd to *Seville* by
 a wooden bridge. There is nothing
 remarkable, but a monastery of *San*
ans, and the palace and prisons of the in-
 quisition. *Seville* is nothing inferior to *Ma-*
drid for bigness, or number of inhabitants.
 The men are handiomer than the women,
 but very proud.

Alcazar,
 or palace.

Sunday 6th, about evening, we went to
 see the *Alcazar*, or palace of the *Moorish*
 kings. About the first court, which is
 large, are the dwellings that serv'd for the
 family; whence passing through a portico
 supported by thirty two small marble pil-
 lars, where they lay was the king's table,
 they go to the *Baths*. Then we came into
 the second court, about which there are no-
 ble apartments, in the lower floor, which
 now serve for an archive; and those above
 for the governor of the city's habitation;
 they all look majestick, notwithstanding
 the carv'd work, and gilding appears to
 be made by a barbarous hand. In the void
 place about the *Baths* there are four squares
 of orange-trees, made as they say for the
 diversion of queen *Mary de Padilla*, wife
 to king *Peter*, surnam'd the *Cruel*, who of-
 ten us'd to resort thither. Opposite to 'em
 is the great gate that led to the apartments.
 First there is a long room or gallery,
 which leads into such another, and that to
 a good handsome chamber, out of which
 they go down to the lower apartments.
 Here is a fine court, in the nature of a
 cloister, with fifty two marble pillars, and
 about it seven state rooms after the *Moorish*
 fashion, curiously adorn'd with carv'd work;
 what deserves to be particularly observ'd, is
 a *Cupula*, and a state-room, where perhaps
 the royal throne stood. The work shews
 it was begun by the *Moors*, and finish'd
 and improv'd by the *Spaniards*. In the
 second gallery there is an iron gate which
 leads first into a square, in which is a fish-
 pond or great basin, with a statue pouring
 out water at several parts; then there is a
 way on the right down two pair of stairs in-
 to two squares encompass'd with high and
 thick myrtle-trees. Here there are several
 statues, clad in that same green, and repre-
 senting musicians, with several sorts of in-
 struments in their hands; on the ground
 there are abundance of little holes for wa-
 ter to gush out to wash people as they go
 by. Further on still upon the same level,
 on the right hand there are two other squares
 of myrtle-trees artificially cut. Hence we
 pass'd into another wall'd place, in which

there are eight squares with several plants,
 about them good hedge-rows of myrtle, and
 in the middle fine allies to walk. There
 are two fountains, one close to the wall cu-
 riously wrought, the other under an arch,
 with several figures of beasts and men, one
 of them founding a trumpet. At the end
 of the alley, opposite to this arch I have
 spoke of, is a door leading to a fountain in
 rock-work, which was going to ruin for
 want of looking after; about it there are
 thick squares of myrtle. Going through
 another door, opposite to it, is a little summer
 house cover'd with purcellane, but ill or-
 der'd, and by it another basin, with a sta-
 tue pouring out water. Here are several
 plats of roses and other flowers. Adjoining
 to this is another orange and lemon gar-
 den; and another of greens parted by a
 high wall. In this place there are two rows
 of arches, one upon another, with iron gilt
 balconies. All hitherto describ'd is enclos'd
 with high walls, with square towers at con-
 venient distances.

Monday 7th, going about to view the *Dur-*
city, I saw the monastery of *St. Paul* of
 the *Dominicans*, not yet finish'd; the plain
 is large, has great pillars, which are to sup-
 port the arches of dormitories for a hundred
 and fifty fathers. The church is large, and
 has three isles. Thence we went to the
Franciscans, a monastery remarkable, not *Paul*
 for beauty, but for bigness, having seven
 cloisters, with a great number of cells
 for two hundred friars. The noviceship
 stands a-part in an angle of the orchard.
 The church is not very big, but has many
 chappels about it, which are like so many
 little churches, especially those of the *Bis-*
cainers and *Portuguese*. On the side of the
 church is a round room, hung with crimson
 velvet, where the twenty four *Regidores*,
 who govern'd the city meet with the *A-*
caides and *Jurados*, who oppose them in such
 things as are not convenient. The first of
 these sit upon benches made fast on high a-
 bout the room; the others on benches cov-
 er'd with leather standing on the floor;
 there is such another room above stairs for
 winter. The church of the *Mercenarians*, *Mercan-*
 whither we went next, tho' small, is very an-
 beautiful; and the monastery spacious with
 pleasant cloisters adorn'd with marble pil-
 lars. This was the first built in *Seville*, af-
 ter expelling the *Moors* in the year 1249.

Thence I went to the *Lonja*, otherwise *The*
 call'd *Casa de Comercio de la India*, which *change*
 is the exchange; which is a large structure
 arch'd and supported by pillars of hard
 stone. Here a prior and two consuls ad-
 minister justice to merchants under a cano-
 py in a stately hall; and to assess, and re-
 ceive the *Indulto* the king demands upon the
 arrival of plate fleets; as also the duties for
 other

with several plants, rows of myrtle, and to walk. There is a wall under an arch, castles and men, one carpet. At the end of this arch I have going to a fountain in going to ruin for about it there are. Going through it, is a little summer reellane, but ill-order'd, with a statue.

Here are several flowers. Adjoining, and lemon garlands there are two rows, with iron gilt enclos'd square towers at con-

about to view the *Dome* of St. Paul of *Spain*.

It is finish'd; the plain, which are to suppositories for a hundred church is large, and once we went to the very remarkable, not *Spain*, *Spain*, having several number of cells. The novitship of the orchard is big, but has many which are like to many of the *Bible*.

On the side of the, hung with crimson forty four *Regidores*, meet with the *Ab* oppose them in such

on benches depending on the floor; from above stairs for of the *Mercenarians*, *Mercenarians*, tho' small, is very *small*.

nastery spacious with'd with marble pillars built in *Seville*, in the year 1249.

the *Lonja*, otherwise *The de la India*, which change

is a large structure by pillars of hard and two consuls adorns under a canopy to assist, and receiving demands upon the also the duties for other

other expences. That year, notwithstanding the loss sustain'd at *Caribagena*, the merchants were oblig'd to pay three millions and a half at *Portabello*, and the consuls endeavour'd to make them pay a greater sum.

Archbishop's palace. Then we saw the archbishop's palace of an ordinary structure. It has two courts, and large apartments, both above and below, fit for so great an archbishop, whose revenue amounts to 120000 pieces of eight. The finest thing above stairs is the oratory; and in the sacristy the rich vestments, adorn'd with gold, and artificially laid up in small drawers.

Cathedral. The cathedral, which is near the house, and the model of all the cathedrals in the *Indies*, may be call'd another St. Peter's at *Rome*, as well for its largeness, as because the work about it is not yet finish'd after so many years, being such as requires some ages. A square of orange-trees, encompass'd with half pillars with iron chains, leads to one of the five gates on the sides of the church, besides the three in the front, which is not yet finish'd. This church is about fifty paces in length within, and proportionably broad, having five isles, and handsome pillars. It has seventy five altars, but the great one is an incomparable structure, being a semicircle, with a way to it from the choir, enclos'd with gilt iron banisters. They told me the paschal candle set up there on *Holy Saturday*, weighs six hundred twenty five pounds. The choir is adorn'd with excellent carving, and two good organs. In the chappel, where the body of the holy king *Ferdinand* lies, on the one side is the tomb of king *Alphonso*, who was chosen emperor, and on the other that of queen *Beatrice*. On the tomb of *D. Ferdinand Columbus*, the son of *Christopher Columbus*, the first discoverer of *America*, are these words.

A Castilla, y a Leon.
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.

That is, *Columbus* gave a new world to the crowns of *Castille* and *Leon*. The divine service is here perform'd by ninety five chapter men, besides interior priests, servants and musicians, to the number in all of two hundred and fifty, maintain'd according to their quality with a revenue of eighty thousand pieces of eight. In the sacristy, besides the ornament of curious carving and painting, and precious relics, is a silver tabernacle, weighing two thousand six hundred and fifty pounds; and a brass *Tenebræ* candlestick of two thousand pound, which they told me cost thirty thousand pieces of eight, because of its excellent workmanship. The musick books for the service of the choir cost eighty thousand pieces of eight.

They still shew the key the *Moorish* king *GEMPI* deliver'd to king *Ferdinand* upon the surrender of the city. Adjoining to the sacristy is the room before the chapter, adorn'd with half reliefs of marble made by an excellent hand. The place where the chapter meets is round, and arch'd, all hung with crimson velvet. On the side of the church is the oratory, for keeping the blessed sacrament to carry to the sick. There are in it eleven altars, and a good sacristy, all adorn'd with fine marble statues of half relief. This oratory is serv'd by four curates. The tower of the church is majestic enough, square, made of solid stone curiously wrought, and grows narrower till as it rises, being above two hundred geometrical feet in height. Within it the stairs are such that a man may ride a horse up to the belfrey, where there are twenty five bells, great and small, and there are several rooms for servants. On the top of it stands a statue of gilt brass call'd *la Giraldada*, which turns with the wind like a weathercock.

Next I went to see the house of the *Venerables*, or for priests to retire to, which was then building at a vast expence. The church is well enough adorn'd with gilt images, and sundry pictures; and the monastery has a stately cloister, with marble pillars. Without the city I saw the hospital of the *Charity*. The house is well built *Charity*, and large, and there are good beds in the galleries. The church, tho' small, and but with five altars, is remarkable for good painting. Here I saw a fine silver tabernacle.

The house of St. *Elmo* is the place where St. *Elmo*'s boys are taken to be instructed in the art of navigation, there being a ship in the middle of the court, and then they are sent to the *Indies*. When they return, the governors of the house receive them, and recover their wages of the king or traders, as long as they will continue to live in that house, which is very large.

Next we walk'd about the walls as far *Aqueduct*, as the *Aqueduct*, which, tho' built, as they told me by the *Romans*, still conveys the water to the city. Thence we went to the *Prado*, or plain of St. *Justa*, and St. *Rufina*, the protectresses of *Seville*, because they suffer'd martyrdom there, and then entered the city again at the gate of *Carmona*. By the way I saw the palace built by the duke of *Alcala*, when he return'd from his travels, after the model of *Pilate's* palace shewn at *Jerusalem*.

Tuesday 8th, I saw the tribunals, and Courts, passing through a handsome court, beset with beautiful columns, with a good fountain in the middle, found three halls, three for civil causes, in each of which four *Oydores*,

GEMEL-dores, or judges, meet; and the other for the criminal, where three *Alcades*, and a *Fiscal* 1699. or king's solicitor meet. A *Regent*, or chief magistrate of *Seville*, who is a gownman, sits as president, sometimes in one, and sometimes in another, as he pleases, and therefore has his apartment there.

India-house.

Thence we went to see the *Casa de la Contratacion*, or *Indian-House*, in which there are three halls, one call'd of government, or the chamber of direction, in which sit a president, and some other officers, all sword-men; another in the chamber of justice, where are three *Oydores*, or judges, and a *Fiscal*, or king's solicitor; and the third the treasury, where others of the king's officers meet. The president lives in this house.

S. Jerome. Wednesday 9th, my friend and I went to the monastery of S. Jerome. The most wonderful thing there, is an image of that saint, made of clay, about a hundred and eighty years since, with the crucifix and lion, by a *Neapolitan*; all so natural and artificial, that it looks as if it were really alive. Philip the fourth, of happy memory, saw, and would have had it for the *Escorial*; but the fathers excus'd themselves, alledging the difficulty of carrying such a brittle thing so far. The monastery is large; and the church, tho' small, has seven altars well adorn'd. Returning to the city we pass'd by the monastery of S. Lazarus, and that call'd *De la sangre*, or *Of the blood*; the first for securing of *Lazars*, the second for other distempers. This is a large structure, erected by the duke of *Alcala*, and there are in it stately rooms, and a court beset with pillars.

Carthusians.

Going over the bridge we came to *Triana*, and thence to *las Cuevas*, or the *Carthusians*. Tho' the monastery is large, and has stately pillars, the church is small, but well adorn'd. There are five tombs in it, with curious marble statues, of the counts of *Tarifa*. In the sacristy there are most precious relics, and church stuff of great value. They shew a brass piece, which they say is one of those given to *Judas*. In the chapter there are two statues of the aforesaid counts, and on a beautiful altar, one of our blessed lady well enough carv'd. In another room is the tomb of the archbishop *Mena*, founder of the place.

Statue of K. Peter.

As we return'd home late, I was shew'd in the street, call'd *El can delejo*, a half figure of king *Peter*, whom they call the *Cruel*. Asking the meaning of it I was told, that he going about at night incognito, as he was wont to do, to spy what was doing about the city, quarrell'd with a *Spanish* bravo, who would not give him the way, and had the fortune to kill him. The body being found in the morning, the king

order'd the murderer should be enquir'd after, and severely proceeded against. The *Alcade* was so diligent that he discover'd the truth; and the king asking about it, he answer'd, he could proceed no further, because the murderer was too powerful. Being again commanded to proceed to the utmost rigour of the law, whosoever the person was, the *Alcade* caus'd the king to be beheaded in effigie, and in memory therefore the half statue was set up in the street where the murder happened.

Thursday 10th, in the morning, I went to the great market, and there found a vast concourse of buyers and sellers; and after dinner to a castle they say was built by the *Moors*, now call'd S. *John de Alfarache*, half a league from the city. There is nothing to be seen, but the place where it stood on a mountain, the walls being ruin'd, but within them is a monastery of S. Francis.

Sunday 13th, having taken leave of all my friends, I set out for *Madrid*, in a coach journey to *Madrid*, hir'd for fifty-four pieces of eight, with D. *Andrew Herrera*, vicar general of *Quito* in *Peru*; F. master *Emanuel Mosquera*, a *Mercenarian* of *Papagan*, and D. *Paul de Offietta* of *Lima*. Going out of *Seville* near sun-setting, we came to *Castell-Blanco*, by one in the morning, having travell'd five leagues, part mountain and part plain. To be the more at our ease, we went to an inn; but were uneasy enough because of a hellish landlady, who would not find us beds upon any account, because we had sent the coach mules to another place.

Monday 14th, we travell'd over a steep craggy mountain. About noon we rested on the bank of a rivulet, and moving thence came two hours after nightfall to *Satan Olalia*, the day's journey being seven leagues. Before we got in, the coach overturn'd, and had like to have kill'd some of us. Our Supper was indifferent, but the bed very bad.

Tuesday 15th, we stay'd in the same place to rest the mules, and walk'd to divert us in the shade of a poplar grove, where we walks for that purpose. The host made us pay dear for ill accommodation, taking nine pieces of eight, for entertaining four of us.

Wednesday 16th, we set out betimes, and had two leagues of good road to *Monasterio*. This is the first place of *Estremadura*, and belongs to D. *Dominick Centorion*. After dinner, we went three leagues down hill, to *Fuente de Cantos*, a good village, where there are two monasteries of nuns, and one of friars.

Thursday 17th, we travell'd four leagues, all upon a plain to *Santos*, a town of the king's, well inhabited, where, resting all the

be enquir'd af-
t againſt. The
e diſcover'd the
about it, he an-
no further, be-
powerful. Be-
ceeded to the ut-
oſeover the per-
the king to be
memory there-
up in the ſtreet

ornings, I went
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le Alfarache, halt
There is nothing
where it ſtood on
eing ruin'd, but
of S. Francis.

taken leave of all
drid, in a coach
of eight, with
general of Qui-

manuel Moque-
capagan, and D.
Going out of
e came to Caſtel-
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rt mountain and
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t noon we reſted
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ell'd four leagues,
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here, reſting all
the

the reſt of the day, we ſet out late to go
two leagues further to Villafranca. In theſe
inns, when travellers have paid for their
meat and beds, they make them pay for
the noiſe, though they were never ſo ſtill.

Friday 18th, we did not ſet out till after
noon for Merida, fix leagues diſtant, whi-
ther we came about one in the morning.

We had a kuryy inn, becauſe all the good
ones were taken up, for the ambaffador
that was returning from Liſbon. Merida
is a royal city inhabited by about eight
hundred families, among which, there are
many of noted nobility, by the Spaniards
call'd Solariegas. The moſt notable thing
here is a noble ſtone bridge, half an Itali-
an mile in length, and broad enough for
two coaches to go abreſt; over the river
Guadlana. There is an ancient caſtle, which
did belong to the conventual priors of
Leon, who on their habit wear the croſs of
St. James. There are alſo four monaſte-
ries of friers, and four of nuns. The com-
mon walking place is not contemptible.

Saturday 19th, we ſet out late, and reſt-
ed after two leagues, at the little village of
St. Peter, whence going three leagues fur-
ther on a plain country, we came to Me-
dellin, and two leagues thence to Miajadas,
both places belonging to the earl of Me-
dellin. All the inns were taken up for the
ambaffador, ſo that we ſar'd ill.

Sunday 20th, we went after dinner three
leagues to St. Cruz, where we lay till mid-
night.

Monday 21ſt, proceeded to Tordeſillas,
leaving Truxillo aſide. We ſet out again
after dinner with violent hot weather, and
going up and down high craggy mountains,
the harbour of thieves, the coach broke,
and we were left in the open air. As we
were afterwar'd paſſing by Caſas de Mira-
bete in the dark, I broke my gun, and had
ſome other loſs. Three leagues further we
croſs'd the river Tagas over a great ſtone

bridge, and went to lye at Almaraz.

Tueſday 22d, the coach being mended
we ſet out in the evening, and having tra-
vell'd two leagues over a plain well culti-
vated, in which there was a very good vil-
lage, went to take up our quarters at Cal-
cada de Oropeſa.

Here we continu'd all Wednesday 23d in
the morning, and then ſet out along a
good country full of villages, and at the
end of two leagues paſs'd through Oropeſa,
belonging to the earl of that name. It is
ſeated on a hill, the walls about it are mean,
but there are good buildings in the ſuburbs
about it. Riding four leagues further
through a wood, we came to Peter Vene-
do's inn, where we found neither beds nor
meat, that place being always in danger
of highway-men. In April the year be-
fore, nine of thoſe ſtrollers had robb'd and
bound about forty travellers. Having reſt-
ed a little we went four leagues further to
Talavera, a town well known for the ex-
cellent earthen ware made there, and con-
taining about eight thouſand families. The
beſt ſtructures are fourteen monaſteries of
religious men and women; for the houſes
are diſorderly and not uniform. There is
a good walking place with long rows of
trees, call'd Nueſtra Sennora del Prado.

Thursday 24th, we ſet out late, and hav-
ing rode fix leagues over good plains, lay
at Santa Olalla, a village belonging to the
count de Orgas.

Friday 25th, continuing our journey
through olive gardens and good villages,
eſpecially that call'd Nover, for fix leagues,
we came to Caſa Rubia.

Saturday 26th, went four leagues further,
and lay at Moſtobes.

Sunday 27th, travell'd three leagues and
arriv'd at Madrid, over the bridge of Se-
govia. I took into an inn in the ſtreet cal-
led Calle de Silva, but then remov'd to that
of Olivo alto.

GEMEL-
11.
1699.

10th day,
1 leagues.

10th day,
15 leagues

Talavera

11th day,
6 leagues

12th day,
6 leagues

13th day,
4 leagues,

14th day,
3 leagues.

CHAP. II.

The deſcription of the royal town of Madrid, and what is moſt re-
markable in it.

THE royal Town of Madrid is feat-
ed in a champain, water'd by the
river Manzanares. The country about is
uneven, ſome plain, ſome high and ſome
low; but the air is very good and whole-
ſome, and though it be not in above 40
deg. and 40 min. latitude; yet the cold in
winter and the heat in ſummer are intoler-
able. The ſhape of it is almoſt oval, lit-
tle above a mile in length, and near five in
compaſs. It is grown up to this greatneſs
from a little town, ſince the kings of Spain

choſe it for the place of their reſidence.
However, the walls about it are low, and
of mud, with fourteen or fifteen gates. The
ſtreets are always very dirty, by reaſon of
the cuſtom of throwing all filth out at the
windows. It is worſe in winter, becauſe
they carry many hogſheads of water in
carts, which they let out about the ſtreets to
carry off the filth, and ſometimes it runs in
ſtreets that ſtop the way, and poiſon with
the ſtink.

GEMEL- The houses for the most part cannot
L.I. compare with those of Italy, being generally
1699. ill built with timber ribs. But as to
W particulars, the king's palaces are most magnificent, as well from the greatness of the structure, as for the rich furniture, curious pictures, abundance of fountains, fishponds and parks. Besides that where his majesty generally resides, there are those of *Buen Retiro*, the *Escorial Pardo*, *Aranjuez* and others, whereof having said enough in my first travels in Europe, I omit to repeat the same in this place. Among the chief palaces of the nobility that of the duke of *Uzeda* is none of the worst, as well for structure, as for the embellishments of marble; for which reason the late queen's mother had pitch'd upon it for her residence. All the churches are well serv'd and adorn'd.

Plaza Mayor. Among the publick buildings the Plaza Mayor, or great square, is very graceful. It is a perfect square and has several avenues. All the houses about it are built after the same model five stories high, with as many rows of iron balconies, all curiously made and uniform. In the shops below under the porticos, are all sorts of rich commodities; and in the middle of the square all that can be desir'd for eating. But it is then most beautiful to behold, when they have the sport of riding at bulls, call'd by them *Juego de Toros*, or *Fiesta de Toros*; because then it is richly hung, and there are to be seen the king, the ministers of state, magistrates, nobility, and choice ladies richly clad.

Provisions are so dear, that a piece of eight a day will scarce serve a man. The wine is bad, because they put lime and other ill things into it; but the bread is excellent, and so is the flesh of gelt goats. Without the town there is good wine and cheap, because there it pays not the excise, which amounts to more than the price of the wine.

I found two fashions newly brought up, this last time I was at Madrid. The one is the keeping a great number of footmen to run before the coach; the other the wearing of periwigs, by all sorts of people, so full of powder, that it is no wonder bread is dear.

I having visited *D. John Francis Pacheco*, duke of *Uzeda*, and shew'd him all my curiosities gather in my travels, upon Wednesday 30th, he to requite me, shew'd me his library, which for largeness, choice of books curiously bound, and for the rare workmanship in ebony of the cases, all shut up with crystal glasses, is inferior to none in Spain. In his closet, besides choice medals, he had abundance of pictures of kings, and princes, some of them scarce

known in Europe, and all adorn'd with silver, gold and jewels. He told me the king had enquir'd after me, and would be glad to see my curiosities. Having spent many days in waiting upon persons of quality, who desir'd to hear some account of my travels, I went on.

Thursday the 14th of August, to see the monastery of the *Mercenarians*, which is *near*.

very stately, and has three dormitories one above another, for one hundred and fifty religious men, and the church is well adorn'd. Friday 15th, in the afternoon there was a great resort to our lady of *Atocha*, which image is cover'd with jewels, the altar with silver, and the chappel painted by our famous *Lucas Giordano*. Saturday 16th, I heard mass in the parish of St. Martin of the *Benedictine* fathers of *Monte Cassino*. The church is not extraordinary; but the monastery is large, and magnificently built. Sunday 17th, I saw the profess'd house of the fathers of the society. The church was not yet finish'd; but there were excellent pictures in the chapels that were complet. Monday 18th, heard mass at St. *Philippe el Real*. The monastery is of *Augustinians*, were small; but the church is well set off. Tuesday 19th, I saw the church of St. *Andrew*, which has a most beautiful *Capula*, and chappels and altars well adorn'd; especially that where the body of St. *Isidore* lies. Thursday 21st, I heard mass in the parish church of St. *Gines*, which is very large, has good altars, and is serv'd by many priests. Monday 25th, I saw the king and queen go out to take the air by the river. The ladies were clad almost after the German fashion, and their heads dress'd much after that manner. That day abundance of rich household-stuff, was carry'd out of the king's wardrobe, to furnish a house at *Leganios*, where the French ambassador was to be receiv'd, and entertain'd nine days at the king's cost. The workmanship of the plate was curious, but old fashion'd, and the stones that adorn'd it all false, except some Turkey stones. These things are always kept in the king's wardrobe, and never made use of, but upon such occasions.

Tuesday 26th, I went to see the hospital, *Hospital*, where there are generally about a thousand sick, attended very charitably. The structure shews it is a royal work. Friday 29th, I went to St. *Mary de Almudena*, where is an image of our lady, all cover'd with rich diamonds, emeralds, and other precious stones.

Wednesday the 3d of September, I went *Escurial* with *D. Peter Chaves*, who was to go with me into Italy, to see the *Escurial*, and din'd at *Roxas*, three leagues from Madrid, whence we travell'd the other four leagues, passing

The church.

Pacheco.

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The
church.

Partheon.

passing through *Colmenarejo*, and lay that
night at the upper *Escorial*. On Thursday
the 4th, in the morning the father rector
appointed another father to shew us the ra-
rities of that monastery. We came into
the great court through a noble front of
massy stone, over which is the statue of St.
Lawrence; and proceeding thence into the
second, found there beautiful apartments a-
bout it, and a most curious frontispiece o-
ver the church-door, with six statues of pro-
phets. The church has three islands, sup-
ported as is the *Cupula* by large pillars of
hard stone. The high altar is exceeding
majestick, and adorn'd with double rows
of pillars, of choice marble, being eigh-
teen in number, which serve also to set off
the curious pictures. Going up seventeen
steps of the same stone, there appears a
tabernacle all garnish'd with gold, and pre-
cious pillars of jasper, and within it ano-
ther less tabernacle adorn'd with precious
stones of inestimable value. On the side
walls are the statues of *Charles* the 5th,
and *Philip* the 2d in fine marble. On the
left is the oratory, where the king and
queen use to withdraw. All the arches of
the church are painted by *Giordano*. The
father then shew'd us a great silver statue
representing St. *Lawrence*, kept in a cup-
board, with many relics of the most glo-
rious saints of the church.

Hence we went down to the place where
are the tombs of the kings, and queens
that are fruitful apart from that of the
barren ones, and kings children, and found
it all cover'd with curious black marble,
like the tombs of the kings of *Spain*, here
bury'd till this day. Then we went to see
the sacristy, and here were shew'd church-
stuff, adorn'd with precious stones, gold
fringes, and rich embroidery. There is
also a great silver tabernacle of extraordi-
nary workmanship, sent as a present by
the emperor to the king of *Spain*. We saw
an antependium of silver curiously wrought;
a mineral stone with several large emeralds
in it, which serves as a *Pax*; and a cross
of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other
stones of great value.

Then we were carry'd into a little room,
where there were many relics, some man-
uscripts of St. *Teresa* and other saints, and
a pitcher or stone vessel, that will hold
twenty *Caraffas* of *Naples*, in which they
say our Saviour converted water into wine,
at the wedding of *Cana* in *Galilee*. The
chapter whither we went next is all set out
with ancient and choice pictures. The choir
was of excellent workmanship, and the
books of plain song belonging to it, the
fathers said cost thirty thousand pieces of
eight. There are also two great organs,
besides the small ones distributed about the

isles. Near the great stairs we saw *Giordano's* best picture, which is the battle of
St. *Quintin*.
LI.
1699.

After dinner we went to see the rest, and
a religious man led us about the church,
within the wall left open on purpose. All
the arches of it made large chappels, like
those of St. *Sophia* at *Constantinople*, and all
of carv'd stone, as is the rest of the church.
Then we went into the library, and saw a
great number of books of several sciences
in excellent order; but they told me that
several *Arabic* manuscripts were gone they
knew not which way.

The pictures in this place are wonderful,
being painted by great masters, but the
most stupendious thing is a loadstone, that
bears twenty four pounds of iron, and is so
active, that it operates tho' a solid body
interpose. Yet what most amazes is, that
it does not draw the iron, unless it be set
length-ways with the north point to it. We
went up one of the corner towers to see the
chimes sent out of *Flanders* by the count de
Monterey, but they do not play exactly true.
The king's apartment is adorn'd with the
best pictures of the last age, and from his
bedchamber, he can see the tabernacle of
the high altar. There is a way out of the
same apartment into the oratory before-
mention'd.

In the monastery are fourteen cloisters,
with five rows of dormitories one above an-
other; but it is to be observ'd that in this
place there live three several families of re-
ligious men, with their several superiors,
all independent of one another. They are
in all two hundred maintain'd by the king,
and well serv'd, for all the inhabitants of
the next village are at their service, being
maintain'd by the monastery. There are
several orchards of fruit, and flower-gar-
dens, with myrtles curiously cut, represent-
ing the king's arms and other figures; nor
are the Crystalline fountains less delightful.
Besides the fine myrtles in the great cloister,
there is a stately *Cupula* of choice marble
in the middle; and fish-ponds full of se-
veral sorts of fish. There are also many
artificers adjoining to the monastery, for
its service, and apartments close by for the
courtiers, when the king is there. This
was built by king *Philip* the second, in pur-
suance of a vow made on the 10th of *Aug-*
ust, at the battle of St. *Quintin*, where,
for the conveniency of his army, he was
forced to destroy a church dedicated to the
same saint. The work was finish'd in thirty
two years, a short time for so great a
structure, that king laying out twenty mil-
lions and half upon it; besides the yearly
revenue of forty six thousand pieces of eight
a year, for maintenance of the monastery.

Friday

GEMEL- Friday 5th, we return'd by the way of
1.1. Roxas to Madrid, where being disappoint-
1699. ed of going by the way of Alicant, as I
had intended, I took two places for twenty

four pieces of eight, in the coach for Pam-
plona, and having taken leave of my friends,
prepar'd for my journey.

C H A P. III.

The author's journey from Madrid to Toulouse.

1st day's journey, 3 leagues. **M** On day the 28th of September, having perform'd my devotions in the church of our lady of *Betlem*, I took coach after dinner, and went three leagues to lye at *Rojas*, where the hostels made me pay dear for a poor supper, and worse bed. Setting out again at break of day, I cross'd the river *Guadarrama* upon a good stone bridge, then pass'd through the village of *Torrejon*, and came at the end of three leagues to the city of *Alcala*, by the *Latines* call'd *Complutum*, in the diocese of the archbishop of *Toledo*, and a famous university. It is seated near the river *Henares*, enclos'd by a low wall, and has noble streets, and good houses and shops. I went three leagues further to dine at the little village of *Alcobera*, and then three leagues more to lye at *Junquera*, leaving behind *Marcamalo* in sight of *Guadalajara*. *Junquera* belongs to the duke of *Pastrama*, and the country about it is so full of rabbits, that they would scarce get out of the road as we pass'd by.

3d day, 9 leagues. **W** On Wednesday 10th, when having travell'd six leagues, we din'd at *Xadraque*, and went three leagues further to lye at the village of *Regulara*, being tir'd with the ill way, and rain, which continuing we fet out late on

4th day, 5 leagues. **T** Thursday 11th, and therefore were forced to stay and dine at the inn of of *Rio Frio*, but two leagues from where we lay, and then proceeded three leagues still with rain, to lodge at *Barakona*, but had ill accommodation, this being a wretched village, reported to be inhabited by witches.

5th day, 5 leagues. **H** Having travell'd two leagues on Friday 12th, and pass'd through two villages, we bated at *Amagan*, a town belonging to the earl of *Altamira*, enclos'd with a wall, standing on a hill, and water'd on one side by the river *Duero*, whence going three leagues further we lay at *Amaril*.

6th day, 7 leagues. **S** Saturday 13th, after five leagues riding, we din'd at *Avingosa*; and then passing over high mountains came to *Ageda*, the last city of *Castile*, seated not far from the mountain *Moncayo*, which is ever cover'd with snow, where we had a good supper and bed. Here we stay'd on

7th day, 6 leagues. **S** Sunday 14th, till noon, to shew what gold and silver we carry'd for our expences, because it is not allow'd to export above a

piece of eight and half. I shew'd what gold I had, and paid one in the hundred for it. Before we fet out, I saw in a monastery of nuns, the body of the b. *Mary of Ageda* held there in great veneration. As soon as out of the city gates, the officers came upon us again, and I was forced to give them something to avoid being stopp'd, but I would not give any thing to others we met four leagues further on the frontiers. In this place the three kingdoms of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre* meet, so that three kings might here dine at one table, and every one sit in his own kingdom. When pass'd the village of *Centronico*, we came into a warmer country, and an hour after night came to *Curella*, a place of great trade, rich, and inhabited by a thousand families; for tho' seated on a mountain, it has good vineyards and gardens, excellent fruit.

M Monday 15th, we lay in the same place. 8th day, Tuesday 16th, after two leagues travel- 6 leagues ling, we cross'd the river *Ebro* in a boat, and a league further came to *Valtierra*. Three leagues beyond that, we ferry'd over the river *Aragon*, which falls into the *Ebro*, and lay at *Marfella* a city near to it.

W Wednesday 17th, we fet out two hours before day, and din'd at *Tafalla* four leagues distant, a large city, enclos'd with a wall, and belonging to the king. Then we pass'd through *Barafain* and other places, in the space of two leagues, and went two leagues further of very bad way, to lye at the inn, call'd *de las Campanas*, or of the bells in the village of *Tieves*.

T Thursday 18th, having travell'd two leagues, we came before noon to *Pamplona*, 8 leagues, and I lodg'd at a good inn, in St. *Nicolas's* street.

This city seated in the latitude of forty three degrees, is the metropolis of the kingdom of *Navarre*, and therefore the usual residence of the viceroy, and of all the courts. For spiritual affairs it has a bishop, who at this time acted as viceroy till another were sent. This bishop's revenue is twenty two thousand pieces of eight, and he has a palace better than the viceroy's. The city stands upon an uneven ground, at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountains, and has some insensible rising ground and plain. The compass of its walls, which are almost

an octagon, is about half a league. The houses are generally well built, and provisions at a reasonable rate. The monasteries and churches are not very stately; the cathedral is large, and has five isles, but of smooth stone, and is very dark, the cloister joining to it, is a handsome structure. The citadel is very large, and the walls so thick, that two coaches may go abreast on them. The ditch is very deep, and the place very strong, provided it be well furnish'd with men and cannon.

The inhabitants of *Pampelona*, and generally all the *Navarrois* are affable, and lovers of strangers, shewing them much respect as they pass through their country, and preferring them before their own people, either in felling, or any other thing; and therefore any man may travel through the kingdom, without apprehending to be affronted or wrong'd. I found not so much difficulty in getting a pass of the bishop, acting as viceroy, as in finding horses, because it was harvest time, and all the beasts were employ'd in the country. *D. John Cruzat*, marquis of *Gongora*, and governor of the city, remov'd this difficulty, ordering his lieutenant to furnish me with mules to pass the mountains. I had brought this nobleman news from his brother, *D. Fausto*, governor of the *Philippine* islands, for which he shew'd me extraordinary civility.

Having got mules by means of the lieutenant, for eight pieces of eight each, to carry me to *St. Jean de Pied de Port*: We set out on *Friday* 19th, at one in the afternoon, and rode three leagues over the valley, a country well cultivated, and full of good villages, to the bridge of *Suvert*, where the major of *Pampelona*, who is governor, has a guard, that examines all passengers; here we took much pains to climb a steep mountain, and lay at the village of *Erro*. On this road there are but few that understand *Spanish*, all the country people speaking the *Gascon* language, so that the muletier was our interpreter.

Saturday 20th, we set out two hours before day, along a very bad and mountainous road, and leaving behind us at the end of a league, the village of *Espinal*, and a league further *Burgheto*, where a governor with a guard keeps the pass; about an hundred paces beyond it, we came to the village of *Roncevalles*, an excessive cold place, and therefore the houses there are cover'd with planks that cannot be broke by the frost. The church belongs to the king, and there belongs to it twelve canons, who have each three hundred ducats a year, beside the demi-canons. The canons themselves fill up the vacancies among them, but the king has the nomination of the prior. In this church they shew two clubs cover'd

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with iron, us'd formerly in war, and one GEMEL- of the stirrups of *Orlando*, the great champion of *France*; the slippers *Turpin* the historian, and bishop of *Paris*, who came into *Spain* with *Charlemagne*, wore when he said mass; the same *Turpin's* tomb, in a place apart from the church, where the famous battle is painted, in which several of the bravest men of *France* dy'd, as they were returning home with *Charlemagne*; and lastly their tombs. Riding hence along a craggy dangerous path, on the mountain, and going down on the other side, such another way cover'd with trees, in all two leagues and a half, we cross'd a small river, which divides the two powerful kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*. A league from thence we came to *St. Jean de Pied de Port*, the metropolis of the lower *Navarre*. It is well wall'd, and has a small suburb. Thro' the midst of it runs a rapid river, which afforded us good trout for supper. On the hill that commands the city, is a castle regularly fortify'd without, and good houses within for the garrison. We lay in a good inn.

Sunday 21st, we heard mass there, and saw the women, by reason of the cold, cover their heads with mantles, like those the *Moors* wear, and the men with a sort of black caps. I hir'd three horses to go as far as *Pau*, for nine *French* crowns.

Monday 22d, we set out and travell'd through a country well cultivated, and green, with country houses at convenient distances. We cross'd several rivers on bridges, and among the rest a great one, a league short of *Navarrens*, where the bridge is shut up with gates to make people pay for passing. Having rode several leagues, we took up in the fortrefs of *Navarrens*, at the customers house (as we had done at *Pied de Port*) who did not practise that strictness us'd in other parts of *France*, but pass'd my trunks without opening them, taking my word for what was in them. This fort, seated in the province of *Bearn*, is garrison'd by a battalion of foot, and by it runs a good river that abounds in trout. The king, of *France* has not only made the way safe, but, for the travellers great convenience, has at certain distances, caus'd poles and stones to be set up to shew the way, and the distance of leagues; an action worthy to great a monarch.

Having paid the duties of the custom-house, I set out betimes on *Wednesday* 23d, and having pass'd over the river on a stone-bridge to the place of arms, the guard carry'd me before their officer, who enquiring very civilly, whence I came, dismiss'd me. The road I travell'd, though mountainous, look'd like one continu'd garden. After riding two leagues and a half, I bated at

Moncim,

GEMEL-*Moucin*, where an old hostess made me pay dear for a bad dinner. A league from thence we ferry'd over the river *Gave*, which falls into the *Adour*, and went to the town of *Lascar*, where the states of the province meet, to avoid contest about precedence, in the parliament of *Pau*. Besides the city in the plain which is open, there is another among the mountains, but small, and inclos'd with low walls. Departing thence, we rode six leagues further, and lay at

Pau. *Pau*, the metropolis of the province of *Bearn*. It is divided into the lower, which is water'd by the river *Gave*, over which there is a stone bridge of a vast length; and the upper, where the parliament resides, where there is a good castle. Neither city is wall'd; but the upper has very good houses and rich shops. Its shape is long, and it may be said to have but one street upon the level, for there is a descent to those on the sides. The castle is well built after the ancient manner, without any modern fortification. In the court of it, there is noble carving, and half statues of exquisite workmanship; especially a shepherd and shepherds set in a wall. They shew'd me *Henry* the IVth's royal chapel, and the room where he was born, being on the west side over the garden. The alleys in this garden are all arch'd over by the trees, and thick plants running up interwoven, and knotted together like arbours. Thence I went into the second garden adorn'd with myrtle, curiously cut; thence into a wood enclos'd with high walls, in which there are two strait walks of a vast length, shaded by tall oaks; and thence to a hill, to see another garden, which was that great king's delight; but at present they are all ill look'd after.

Returning home, I saw the palace where the parliament meets, near the castle. Here fifty two counsellors meet in four courts, which are, one for criminal causes; one for the revenue or exchequer; and the two for civil causes. Every counsellor is allow'd by the king a hundred pistoles a year, besides their profits, but the presidents have more. All these places are bought for ever, and may be sold again with the king's leave.

A league from *Pau* is the city *Morlans*, the ancientest in the province, and five leagues from it the wholesome waters of *Bagnères*; and at four leagues distance, the miraculous image of our lady of *Beteran*. There are in *Pau* four monasteries of men, and two of nuns.

Wednesday 24th, the weather being bad, I did not travel, but hir'd three horses to *Toulouze*, for 15 French crowns, and set out on

Thursday 25th, rode two leagues through a plain well cultivated country, water'd by

small rivulets, to bare at the inn of *Bordes point*, and thence three leagues to lye at *Tarbe*, by reason of the bad way. *Tarbe Tauris* is a city seated in a plain, and compos'd of several parts, for there is a good suburb at first coming in; then a wall'd city; then another bigger than that, and wall'd too; and lastly other houses, continu'd for an Italian mile in length. It is the head of the province of *Bigorre*, but subject to the parliament of *Toulouze*.

Friday 26th, I travel'd four leagues through a well cultivated country, always in sight of the high, and hoary *Pyrenean* mountains, which divide the two greatest monarchies in *Europe*, and din'd at *Puidarias*, thence four more to the valley of *Lamette*, and one more to lye at *Bataille*.

We mounted at break of day on *Saturday* 27th, and riding three leagues, bated at *Lombez*, a wall'd place, but small; and thence continu'd our journey five leagues further to *Plaisance*, where we took up that night. There came with me from *Madrid*, a half *Milanese* of Spanish extraction, who lov'd water as a dog loves a cudgel, so that he would be continually drunk, and therefore could not sit his horse going down hill, nor ride in the night, so that he was often lost, yet I always found him in some tavern, with a pot in his hand; so that I had excellent company of him.

Sunday 28th, we set out by break of day, and travel'd two leagues along a plain cultivated country, and so arriv'd at the suburb of *Toulouze*, which is wall'd in. Here the officers were satisfy'd with a piece of money, and forbore opening my trunks, and therefore without making any stay, having cross'd the suburb, we went afoot from the bridge, to the cuckold's inn.

Toulouze, a city famous for its parliament, and university, is seated in the lat. of 43 degrees, and 20 minutes, in an excellent air, and many be call'd the greatest city in *France*, next to *Paris*, being half a league long, from east to west, and the third part of a league in breadth. In the year 638, after the building of *Rome*, *Cepio* destroy'd it, and carry'd thence a vast quantity of gold and silver. The walls at present are of brick, with towers after the ancient manner, at proper distances, with a narrow, but deep ditch about them. The houses are indifferently built of brick, and the streets well pav'd. In short, to me it look'd like another *Tauris* in *Persia*.

Abundance of gentry live in it, and generally the inhabitants are well affected to strangers, behaving themselves honestly, civilly, and respectfully towards them, as is usual throughout *France*. Provisions are cheap. The bridge of *Toulouze* over the *Garonne*, is not inferior to any in *Paris*.

It

the inn of *Bordes* leagues to lie at bad way. *Tarbo Tarbo* and compos'd of a good suburb at wall'd city; then, and wall'd too; continu'd for an I-ut subject to the

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It is two musket-shots in length, and broad enough for six coaches to go abreast, all of good square stone. There was another ancienter brick bridge, which is gone to ruin. The *Garonne* springs in the *Pyrenean* mountains, and is navigable down to *Bordeaux*, where it falls into the sea. A mile from *Toulouze*, it meets with the canal cut by the present king *Luis* 14th. I could not well read the inscription on the gate upon the bridge, because a shrub was grown out from a cleft, between the marble stones, which hinder'd my seeing the letters; but what I could discern, was to this effect.

Anno Restaur. Sal. 1668.

Qui dedit Oceano, docuit te dulce Ga-
rumna

Ferre Jugum, primus qui tuas compefcuit
undas,

Haslenus inviso jungens tua littora ponte.
Hoc opus inceptum, desperatumq; pependit,
Donec Ludovicum felicia secla tulerunt,
Qui tot ——— posset mirante Tholosa,
Tantum potenti cervici imponere molem.

The sense, in short, is thus: *Anno* 1668. He that subdu'd the ocean first, made thee *Garonne* bear a yoke, curbing thy waves, and joining thy shores with such a bridge as has not before been seen. This work was begun, and given over in despair, till hap- pytimes brought *Luis*, who [here's a casina] to the admiration of *Toulouze*, might lay so great a weight on the powerful stream.

I went to hear mass at the *Dominicans*, whose church is arch'd, and supported by eight pillars, which divide it into three isles. In the middle of it is a curious high altar and choir. In the sacristy they shew'd me the head of *St. Thomas of Aquin*, upon a half-body of silver; the skull is seen by opening a plate on the top of the statue.

Thence I went to see the so renown'd parliament, instituted by *Philip the fair*, but found it shut up, that being vacation-time. After dinner I went to the town-house, where there are eight magistrates, who govern the city, and wear a long crimson garment with wide sleeves laced with gold. The house is stately enough, the walls all adorn'd with half-statues of marble, and the rooms with rich pictures of former magistrates. In the first room they shew'd me seats and benches, on which they sit when

they administer justice. Here was the pic- ture of *Luis* the 14th, king of *France*, swearing to the parliament on his knees, to keep their privileges, before he came into the city. In the next room there were such benches cover'd, for them to meet in private, and good pictures about the walls. Going up to the rooms above, I found in the first room the pictures of all the famous men that have been of *Toulouze*. In the next antichamber, where the assembly of the deputies of the province is held, there were chairs and benches orderly placed, for every one to take the place that was due to him. Here's the picture of *Luis* the 14th, very young, when he went to meet the *In-* fanta of *Spain*, his queen.

Then I went to see the great canal, made by as great a king, to open a communica- tion between the mediterranean and the ocean, cutting a way thro' mountains, le- velling the valleys, and forcing nature to submit to art. Several gather-ings of water, made on the plain and hills, supply the canal; banks thrown up keep in the water at certain distances, where the ground is low; and thus the boats go easily to *Toulouze*, and they go down to the port of *Set*, four leagues from *Montpellier*, where the water of the canal falls into the mediterranean, as the *Garonne* falls into the ocean after pas- sing by *Bordeaux*. This river and canal, as has been said, make the communication between the mediterranean and the ocean, to save sailing quite round *Spain*, and part of *France*. Its depth is ten or twelve spans, and the breadth about the length of two pikes, so that it will not carry very large boats, and it often requires cleansing. At this time 'twas dry, to be cleans'd, and made deeper.

Monday 29th, being *Michaelmas* day, I heard mass in the church of the *Carmelites*, where the feast was celebrated. It has but one isle, but there are two outlets near the door. The choir and high altar are in the middle, well adorn'd, as are all the chapels. After dinner I went to the cathedral, which, tho' it has three isles, is not very good, both because 'tis dark, and because there are in the middle of it many little parting walls, for all the several sorts of officers and magistrates upon festivals. The archbishop's palace is convenient, but not beautiful.

GEMEL-

LI.

1699.

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## C H A P. IV.

*The author's journey from Toulouse to Marfeilles.*

HAVING hired a calash for nineteen crowns to *Montpelier*, I set out on *Tuesday* the last day of *September* betimes, passing thro' the large suburb of *S. Michael*. After crossing the canal several times, upon bridges for the space of three leagues and a half, of a good country, I dined at *Baziege*, and then travelling thro' many villages, came very late to *Castelnau d'Ari*, four leagues and a half from *Baziege*: we sup'd well for half a crown a head, being twelve at table, and among them a religious man, that eat and drank like an honest *Frenchman*. At this place there's a gathering of water for the use of the canal, and two leagues off another, call'd of *Noroufe*.

Setting out early on *Wednesday* the 1st of *October*, I came, at the end of three leagues riding thro' a well-peopled country, to the village of *Alzone*, whence, after dinner, I went three leagues further to *Carcafonne*. This place is wall'd, the houses for the most part of stone, and handsomer than those of *Toulouse*; the city is large, and has a considerable trade, by reason there's good cloth made call'd by its name. All the streets are good, but the market-place beyond 'em all. The suburbs are large, and there's a long bridge leads to one of 'em over the river *Oodi*, where is a spacious citadel on the top of a hill. The bishop of this place has forty thousand livres a year.

*Thursday* 2d, before I left the city, I went to see the cloth made, and found seven looms, with two men at each of 'em, because the cloth was seven quarters wide: in another room they were sheering of it. Then going into my calash, after a league's riding, I again cross'd the same river, upon a bridge near the village of *Traves*, and then the canal several times, along which I saw many men and horses that drew along the boats. We dined in the little village of *Pischa*, three leagues from *Carcafonne*, and then went three leagues further, along a stony way, to lie at *Pouffel*.

*Friday* 3d, at the end of three leagues, we pass'd thro' *Capetlan*, a large place, and wall'd (many villages in *France* having either walls about 'em, or some castle to retire to) and over the river *Oodi* upon a bridge. Then crossing the canal again, (which, a league from thence, runs along a cavity cut for a hundred paces in the hard rock) came to the city *Beziers*, seated on a hill, and water'd on one side by the river *Oodi*. The city is longer than 'tis broad, fortified by art and nature, populous, plen-

tiful, and rich, by reason 'tis within three leagues of the sea: there's a garrison in it of eight hundred men. Four leagues from it, towards *Perpignan*, is a city not inferior to it, call'd *Narbonne*, thro' which those that come from *Catalonia* generally pass. Moving four leagues further after dinner, we lay at the city of *Perenes*, which is large, but of little trade.

*Saturday* 4th, when we had rode half a league, we came to a bank of earth two *Italian* miles in length, rais'd at a vast expence, to make the way more commodious in winter. In *France* they take great care of the high-ways, and I observ'd 'em to be generally pav'd, from the time I came into it. Then we pass'd through the town of *Monfagne*, a league from whence we set out, and then travelling at a small distance from the sea, at the end of four leagues, dined at the town of *Gigian*; whence advancing three leagues more, we came before night to *Montpelier*. This city is the capital of the lower *Languedoc*, as *Toulouse* is of the upper; and, being seated on the top of a hill, yields a fine prospect at a distance.

*Sunday* 5th, I went to see the town-house, which is not so good as that of *Toulouse*. The six consuls there are clad in scarlet, but without gold fringes. Here was the king's picture, sitting on a throne, done by a masterly hand; he is holding out an olive-branch to one of the six consuls, who kneels before him, to signify the peace concluded that year between him and the confederates; as appears by an ingenious, but haughty, inscription under it.

The church of our Lady, close by it, has no great matter of ornament, no more than the cathedral, and neither of 'em has but one isle. The bishop's palace has been a great structure, but being very ancient, as is the church, is gone to ruin. Not far from thence I went out at the gate of *Payrou*, lately rebuilt by the consuls, and adorn'd on the outside with trophies masterly carv'd, and with arms of the nations conquer'd by *France*, with ingenious *Latin* mottoes. The walking-place without this gate is one of the finest nature and art could produce, had they vy'd to outdo one another; for the eye is delighted with the prospect of the sea, and pleasant fields of a long delicious plain. The walls of the city are high and strong, tho' ancient, and encompass'd with a deep ditch. The houses are generally very good, three or four stories high, like those in *Naples*.

Carca-  
fonne.

Montpelier

Beziers.



Arles, but cover'd with tiles. The streets are narrow and crooked, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, and number of inhabitants. The courteous ladies are extraordinary beautiful, and fair of complexion. In other respects the city is rich, because of its trade, and in it are six sovereign chambers, that govern all the province.

After dinner I took another calash, for seven crowns, to *Marfeilles*; and having gone four leagues, lay at the inn of *Pont-lunel*, so call'd of *Lunel*, a neighbouring city, lying on the left hand of the way, where the hostesses treated me well. They wore a great hood, as the country-women do, to defend 'em against the sun.

*Monday* 6th, having rode four leagues, I dined in the city *S. Gil*: I wou'd willingly have gone as far as *Nîmes*, by the Latins call'd *Nemausum*, a city where they make good ferge, to have seen some Roman antiquities there; as, the temple of *Diana*, *le Maison quarré*, or the *square House*, built of vast stones, and *les Arenes*, or the amphitheatre for publick shews; but being to go three leagues, I chose rather to get soon to *Naples*. After dinner, having rode a mile, we ferry'd over an arm of the *Rhône*, which divides *Languedoc* from *Provence*: one that waited there to receive the customs ask'd me whether I had any thing new in my trunks, which ought to pay the king's duty; and telling him there were seven dozen of fans, he very civilly dismiss'd me, without receiving that little which was due to him: he also advis'd me, when I came to *Arles*, to tell the custom-house officers there, that the officers on the road had taken no custom, because the things were inconsiderable, and to make presents; and bid me not shew the note I carried, for then they would oblige me to pay. This civility to strangers is peculiar to the *French*, and I had such trial of it, that in a month's travelling thro' *France*, my trunks had never been open'd. Having paid fifteen fols for the calash passing the bridge, we came to *Arles*, after three leagues riding. When I came to the bridge of boats, an hundred paces in length, over the arm of the river *Rhône*, which is twice as broad as that before-mention'd, the officers ask'd four fols toll. The *Rhône* is counted the greatest river in *France*, which, after passing by *Lions* and *Avignon*, divides it self into two branches a league above *Arles*, and runs down into the sea seven leagues below it, at the port of *Bu*, whence great boats and tartans go up to load with wine and corn.

*Arles*, a city seated in 43 deg. of lat. is an archbishoprick, and has a good trade, but is not very rich: it stands upon a rising

ground, which makes it shew slightly without, and 'tis reckon'd to be ancienter than *Rome*. There's a theatre in it, built by the *Romans*, but not so entire as that of *Verona*. The walls about it, and the houses, are very good, but the streets narrow, and the town-house but indifferent.

*Tuesday* 11th, travelling along the famous aqueducts, at the end of four leagues we came to the inn of *S. Martin de Crau*, where we dined well for twenty fols a-head; then proceeding four leagues further along a dry stony way, we came to *Salon*, a city in the diocese of *Arles*, and therefore the archbishop has there an ancient large castle on an eminency. The walls of the city are half ruin'd with antiquity, and the houses of a very indifferent structure, without any symmetry. They say the way call'd *Via Aureliana*, made by the emperor *M. Aurelius*, from the frontiers of *Spain* as far as *Rome*, pass'd by this place. There's nothing in it remarkable but the sepulchre or tomb of *Nostradamus*, the famous astrologer of the last age, who is said to have foretold the murder of *Henry IV.* king of *France*: 'tis in the church of the *Franciscans*, on the left-hand wall entering the gate, with this following inscription;

*D. M. Clarissimi Ossæ.*

*Michaelis Nostradamus, unius omnium mortalium dicto digni, cujus pendit divino calamo totius Orbis, ex Astrorum influxu, futuri eventus conscriberentur. Vixit annis 62, Mensibus 6, Diebus 17. Obiit solo 1566. Quietem posteri ne irvideant. Anna Pontia Gemella Solonia Conjugi opt. V. F.*

In the same church is to be seen an image of the blessed Virgin, and the manner of taking our Saviour down from the cross, with seven marble statues, all the work of some great master.

Having travel'd five leagues on a very bad mountain road, we dined on *Wednesday* 8th at *S. Pon*, a small place in the midst of a plain that reaches for several leagues, all adorn'd with country-houses belonging to the inhabitants of *Aix*. After dinner we went four leagues further, and came to *Marfeilles* two hours after night-fall. We lodg'd at the *deux Pommes*, or *two Apples*, in the street call'd *le Cours*. A league and half short of the city, the custom-house officers ask'd me whether I had any new commodities; and telling them I had some dozens of fans to make presents, one of 'em advis'd me, when I came to the next officers, which were half a league off, to enter all I had, that it might not be seiz'd: I did so, without paying any thing, nor did they ask any thing of me when I enter'd *Marfeilles*,

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GEMEL-but only four fols for opening the gate,  
 L.L. which was shut.

1699.

*Marfeilles* was built by the *Phenicians* on the shore of the *Mediterranean*, in the lat. of 42 deg. 40 min. and was very famous in former times for its schools, which vy'd with those of *Rhodes* and *Athens*. At present 'tis one of the most celebrated ports in the *Mediterranean*, tho' so shallow that it must often be cleans'd, to be capable of indifferent vessels: the compass of its walls is not above two *Italian* miles up and down: the houses are very good, and four or five stories high; the streets bad, that is, narrow, crooked, and dirty, except that call'd *le Cours*. Here, 'tis true, the houses are built uniform and proportionable; and there are orderly rows of trees for half a mile; the empty space in the middle, enclos'd with iron chains and benches made fast to keep out cattle, and make it fit for the men without molestation to take the cool air under the trees, and converse with the modest women. The port is defended by the castles of *S. John* and *S. Nicholas*, as also by four small redoubts upon as many little islands or rocks, half a league distant, the biggest of which is call'd *Coslaadin*, where the ships stay to keep their *Quarentine*, when they come from places suspected for infection.

*Thursday* 9th, I went to see the *Darsene*, where the galleys are built. 'Tis big enough to build as many as they please, there being long cover'd walks for making of cables, and two cover'd docks to build two galleys at once. That which they call *the king's Arsenal* is very stately, and has a noble pavilion in the middle for the officers of the galleys, and two docks to build two galleys, besides a vast number of magazines for timber, and an armoury, as they told me, for one hundred thousand men.

The cathedral stands near the sea, in the west part of the city; it has three isles, and the chapels are well contriv'd; but the bishop's palace, who is a suffragan of *Arles*, has nothing remarkable.

Thence I went to see the aforementioned castle of *S. John*, on the right hand without the gate. It has a platform with good guns level with the water, but the rest of it was ill provided, some having been restor'd from thence to the duke of *Savoy* upon the last peace. Being seated on a rock, two parts whereof are encompass'd by the sea, it has no ditch but only on the land side. About noon twenty galleys came in, returning from the east, and from *Naples*; and these added to twenty-one more that were in the port, were a pleasant sight. After dinner I went over in a boat to see the opposite castle of *S. Nicholas*, on a hill to

the left of the harbour. It has several good modern works, and at the foot of them a great platform rebuilt, with many pieces of cannon both above and below. Upon another higher hill is a great fort, call'd *Nostre dame de Garde*, which serves for a land-mark to ships at sea.

In my return home I pass'd by the town-house, which, towards the sea, has a good marble front, and good rooms within curiously painted.

Being desirous to see *Aix*, the metropolis of *Provence*, I hired two horses on *Monday* 10th, and rode thither after dinner, along a dirty stony way, yet pleasant by reason of the mountains about it, and the hills, which are well cultivated, and strew'd with abundance of houses of pleasure, belonging to the inhabitants of *Marfeilles* and *Aix*. I came thither late, having travel'd five leagues, and lay at *la Selle d'Or*, or the golden Saddle. This city is seated on a valley encompass'd with hills, and tho' it be the residence of a Parliament, a chamber of accounts, and a generality, yet its compass is not above two *Italian* miles, enclos'd with indifferent walls, without a ditch: the houses however are beautiful, and four or five stories high, like those of *Marfeilles*; the streets are wide, straight, and well pav'd, some of 'em in the form of a cross, like the *Cassero* at *Palermo*.

*Saturday* 11th, I saw the cathedral, which is of the invocation of *S. Saviour*, has three isles, and is dark, and little adorn'd, as is usual in that country: the archbishop's palace is large, but plain. I went to the new church of the *Jesuits*, which is small, which was that day blest'd by the archbishop, and there were present the four chief magistrates of the city, whom in *Provence* they call *Procureurs du Pays*; they wore a belt of black velvet, which the *French* call *Chapeiron*, across from the right shoulder hanging down under the left arm. These sat on benches, with cushions and carpets before them. The town-house is a very good one.

Thence I went to *la Place de Precbeurs*, to see the parliament. After mass, all the members of it came into the hall, where I saw the president sitting in a long and wide crimson garment turn'd up with ermines, like a royal robe. On the same bench sat six counsellors clad in long black gowns gather'd on the back, with a long train and wide sleeves; their caps were like those priests wear, with a great tassel in the middle. This robe is common to the *Procureurs* and *Advocates*; but the counsellors, tho' they may wear no other in parliament; yet in processions, and other publick solemnities, they wear a red one of the same make. A clerk, clad after the same manner,

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ner, read the petitions, but he wore a cap  
of crimson velvet laced with gold. This  
officer in French is call'd *Premier Huissier*.  
The *Procureurs* and *Advocates*, or pleaders,  
sat on benches below the others, and were  
allow'd to be cover'd. Thence I went to  
see the other five courts, one upon the same  
floor, and four above-stairs. The *Grand*

*Chambre* was best gilt and painted, and  
there was a chair in it for the king, when  
he should please to be present. In these  
courts are ten presidents, and about fifty-  
seven counsellors are sovereign judges of all  
the affairs of the province.

After dinner I return'd the same pleas-  
ant way, and got to *Marzeilles* betimes.

## CHAP. V.

*The author's voyage from Marzeilles to Genoa, and the description of  
that city.*

I WOULD willingly have gone to see  
the *Sainte Baume*, or the cave where  
*S. Mary Magdalen* is said to have liv'd  
thirty years; but thinking; every hour an  
age till I return'd into my native country,  
I made the necessary provision in haste, and  
on Sunday 12th set out for *Genoa* aboard a  
tartan. We sail'd out of the harbour an  
hour before sun-set, and coasting along the  
pleasant shore between the little islands,  
could not advance but two miles, because  
the wind was contrary, and anchor'd that  
night in a little bay. After midnight,  
the wind proving fair, we sail'd again;  
and on

Monday 13th, by break of day, pass'd  
by a village they call *la Citee*; and being  
five leagues from *Marzeilles*, sail'd in sight  
of the hill of *Sainte Baume*, where pilgrims  
are not allow'd to eat flesh. About sun-set  
we were off of *Toulon*, and could see the  
castle and several country-houses. We held  
on our way all night, and in the morning,  
on

Tuesday 14th, were opposite to the  
town of *Hyerres*, and then ran between the  
three islands of that name and the contin-  
ent. The wind falling then, we made  
but little way, but it came up again at  
sun-set, and we made good way till two in  
the morning, when, because it blew hard,  
we cast anchor near fort *S. Margaret*, to  
expect day. This fort stands in a small  
island on the coast of France, very fruitful  
in wine.

Wednesday 15th, when day appear'd, we  
set sail, coasting along in sight of *Antibes*,  
where there's a castle and garrison, and  
*S. Laurence*, where a river divides *Provence*  
from the dominions of *Savoy*. We pass'd  
so close to *Nizza* that we could plainly see  
it on the flat shore, enclos'd by a good  
wall; as also its fortrefs on the high and  
craggy rock, render'd impregnable by art  
and nature. We anchor'd, after running  
one hundred and eighty miles, at *Villa-  
franca*, where every vessel going to, or  
coming from, the west is to pay two in the

hundred. *Villafranca* is a small wall'd town  
at the foot of high mountains, without any  
harbour, but only an open road. 'Tis de-  
fended by a castle on the shore, and a fort  
built on the high mountain *Albano*, garri-  
son'd by the duke of *Savoy*.

After dining and paying the duties, we  
went aboard again, and hoisting sail, pass'd  
along before the little castle of *S. Spicio*,  
and the fort of *Oviezza*, seated on the top  
of a hill, and belonging to the same duke.  
We came two hours before sun-set to *Mo-  
naco*, where landing, I went up a steep way,  
about the middle whereof there's a guard to  
the town. Being come to the upper gate,  
I found another guard, a drawbridge, and  
ditch cut out of the rock. Here I enter'd  
thro' a great gate, to see the prince of *Mo-  
naco's* palace. The way to it is up two  
spacious marble stair-cases made semicircu-  
lar, which afterwards meet in a stately long  
gallery, that leads to the lodgings and  
apartments, which for their number, mag-  
nificence, and furniture, may serve several  
princes together.

*Monaco* is a very strong place, on a rock,  
the walls inaccessible on all sides, and with  
only one gate, up to which there's a very  
uneasy way, as was said before: 'tis small,  
and has only one monastery of nuns, of  
*S. Teresa*, because 'tis poor, and cannot  
maintain friars. There are abundance of  
heavy cannon, besides the small, all well  
mounted. The garrison consists of about  
nine hundred men, pay'd by the king of  
France. At *Monaco* they recover the duty  
of two in the hundred only of the ships that  
return from the west, whereas all pay at  
*Villafranca*.

Thursday 16th, we advanc'd betimes,  
having on our left hand, on a hill, the vil-  
lage of *Rocca oscura*, and others belonging  
to the same prince, for ten miles along a  
dry country; and then began to coast a-  
long the *Genoese* shore, which begins at the  
city *Ventimiglia*, yet all that night could not  
get beyond *S. Remo*, a country abounding  
in oranges, lemons, and olives.

The

GEMEL- The calm held all the night, so that on  
 L. I. Friday 17th, at break of day, we were  
 1699. opposite to the village *del Cervo*. The wind  
 coming up against us, we were forced to  
 lie tacking upon the delightful coast of *Ge-  
 noa*, where the industrious *Genoese* make the  
 barren soil produce fruit-trees. After noon  
 the wind prov'd favourable, and carried us  
 on a great way in sight of curious gardens.  
 Passing by the city of *Albenga*, we soon left  
*Final* behind, with its two castles, one on  
 the hill, and the other on the sea-shore,  
 where there was a *Spanish* garrison; and  
 then the city *Noli*, which is large, and has  
 high towers upon the houses of private ci-  
 tizens, and at last came early to *Savona*,  
 where we pass'd the night. This city tho'  
 final is wall'd, and has a suburb as big a-  
 gain as it, with as good houses; besides the  
 delightful country houses about it, with  
 fruitful gardens, though almost contrary to  
 nature. The churches of *Savona* are beau-  
 tiful enough, as well for their embellish-  
 ments in marble as for the structure it self  
 and painting; especially the *Duomo*. The  
 castle stands upon the shore, and has a tre-  
 ble enclosure, besides several outworks, and  
 a deep ditch out of the solid rock. The  
 harbour though small is safe, but of diffi-  
 cult entrance. Five miles from the city is  
 an image of our blessed lady, famous for  
 many miracles. The church belonging to  
 it, besides its priests and religious men,  
 maintains about seven hundred orphans of  
 both sexes. *Savona* is also famous for its  
 curious earthen ware, exceeding all that is  
 made in the state of *Genoa*. The bishops  
 of this city, of *Venimiglia* and *Albenga*,  
 have scarce a thousand crowns a year each,  
 because their dioceses are very small.

Having hir'd a *Filucca*, I set out from  
*Savona* on Saturday the 18th betimes, and  
 passing by the neighbouring town of *Ar-  
 tisola*, the delicious plain of *Arenzano*, *Co-  
 goletto* seventeen miles distant from *Genoa*,  
*Vultri*, and other handsome towns on the  
 shore, with excellent houses of pleasure, as  
 far as the vale and river of *Pellevra*, whose  
 mountains are nothing inferior to the de-  
 lightfullest parts of its banks, came at  
 length to *Genoa* before noon.

*Genoa* lies upon the *Mediterranean*, facing  
 the south, in the lat. 43 degr. 40 min. and  
 being seated on the side of a hill looks from  
 the sea a noble theatre. All the buildings  
 throughout its whole compass of four miles,  
 are adorn'd with excellent marble; nor will  
 those in time be inferior to them, which  
 the rich inhabitants will be daily erecting  
 in the compass of fifteen miles, the wall  
 newly built has enclos'd. The worst is,  
 that the streets are narrow and dark. The  
 port is above a mile in length, with a  
 light-house on the west end, and good for-

rifications, under whose protection there  
 are two docks, one for the galleys, the o-  
 ther for the wine boats. In 935 it was  
 burnt by the *Saracens*, and all the inhabi-  
 tants slain or made slaves, but was after-  
 wards rebuilt much more nobly. It is cal-  
 led the haughty, because the nobility are so  
 proud and intractable, having a great con-  
 ceit of themselves, though the little domi-  
 nion of their common-wealth does not ex-  
 tend to above one hundred and forty miles  
 in length along the shore from east to west,  
 and under twelve in breadth. Since the  
 scourge of the *French* bombardment in  
 1684, they have erected two platforms, and  
 planted good guns on them, to keep off  
 those thunderbolts, which can humble the  
 proudest hearts. The ladies are beautiful  
 and witty, but their short way of speaking  
 makes them ridiculous. The men are ex-  
 tremely frugal and inclin'd to trade, which  
 has gain'd them vast wealth.

The *Doge's* palace is one of the largest  
 and most beautiful structures in *Europe*; but  
 not so much beautify'd with marble as the  
 private houses of the nobility. A few steps  
 led up out of a great court into a noble  
 hall, without which are the two so famous  
 statues of *Andrew d'Orta* and *John Andrea*,  
 the deliverers of their country. Adjoining  
 to this hall there are many apartments,  
 with their particular courts, beautify'd  
 with marble pillars. Then going up two  
 high stair-cases are the upper lodgings, where  
 is the chamber of the great council, for  
 electing of the *Doge*, and by it the college  
 for matters of government, where the twenty  
 seven senators and agents (as they told  
 me) meet, clad in long gowns almost like  
 the *French* civil magistrates; but the a-  
 gents cannot vote in all publick affairs. In  
 the opposite side are the *Doge's* apartments,  
 big enough, not only for him, but for any  
 absolute prince.

Towards evening I went out of town, to  
 see prince *d'Orta's* palace, standing on the  
 shore. It is well worth seeing for its noble  
 structure, marble, fountains, gardens, and  
 rich furniture.

Sunday 19th, I heard mass in the church  
 of the *Dominicans*, which has three isles,  
 supported on pillars, and though large, is  
 not much beautify'd with marble, as is the  
 cloister.

*S. Ambrose*, belonging to the *Jesuits*, is  
 built after the model of their profess'd house  
 at *Naples*, all lin'd with curious marble  
 finely wrought with large pillars; but it is  
 not so large as that of *Naples*.

The *Duomo*, or *S. Laurence's* church, has  
 a lofty noble front of marble of several co-  
 lours; it is large, and has three isles form'd  
 by eight marble pillars, but not so well  
 beautify'd as is *S. Ambrose*.

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The palace of *Eugenio Durazzo* has a noble front, and eight good pillars within the court. A stately stair-case which parts in two, leads into spacious apartments, all curiously adorn'd with marble and painting. And it may be truly said that the palaces of private men in *Genoa* are royal.

The church of the barefoot *Carmelites*, where I went to vespers, consists of but one isle, and has a good tabernacle of rich marble and precious stones. The most remarkable thing is the chappel of the *Franzoni* on the left hand, all cas'd in pure black marble, and particularly four marble pillars, twelve half bodies of brass, and a large crucifix worth ten thousand crowns. On the right is the chappel of the *Durazzi*, beautiful, but not so rich.

Going thence I saw the college of *S. Jerome* of the *Jesuits*, not yet finish'd. However it is remarkable for the great quantity of marble pillars, that adorn the front, and support the two galleries, one above another; and I can affirm I counted eighty-four great marble pillars in the cloister only. The church is well set out, and the upper hall for publick disputations embellish'd with good pictures.

The theatre, where I saw a play acted, is small, with only four rows of boxes, and eighteen in each row. The price was half a crown a man.

Monday 20th, going to *S. Ciro* of the fathers *Theatins*, I saw a most beautiful church with three arch'd isles, supported by sixteen great pillars of white marble. There are twelve chappels, six on a side; and before them twenty four pillars, and as many on the altars, all of fine marble of several colours, besides other curious works on the same stone. The tabernacle is of great value, the choir beautiful, and the high altar much more, for four pillars of delicate black marble. The arch and *Cupula* is richly gilt and painted at a great expence. In short, no city in the world exceeds *Genoa* for ornament of churches, because of the admirable marble which is not to be brought a great way.

Going out at *S. Martha's* gate on Tuesday 21st, I went up the hill to see the *Albergo*, which is one of the most magnificent and pious works in the state of *Genoa*. Coming to this place, I perceiv'd, that the noble *Venetians*, as sparing as they are towards themselves whilst living, they are as bountiful to the church dying, of those goods they can no longer keep. This appears by the incredible and prodigious charge, the structure we now speak of must cost; because in order to finish it, besides the structure erected, they have been forced to level precipices, and cut the uneven rock smooth. Two spacious ways lead from the first gate

VOL. IV.

to a *Portico*; and thence two other nobler *GEMEL*. ways to the first floor, where there are four statues of the benefactors of the place, with inscriptions; besides as many more upon the stairs. The walls within the church are cover'd with choice marble, with eight statues standing upright, and a high altar with seven pillars, and an image of the blessed virgin, carv'd by a master. Before we come to the church, we see on the right hand several galleries and rooms, as also the garden of the honest women and maids; for the condemn'd and penitent women live apart above the church, that they may not delude the maids. The governor shewing me the apartments, told me there were in that place six hundred and fifty women. From behind the high altar and the first *Portico* there is a way up to several apartments, one of youths, another of old men, and another of children, where these work for several uses of the house, and all these apartments by reason of the height of the place stand one above another, like a scene of perspective on a stage, and it is a great pleasure to view it from the galleries. The whole is govern'd with wonderful order and economy, orphans and poor children being there maintain'd and educated; and portions given to marry young maids. At that time there were one thousand three hundred persons maintain'd there.

Next I went to see the great hospital, where about four hundred sick of both sexes are maintain'd, and carefully attended with much charity. In the first gallery there is nothing beautiful but its length and extent, and this leads to another equal to it in bigness, which is the women's infirmary, with three other apartments for persons of quality and young girls. At the entrance into the second gallery is a beautiful chappel, and two long arches making a cross, and another large one on the right hand of the chappel.

The senate being to meet, I went thither, and saw at the end of a spacious hall, a great ring, with twenty-eight seats about it, like the ring of the royal chamber at *Naples*. The *Doge's* chair was somewhat above the rest under a canopy. He was clad in scarlet, and the seven senators about him, had long gowns of black damask, caps like those priests wear, and about their necks old fashion'd ruffs or gorgets. When they had read a petition, they all gave their votes by way of ballot. This *Doge* is chosen from among the senators, and when he has govern'd two years, is dismiss'd by a person appointed for that purpose, in these words, *Your serenity has finish'd the time of your government. Your serenity must retire to your own house.*

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I heard



GEMEL- I heard mass in the church of *S. Matteo*, which is small, but has three isles form'd by eight pillars, and well adorn'd.

1699.

The parish church of *S. Luke*, though little and has but three altars, is beautiful for its marble inside. The bankers exchange and the merchants is great, but the structure nothing magnificent.

Wednesday 22d, I went to walk in prince d'Oria's garden, and took notice of a great fountain, over which is a *Neptune* drawn on a shell by three sea-horses, with several little boys sporting about. The palace is very spacious, and has a communication with the pear gardens by an iron bridge.

Hence I proceeded to see the *Pbaros* or light-house, in which at night they set up thirty-two lights, to direct the ships that come into the harbour. It is six hundred spans high, or four hundred and fifty foot, as the keeper told me, and a stair-case of three hundred and twelve steps, up which I could not get under half an hour. It is founded on a rock, and about it, as well as along the curtain, there are good pieces of cannon.

After dinner I went to our lady of the vineyards, a collegiate church with three isles, arch'd and sustain'd by twenty marble pillars. All the chappels are beautiful, with each of them two pillars and excellent paintings, but the high altar exceeds all the rest.

*S. Francis's* church belonging to the fathers of that order, is large, and has three isles divided by pillars. On the right side there are six good chappels, for those on the left are not yet finish'd.

Thursday 23d, I went to see our lady of the assumption, or of *Carignano*, a collegiate church, with twelve canons, an abbot and eighteen chaplains; founded by *Randinello Sauli*, and rais'd to its present grandeur by *Francis Maria Sauli Doge*. It is seated on a high mountain, which has a prospect of all *Genoa*, and the adjacent parts. The church is rais'd upon four solid pillars, which divide it into three isles. In the niches of the said pillars are four noble statues excellently cur'd. The eight chappels are well beautify'd with marble, as well as the high altar. A convenient stair-case made within the wall, leads up to the *Cupola* on the out-side, whence all *Genoa* is seen from three several galleries one above another.

Friday 24th, I went to see *S. George's* hill, where the greatest wealth of *Genoa* is. On the first floor is the custom-house, and above stairs on the right hand the ancient great chamber, with fifteen statues of noble *Genoese*, who have deserv'd well of their country, plac'd about the wall. The

new chamber, where sometimes the parties concern'd meet to the number of four hundred, is larger, and about its walls are sixteen statues of good marble, plac'd there in memory of good citizens. Through this chamber they go to that of the magistrates, which are eight senators, who decide all causes relating to the bank, and duties of the city, sitting on chairs cover'd with crimson damask.

Saturday 25th, I saw prince d'Oria's palace. It has a very curious marble front, and pleasant gardens on the files, and two galleries, each adorn'd with eight pillars. There are stairs that look majestick, which lead up to the court; and from the court another stair-case not inferior to the first, dividing it self into two branches goes to the lodgings above, of which it is better to say nothing than too little. The court is beautify'd with twenty great pillars, and and twenty-two more support the arches of the second floor.

At a small distance is the palace of *Brignole*, the lower arches whereof are supported by sixteen pillars, the stairs adorn'd with excellent statues, and the rooms richly furnish'd.

Sunday 26th, I heard mass at the *Annunciada* of the *Franciscans*, a fine church with three isles, divided by five pillars of fine marble on each side. The arches are well painted and richly gilded. The chappels on the left of the high altar are finish'd, and all fac'd with curious marble; the others on the right are not finish'd no more than the front of the church.

In the new street there are no houses inferior to those already mention'd. That of the marquis *Balbi*, which I saw Monday 27th, has twenty pillars on the first floor, going into the garden full of fountains, statues and other ornaments, as many more in the first galleries of the upper floor, and twelve in the second galleries. The furniture is vastly rich, as are the pictures and statues. This alone may prove as much as a thousand words, viz. That the only structure of the palace cost one hundred thousand pieces of gold. In this marquis's book of accounts, we saw in one leaf, the sum of five millions between debtor and creditor. The palace of *Charles Balbi* the marquis's kinsman, is nothing inferior to his.

Tuesday 28th, I saw the *Darsena* or place for the galleys and tartans of wine. The tartans are outwardmost, and further in five galleys of the republick, all of them shelter'd from any wind.

Wednesday 29th, my trunks being come by sea from *Cadiz*, I put them aboard a *Neapolitan Filucca* to be carry'd to *Naples*, being

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being resolv'd to go my self by land, be-  
cause of the ill weather which had lasted  
many days. Accordingly on *Thursday* 30th,

I hired a calash for *Milan*, and order'd my GEMEL-  
affairs so as to depart.

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## CHAP. VI.

*The author's journey from Genoa to Milan, and the description of  
that city.*

I SET out on *Saturday* the first of *Nov-  
ember*, and after several times crossing  
the river of *Pescevera*, and had enjoy'd the  
pleasure of the shore of *S. Peter de Arena*, I  
truck over barren mountains, and having  
travell'd twenty miles came at night to  
*Taglio*.

*Sunday* 2d, I went on to *Gavi*, a frontier  
town of the state of *Genoa*, and thence  
three miles to *Serravalle* in the state of *Mil-  
lan*. The town is very small, and has a  
castle on the top of the hill, with a small  
garrison and a few pieces of cannon. The  
country about is pleasant and well cultivat-  
ed. At night I return'd to *Gavi*.

*Monday* 3d, I bated at *Novi*, a wall'd  
town with a castle on a hill, and then pro-  
ceeding on my journey, at two miles end  
enter'd the state of *Milan*, and din'd at  
*Tortona*, fifteen miles from where I set out.  
This city is seated in a plain, and enclos'd  
with a low wall and ditch; has a castle on  
the hill with a good garrison; but the hou-  
ses are not handsome. Proceeding ten  
miles further I pass'd through *Voghera*, a  
good town, twice as big as *Tortona*, and  
four miles beyond it lay at the wretched inn  
of *Purana*.

*Wednesday* 4th, I set out betimes along  
a very dirty road, and after five miles rid-  
ding, ferry'd over the *Po*, and five miles  
further over the *Grevala*, and stay'd to dine  
at *Pavia*, crossing the *Tesin*, which waters  
it on a bridge.

*Pavia* is a strong place enclos'd with a  
broad wet ditch, and good outworks. The  
castle looks more like a palace than a for-  
tress, and within it is a good armory, re-  
stor'd by colonel, *D. Francis de Cordova*.  
The city is populous, rich and adorn'd  
with good palaces. It boasts of greater  
antiquity than *Milan*, and among others  
values it self upon holding out the memo-  
rable siege laid to it by *Francis I.* king of  
*France* in the year 1525. Its university is  
famous for having bred the famous *Civili-  
ans*, *Jafon*, *Balilus* and the most learned  
*Alciatus*. The monastery here of the *Car-  
thusians* is one of the most renowned in *Ita-  
ly*, and not without reason for the excellent  
picture in it. Riding ten miles after din-  
ner, I pass'd through *Binasco*, and came  
betimes to *Milan*.

The city of *Milan*, seated in 45 deg. of

latitude, is thought to have been built by  
the *Gauls* in the year 395, after the build-  
ing of *Rome*. It is above eight miles in  
compass, containing about two hundred  
thousand inhabitants, including the suburbs.  
This place is famous for four things, which  
are; the multitude of people; the magni-  
ficence of its *Duomo* or cathedral, which is  
never without workmen about it; its im-  
pregnable castle; and the famous library,  
call'd *Ambrosiana*, given by the cardinal  
*Frederick Borromeo*, archbishop of *Milan*,  
and containing at least thirty thousand vo-  
lumes. By reason of the conveniency of  
its situation, it has deserv'd from its founda-  
tion to be the residence of princes and  
emperors; *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Con-  
stantinus*, *Maximian*, *Constantine*, and o-  
thers having liv'd here for a considerable  
time. When the power of the *Roman* em-  
pire declin'd, it suffer'd together with all  
*Lombardy*, or the *Cisalpine Gaul*, under the  
cruelty of the *Goths* and *Longobards*; who  
being subdu'd by *Charlemagne*, it remain'd  
under the jurisdiction of the western empe-  
rors till 1162, when the emperor *Frede-  
rick* laid it level with the ground, and sow'd  
it with salt. Being afterwards restor'd to its  
former splendor, it continu'd as a fief of  
the empire under several princes. Lastly,  
the *Sforzas* being expell'd by the *French*,  
and these overthrown at the siege of *Pavia*  
by *Charles* the fifth's generals, king *Fran-  
cis* the first being made prisoner; that same  
emperor gave the investiture of the state to  
his son *Philip* the second, king of *Spain*, un-  
der whose successors it still continues.

*Wednesday* 5th, I went to see the castle.  
The way into it is over two bridges, and  
through three gates, which led to a very  
spacious place of arms. Thence passing  
through another gate, between the two  
strong houses of the dukes of *Milan*, there  
is a court, with a chappel in it, and the  
governor's house; that is, the strong house  
on the right hand of the gate, whose win-  
dows look upon the place of arms; for  
that on the left is taken up with the am-  
munition, armory and hospital, and its  
windows look towards the wall. I was told  
these two houses had been built there de-  
signedly, that the two dukes, who then  
were no good friends, might not so much  
as look at one another. This castle has  
fix

GEMEL- fix bastions, with twelve pieces of cannon  
LI. upon each of 'em, and six half-moons, and  
1699. a wide deep ditch. At the entrance there  
were two high towers with brick-walls about  
thirty spans thick, and cas'd with hard  
stone diamond-cut. On these and the walls  
of the curtains there are vast heavy pieces  
of cannon. This castle is generally look'd  
upon as the best, the greatest, and safest o.  
all the fortresses in Europe; and its armory,  
tho' at present not so full, is reputed  
sufficient to arm all Italy. They say 'twas  
built by Galeazzo Visconte, the second duke  
of that name, and afterwards improv'd by  
the emperor Charles V. It stands on the  
west side of Milan, and its liberty extends  
half about within the city, in which pre-  
cincts no officer can apprehend malefactors  
without the constable of the castle's leave.

At night I saw a very wretched play acted at the theatre in the governor's palace, which has an hundred boxes in four ranks.

Thursday 6th, I went with D. Ferdinand Valdes, constable of the castle, to see the ceremony of the king's birth-day, at the palace, and prince Vandemon's furniture. Having pass'd the hall and antichamber, we came into another hung with damask with gold fringes, and adorn'd with looking-glasses in silver frames, and other things of crystal. The next room was hung with crimson velvet, the edges embroider'd with gold, and there was a state-bed like a pavillion, embroider'd about with gold, and adorn'd with curious eagles on the top: nothing, in short, could be richer, or more stately, tho' it had been set with jewels. In the same room there were several tables cover'd with silver, and looking-glasses with frames of the same metal. When the hour of the ceremony was come, the constable order'd a gentleman to carry me in his coach to the collegiate church call'd *la Scala*, whither he was to come with the governor. Being at the church, I saw the prince come in a coach and eight horses, follow'd by two other coaches and eight horses, and one with six for his retinue. The *Præpositus* and canons went out to meet him at the door with holy water, then accompanied him to the high altar, he being carried in an open chair because he was gouty. All the officers, civil and military, were present, with the prince's courtiers richly clad; the footmen and Swiss guards were also new clad, some in velvet, and some in green cloth laced with gold. The governor took his seat, as absolute princes do, on a chair at the right side of the altar, within a damask curtain, above the choir; the *Præpositus* sat over against him, three steps lifted up above the floor, and said mass in *Pontificalibus*. There were ten other velvet

chairs, with cushions of the same, and desks to kneel at, cover'd with cloth, where sat first the constable of the castle, colonel Cordova; next D. Ferdinand Valdez; the marquis de Burgomayne, general of the forces, and grandee of Spain; the great chancellor, and other officers civil and military. The governor was incens'd, and had the gospel and Pax brought him to kiss; the others were only incens'd, and had the Pax. Then the *Te Deum* being sung, all the guns were fired.

I return'd in the same coach to the palace, and going in at the great gate (for before I enter'd at that of the theatre) saw other apartments richly hung with damask and tapestry. The prince governor retiring into the further chamber, dismiss'd the company with much more affability than is us'd in other places. I return'd thence with the constable to the castle, where the rooms were richly furnish'd, with curious tapestry, silver ingeniously wrought, scrutores, and pictures of the best masters of past ages. He led me into a room within the gallery, where formerly the clock stood, and that look'd into the parade; 'twas very light-some, hung with rich damask, and set out with other costly furniture. Here a table was cover'd, about which nine men and a lady being seated, many noble dishes were serv'd in. After dinner, the constable, because he could not go himself, appointed D. Francis Ramirez, commissary-general of horse, to conduct me to court, to see the solemnity: being come into the antichamber, we waited a long time among several officers civil and military, and when the ladies were come, the prince was drawn out in a chair upon wheels, and stopping in the antichamber, said, *Come in gentlemen*; a piece of civility I never saw any man in his post perform. We went with him into a room hung with damask, where the ladies were sitting in rows, and at the upper end the prince's governess, on another sort of chair. The prince went on as far as the bed before mention'd, and there discours'd with other ladies, and they all present, being now and then treated with variety of sweet-meats. An hour after, we all went to the boxes in the theatre, and there heard a consort of fifty instruments placed on the stage, and before it in a semicircle, and then a composition sung by four voices, call'd *The security of Piety*; which was so far from answering the sweetness of the instruments, that it made every one wish it at an end. In the mean while there was a noble collation of all sorts distributed. I was carried home late at night by the commissary.

Saturday 8th, I went to see the great hospital, founded by the dukes of Milan, and

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*Valdez*; the mar-  
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Hospital, and may be said to be one of the best in  
*Italy*. It has a stately front outwards, and  
within a great square court, with double  
rows of pillars, which support both the upper  
and lower arches; and, both above and  
below, there are many galleries for the sick,  
who were then about eight hundred, well  
attended; not to speak of several stores,  
and apartments for the dwelling of those  
who serve the sick. They told me, the  
revenue of this hospital was above one hun-  
dred and fifty thousand *Philippines*. Half  
a mile from the city, without the *Roman*  
gate, they were making a burial-place for  
those that died in the hospital; and the  
work is so great, that they had already laid  
out two hundred thousand *Philippines* up-  
on it.

*Lazaretto*. Sunday 9th, I saw the *Lazaretto*, for peo-  
ple infected with the plague, which is ano-  
ther great square structure, two good mus-  
quet-shot in length, with above three hun-  
dred rooms about it. In the middle of it is  
a garden, let for two thousand *Philippines* a  
year.

Monday 10th, in the evenings, *Peter Paul*  
*Caravaggio*, professor of mathematicks, car-  
ried me out in his coach to see the city.  
After some time being drove about, we  
went to the exchange, and to the free-  
schools, which, they say, were founded by  
the *Longobard* queen; and there he shew'd  
me the chair on which *St. Augustin* taught.  
Opposite to it, we went into the college of  
the noble *Milanese* doctors, which is an ex-  
cellent structure, founded by a pope of the  
house of *Medicis*. None but persons of  
birth are admitted into that college, and to  
them is refer'd the first hearing of civil cau-  
ses by superior courts.

Tuesday 11th, the governor, archbishop,

and officers civil and military, went to hear *GEMEL-*  
mas and sermon at the *Duomo* or cathedral,  
that being the last of the nine days devo-  
tion to *S. Charles*. The governor sat with-  
in a curtain, on the left hand of the altar  
within the rail, and the prince in a fort of  
pew. The officers had not chairs, as in the  
royal chapel, but benches cover'd with da-  
mask, and cushions to kneel on. The ser-  
mon and musick were very good. This  
church being two hundred cubits long, and  
one hundred thirty in breadth, is counted  
the eighth wonder of the world for its large-  
ness, curious marble, excellent statues, and  
other rich ornaments; tho' it is not yet  
quite finish'd, after so many years, nor any  
hopes that it will be soon compleated, not-  
withstanding the great revenue left for its  
fabrick. It has five isles, divided by well-  
wrought marble pillars, which hold up the  
high arches, and which together with those  
of the high altar, are in all seventy. All  
the structure, both within and without, up  
to the very roof, is adorn'd with excellent  
statues of half-lengths, and other choice  
carving in marble. By this you may judge  
what the altars and chapels are, especially  
the high altar, on which there's a rich sil-  
ver tabernacle. The churches in *Milan* are  
generally well serv'd, notwithstanding their  
great number; for they told me there were  
eleven collegiate churches, seventy-one pa-  
rishes, and seventy-four monasteries of  
monks, friars, and nuns, besides hospi-  
tals.

In the evening, going down into the  
lower church of the cathedral, I paid my  
devotion to the body of *S. Charles*, kept in  
a crystal shrine with a silver frame, within  
another of silver and gilt bras; 'twas rich-  
ly embellish'd with gold within.

CHAP. VII.

The author's journey from Milan to Bologna.

WEDNESDAY 12th, I set out  
in a coach for *Bologna*, paying a  
pistole for my place; and having  
gone ten miles, much snow falling, dined  
at the castle of *Melegnano*, and lay ten miles  
further at *Lodi*, a bishoprick, on the river  
*Alda*, defended by a good castle.

*Lodi*.

Thursday 13th, I went ten miles thro' a  
well-cultivated country and dirty way to  
*Casale*, where I dined; and then riding ten  
miles further, came to *Piacenza*, ferrying  
over the *Po* hard by it.

*Piacenza*. *Piacenza* is seated on a plain, and is  
about five miles in compass: the houses and  
streets are very good, but ill inhabited. In  
the great market-place there are two bras

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statues on horseback, of excellent workman-  
ship, the one of *Alexander Farnesius*, t'other  
of his son *Ranuccio*.

Friday 14th, in the morning I went to  
see the palace where the duke of *Parma* re-  
sides when he comes to this city. 'Tis  
magnificent, both for structure and furni-  
ture; and particularly, in the prince's ap-  
artment, there are four rooms hung with  
wrought satin, and the last with cloth of  
gold, with an extraordinary rich bed. The  
lower floor is hung with rich tapestry, and  
the theatre by it is as good as can be wish'd.  
The cathedral has three isles, with hand-  
some altars.

7 E

I set

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1699. I set out late from *Piacenza*, and having travel'd fifteen miles along a well-pav'd road, between pleasant fields well cultivated, lay at the inn of *Grattarolo*, there being no fording the river *Stiron*, because it was swollen with the rain fallen the night before.

We set out betimes upon *Saturday* 15th, pass'd thro' the city *Borgo*, and, having gone fifteen miles, at the river *Taro* met such a number of coaches and calashes, that I was forced to wait four hours to get over the two branches of that river, tho' there were two boats, which had a *Roman Tefone* for every one they ferry'd over. Riding five miles farther, we came late to *Parma*, where we should not have got in, had not the duke, having been himself at the river, order'd, out of his own goodness, that the gate should be open'd.

*Parma*. *Parma* is in the latitude of 44 deg. 20 min. on a plain, upon the *Via Flaminia*; and they will have it to be in such an excellent air, that some of its citizens have liv'd to one hundred and twenty, and even to one hundred and thirty years of age. Its buildings are magnificent, the churches well adorn'd, and the streets wide, especially that call'd *del Verze*. The compass of it is about four miles, and the river *Parma* runs thro' the middle of it, whence it takes its name. The duke's palace is large, and fit to entertain several princes, and has good apartments embellish'd with excellent pictures, and all sorts of rich household-stuff.

*Sunday* 16th, I heard mass in the cathedral, which has three isles divided by tall pillars, but without much ornament. The college is one of the finest structures that can be seen, both within and without, being all painted like the palaces opposite to it. There are rooms enough for two hundred and sixty collegians of good birth, and for the professors, officers, and servants. There are also two theatres, a little and a great one, well painted, as is the great hall for gentleman-like exercises. The publick theatre is not very magnificent, nor any of the best in *Italy*, being small, and having only five rows of seats.

We set out from *Parma*, and at five miles end passing over a bridge, where every traveller pays ten pence, enter'd the dukedom of *Modena*; and riding ten miles thro' it, among well-cultivated fields, diversify'd with houses of pleasure, came to *Reggio*. This city was built on the *Via Emilia* by *Lepidus* the *Triumvir*, who resided in it a long time. 'Tis famous for its great fair, for its good churches and streets, and for the palaces that embellish'd it, and, among the rest, that of *Prospero Scarusio*, before which there are two most excellent statues,

of *Hercules* and *Lepidus*, fit to be placed in any royal gallery. The church of our lady of *Reggio*, call'd of the *Fathers servants*, before which the afore-mention'd fair is kept, has three isles, of good structure, with most beautiful altars, especially that of the blessed Virgin, which has curious work in marble, and is adorn'd with silver.

*Monday* 17th, having travel'd nine miles, we were stopp'd by the river *Secchio*, swollen by the rain that fell in the night, so that we were forced to stay till the boat could be got ready, and paid two *Giulios* a man for our passage. Then travelling six miles further, we came in good time to *Modena*. This city is seated in 44 deg. of latitude, on the *Via Emilia*, which ran from *Rimini* to *Piacenza*; the country is marshy, having the river *Panaro* on the east, and *Secchio* on the west. 'Tis the residence of the princes of the house of *Este*, under whose auspicious government it enjoys that peace it formerly, and after death of *Cesar*, wanted a long time, thro' the ambition of private *Romans*. 'Tis enclos'd with a good wall, and defended by a great fort, built after the modern manner. Its compass is between three and four miles; but there's nothing remarkable in its houses or narrow streets, unless it be abundance of dirt. In the middle of it is a very high tower made of coarse marble, which is an argument of the antiquity of the place. Nothing is yet finish'd of the ducal palace but the left side, and yet it looks great: the entrance is under a high tower, into a court set about with large pillars; and passing thence into a less, there appears a spacious stair-case, adorn'd from top to bottom, with good marble pillars, which leads to a great hall before the duke's apartment.

*Tuesday* 18th, setting out betimes, at three miles end I ferry'd over the river *Panaro*, paying a *Giulio*; and three miles further enter'd upon the territory of *Bologna*, coming to *Castel Franco*, a town consisting of one long street, with good shops; but there is by it a good fort, with a garrison of the pope's. Then going four miles further, I dined at the inn of *Samoggia*, where the post is; and ten miles from thence, thro' a cultivated country full of pretty country-houses, came betimes to *Bologna*, and lay at the pilgrims inn. Meeting here with the messenger of *Florence*, who was to set out the next morning, I resolv'd to go with him.

*Bologna* is seated in 44 degrees of latitude, *Bologna* and on the *Via Emilia* as well as *Modena*. 'Tis a city of great antiquity, ennobled by the archiepiscopal dignity, and residence of the legate apostolick; famous for its universality, beauty, bigness, wealth, delightful-

Florence.



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ness, and number of inhabitants, which  
amounts to eighty thousand. The build-  
ings are of the best in *Italy*, all adorn'd with  
noble porticoes, thro' which the people may  
always walk under shelter. The tower,

call'd *Degli Asinelli*, is very wonderful, as *GEMEL-*  
well for its crooked structure as extraordi-  
nary height. I pass by the rest in silence, *LI.*  
having said enough in the first volume of *1699.*  
my travels in *Europe*.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The author's journey from Bologna to Florence, and the description  
of that city.*

I Set out betimes on *Wednesday* 19, with  
the messenger, and after riding sixteen  
miles among the *Apennine* mountains,  
whose steepness do not hinder the country  
people from sowing a great deal of corn up-  
on 'em, we staid to dine at *Lujano*; then  
continuing our journey with a violent cold  
wind that had like several times to unhors-  
me, enter'd upon the dominions of the great  
duke, divided from the pope's by a rivu-  
let near the village of *Filicaja*. We shew'd  
our certificate of health, which must of ne-  
cessity be brought from *Bologna* at *Pietra-*  
*mala*, and at last came to *Firenze*, after  
fourteen miles riding.

*Thursday* 20th, we set out two hours be-  
fore day, the wind blowing violent hard  
and cold, and with great trouble mounted  
the six miles to the top of the high moun-  
tain *Giogo*, which to me seem'd like *Aolus's*  
court; all which way, at small distances,  
there are small houses of country people,  
who lead a wild sort of life. Then we  
went down six miles again, to *S. Peter à*  
*Seve*, a village defended by a fort, and  
stay'd to dine at the inn of the bridge,  
where we had good entertainment. Hence  
we rode six miles of good way, all the road  
from *Bologna* to *Florence* being pay'd: then  
ascending a mile, and going down five, we  
came to the gate of *Florence*, where my  
trunks were narrowly search'd, and my  
arms secur'd, before I pay'd the *Giulio* for  
entrance.

*Florence* is so beautiful, pleasant, and well  
built, that, in the opinion of so great a  
prince as *Charles* the fifth, it ought to be  
shew'd only upon holy-days; for it ex-  
ceeds the noblest cities of *Italy* in spacious  
streets, magnificent palaces, ornament of  
stately churches, magnificence of publick  
structures, squares, fountains, and excellent  
statues. 'Tis seated in 43 deg. 20 min.  
latitude, in a plain encompass'd with moun-  
tains, and is said to have been founded by  
*Sylla's* soldiers in the year 645, after the  
building of *Rome*. The *Triumvirs* made  
it a colony; and, after the declining of the  
empire, and rise of the *Longobards*, be-  
coming an imperial free city, it so con-  
tinued till 1530, when 'twas forced to sub-

mit to the power of *Charles* the fifth, who  
created *Alexander de Medicis* first duke of  
*Florence*. Its compass at present is about  
five miles, well wall'd, with a ditch about,  
and a strong castle, and inhabited by near  
one hundred thousand souls.

*Friday* 21st, I saw the collegiate church *S. Lau-*  
of *St. Laurence*, divided by fourteen pil-  
lars into three isles. Here is the ducal  
chapel, founded by *Ferdinand* the third, of  
whose magnificence and structure 'tis better  
to be silent than say too little. Of six  
tombs only that are to be placed in it, on-  
ly four have been finish'd in ninety years,  
so curious and artificially are the precious  
oriental stones wrought whereof they are  
made; by which a man may judge of the  
rest of the chapel. There is another, in  
which all the subjects of the Family are  
buried; and in it are six statues, made by  
the divine hand of *Michelagnolo Buonarota*,  
and three of his best scholars.

The cathedral is adorn'd on the outside Cathedral,  
with a curious front of marble of several  
colours, and a square tower of a prodigious  
height; within 'tis divided into three isles  
by four pillars cased with marble. All  
about it there are excellent statues, but the  
best are an *Adam* and *Eve*, one of our Sa-  
viour, and of God the Father; the work of  
*Baccio Bandinelli*, a *Florentine*, placed in the  
choir, and on the high altar. This choir is  
an *Octagon*, beset with small pillars, and  
other curious works in marble.

Opposite to this, is the church of *St. John*, *S. John's*  
built round in the form of a *Cupula*, with church.  
three brass gates of admirable workman-  
ship, over which there are nine statues, three  
over each, six of brass, and three of mar-  
ble, all incomparably fine. In this church  
are the tombs of some *Florentine* popes, and  
excellent statues.

Going home I pass'd through the new  
market, where the gentry us'd to walk un-  
der a noble gallery supported by twenty  
marble pillars.

After dinner I went to the great *Piazza*  
or great square, to see the statue of *Cosmus*  
de *Medicis* on horseback, all of brass, ex-  
quisitely wrought; and then the giant's  
fountain, with twelve brass statues about it,  
and

GEMEL- and one in the middle of an excessive big-  
 LI. nefs. Before the gate of the old palace,  
 1699. which was the house of the common affem-  
 blies of the commonwealth of *Florence*, are  
 two great statues; one of them being a  
 great master-piece, is said to be *Hercules*.  
 Within it is a court with nine pillars that  
 support a vast high tower. In the room  
 above are sixteen good marble statues, and  
 six great pieces, on which the conquests of  
*Siena*, *Pisa*, and other cities of the state is  
 painted by an able master. Opposite to this  
 palace is another, where the great duke's  
 guards live; and in its *Portico* there are two  
 curious brass statues, and one of marble.

G. duke's T'ho' I had once before seen the great  
 gallery. duke's gallery, yet I would go again a third  
 time. This is compos'd of rows of no  
 way contemptible building upon the river  
*Arno*, which runs through the midst of the  
 city; in one of which the duke's artificers  
 work, and he keep his armory; and in the  
 other his rarities are kept; both of them  
 are set off with long rows of excellent brass  
 and marble statues. In the first room are  
 the pictures of the most celebrated painters,  
 drawn by their own hands; in the next, se-  
 veral vessels of the finest *China* ware, plac'd  
 in excellent order; and in the middle, a ta-  
 ble made of touchstone, with most curious  
 workmanship of flowers, birds, and the like,  
 of other sorts of stones inlaid. In a place  
 on the left hand coming from the great  
 square, they shew thirteen cupboards full  
 of plate curiously wrought; one of gold  
 plates, dishes, and other vessels; another  
 with gold and silver *Antependiums*, made by  
*Cosimo de Medici* in pursuance of a vow, set-  
 ting in them diamonds, rubies, and other  
 precious stones. In another there are several  
 horse-furnitures, all cover'd with precious  
 stones; in such another, a chair adorn'd  
 with jewels, on which the great duke sits  
 in publick upon *S. John's* day, to receive  
 homage of his subjects; and in the rest,  
 vessels of gold and silver of incomperable  
 workmanship, and other rarities of inesti-  
 mable value. In another room they shew'd  
 me a tabernacle and antependium, enrich'd  
 to admiration with oriental pearls, for the  
 service of the chapel before-mention'd.  
 In another room there were abundance of  
 antiquities in brass, and rarities brought  
 from the *Indies*. A pillar and a table of  
 very transparent alabaster; a lamp of am-  
 ber presented by the duke of *Saxony*; a pic-  
 ture in *Mosaic* work, and other things of  
 great value.

Near this room is the armory divided  
 into four parts: In the first, there is armour  
 and weapons defensive; in the two next,  
 fire-arms and others of extraordinary work-  
 manship, and the skeleton of a mare stand-  
 ing, whose hair of the main and tail are

shewn, being four yards long. In the last,  
 there are horse-furnitures and *Turkish* arms  
 wrought with gold, silver and precious  
 stones.

In the great room is the so famous statue  
 of *Venus*, call'd of the *Medici*, made in  
*Greece*, as is supposed two thousand three-  
 hundred years since, with five other excel-  
 lent statues. Besides this, a cabinet set  
 with precious stones; a night-piece drawn  
 by a *Dutch-man*, in which is painted a wo-  
 man with a candle in her hand, which gives  
 it such a light that it is wonderful; another  
 piece of *Mosaic* work made not long since  
 by a *Frenchman*; a large head made of one  
 only *Turkey* stone; and abundance of other  
 things worth observing, which I omit for  
 brevity sake; besides the shape of the great  
 duke's prodigious diamond weighing five  
 hundred fifty two grains.

Going into the other room, I saw most  
 excellent pictures; a table of *Lapis Lazuli*,  
 ingeniously inlaid with other stones; a ca-  
 binet made in *Germany*, with wonderful  
 painting on *Lapis Lazuli*, representing all  
 the history of the Old and New Testament,  
 and within it is kept great curiosities in wax,  
 and white and yellow amber.

In one of the other two rooms, there are  
 pictures of great value, and a cabinet made  
 of east country-wood; a small table of jas-  
 per stone, with several precious stones set in  
 it; and several embroider'd chairs brought  
 from *Persia*. In the other, there are maps,  
 spheres, and other mathematical instru-  
 ments; and an extraordinary loadstone,  
 and a great piece of *Lignum Aloe*. The  
 east country stones design'd to be curiously  
 wrought, are below in a great room, where  
 are also the skins of elephants, and other  
 strange creatures.

Saturday 22d, I went over a stone-bridge Palace  
 to see the great duke's palace, seated on the  
 farther bank of the river *Arno*. In the  
 court is a stately fountain; up the stairs on  
 the right hand, are the princesses lodgings,  
 with curious statues at the entrance: On the  
 left the great duke's, with statues also, in  
 whose second room there is a way on the  
 one side to his own apartment, hung with  
 crimson velvet, fringed with gold; and on  
 the other, to the prince's, hung with tapestry.  
 Then I went to the garden, which is very  
 large, and on the left hand found delight-  
 ful fountains, a plat of myrtle curiously cut,  
 and a park with a great statue of the god-  
 dess *Ceres* in the middle. On the right hand  
 there were copses, and at the foot of the  
 hill a fountain call'd *The Island*, in which  
 there are excellent statues, and close by  
 rooms with several beasts, and birds shut  
 up in them.

Hence I went to the church of *S. Michael*,  
 which is a square building very strong  
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and high, all of marble. Within it there are fourteen excellent statues, some of brais, and some of stone, and four altars curiously adorn'd. Returning home I met with a *Florentin*, who had but one finger in each hand, and told me he had two brothers born with the same imperfection, and one of them had but two toes on each foot.

*Sunday* 23d, I saw the great duke's celebrated library, preserv'd in a monastery of *S. Laurence*. Over the gate appears a noble front, made by the direction of the re-

nowned statuary *Buonarota*. The chief va-  
lue of the library consists in above three  
thousand manuscripts in several languages; 1699.  
and among the rest they told me, there was a *Hebrew* bible, for which the *Jews* would have given the great duke seventy thousand crowns, he having taken it from them. This precious treasure of manuscripts was gather'd by pope *Clement* the seventh of the house of *Medici's*, he having the good fortune to get very many belonging to the library of *Constantinople*.

## CHAP. IX.

## The author's journey from Florence to Rome.

**H**AVING hir'd a calash to *Rome* for twelve *Pic'eres*, I went along with the messenger, who let out on *Sunday* 23d before noon; we travell'd along hills and mountains naturally barren, but made fruitful by the industry of the *Florentines*, who make use of all excrements to improve the ground. Being pass'd the castle of *Barberino*, where the lords *Barberins* of *Rome* have a farm in memory of their original, and making our whole day's journey twenty one miles, we lay at *Poggibonzi*, a wall'd town.

He set out on *Monday* 24th, five hours before day, and riding fourteen miles, came by break of day to *Siena*. This ancient city is longer than it is broad, seated on an ascent, the buildings few but good, the third part of it being full of orchards and vineyards. It is inhabited by a conspicuous nobility, which in all times has produced cardinals, and sometimes popes. The cathedral is cover'd both inside and outside with black and white marble, besides many statues and carv'd work. From the gate appear three beautiful and spacious isles, divided by above thirty pillars, cas'd in black and white marble. The pulpit is held up by twelve columns, and all curiously carv'd about in figures, nothing inferior to the curious statues about the church. The font is in the fine chapel of *S. John Baptist*. Adjoining to the church, opposite to it, are the princes and archbishop's palaces; and in the great square, that of the senate, with a tower of a great height, and a handsome fountain. We travell'd eighteen miles after dinner, through a well cultivated country, tho' not plain, where we met extraordinary beautiful country women, with great straw-hoods on their heads. This night we lay at the castle of *Turrineri*, and the inn which is the post-house.

*Tuesday* 25th, going out two hours before day, we did nothing but go up and down hills with rain and fog, and at the end of

eighteen miles came to the inn of *Radicosani*, so call'd of the village of that name. The rain continuing, we went down that high mountain for six miles to the valley and river of *Riego*, which we cross'd eight times, and not without danger, by reason of the flood. A little further ends the territory of the great duke at the river *Centino*, whence we went to lye at *Aquapendente*, the first city of the patrimony of the church, fourteen miles from *Radicosani*.

*Wednesday* 26th, after nine miles riding we din'd at the town of *Bolsena*, not being able to go farther, because of the cold and snow that fell. This place is on the bank of a great lake, in which there are two islands. Then passing through the city of *Montefiascone*, at the end of eighteen miles more, we lay at the city *Viterbo*, which is three miles in compass.

*Thursday* 27th, we first went five miles up a frozen mountain, and at the end of as many more came shivering to dine at *Ronciiglione*, a good town, seated on the cliffs of a mountain. Then we advanc'd fifteen miles, and lay at the inn of *Baccareo*, a bad place for strangers.

*Friday* 28th, riding fifteen miles, we came to *Rome*.

*Rome*, the queen of cities and head of *Rome*, the world, is seated in *Latium* in 41 deg. 40 min. latitude; tho' the *Vatican* suburb is in *Tuscany*, and is water'd by the *Tiber*, which comes in at the north end and runs out at the south towards *Ostia*. It is suppos'd to have been founded, and so call'd by *Numulus*, the son of *Rhea Silvia*, descended from *Eneas* about the end of the sixth olympiad, seven hundred and fifty three years before the birth of Christ. *Romulus* at first wall'd in only the *Palatine* hill; then that of the *Capitol* was added, and in following ages it grew to that bigness, that in the reign of the emperor *Aurelianus* it was about thirteen miles in compass. *Augustus* divided it into fourteen re-

GEMEL-gions, or wards. But why do I take upon me to speak of *Rome*, which by its actions has rendred it self glorious and immortal throughout the world, infomuch that he scarce deserves the name of man, who has not some knowledge of its posterity and adversity. It will suffice to say, that tho' it is not in its ancient splendor, yet the very ruins testify what it has been; and the modern structures are not so mean, but that they render it preferable to any other the most famous city. For, where can there be found such magnificent churches, such sumptuous palaces, such noble streets, such

delightful gardens, and such pleasant fountains? Not to speak of the wonderful painting and carving. The court may be call'd the mistress of others in *Europe*, and is the best theatre, on which that, the multitudinous fortune, acts her part, and shews her vicissitude. I will speak all its glory in a word: It is the seat of the true and lawful successor of *S. Peter*; that is, the head of the world, no less than it was in passages; for it is not to be accounted a less honour, but rather much greater, to rule the spiritual and nobler part of man, than to subdue their bodies by force of arms.

## CHAP. X.

*The voyage round the world concluded at Naples; with some account of that city.*

**S**aturday 29th, I set out betimes, and travelling twenty miles lay at *Velletri*, a longish open city, seated on a mountain. The houses and streets are convenient enough, and the fountain in the market-place, with the pope's statue in brass, is very beautiful.

Sunday 30th, we paid a *Giulio* at the gate for each trunk; and riding fourteen miles, staid to dine at *Sermoneta*, a town belonging to the duke of that name, seated on the top of a hill, where we were forced to pay toll again. Then we rode thirteen miles on a bad way, and came to lodge at *Piperno*, a town ill wall'd, on the sides of a hill, which in former ages made war upon *Rome*.

Monday the first of *December*, having travell'd fifteen miles, we din'd at *Terracina*, the last city of the pope's dominions, enclos'd with an old wall, and seated on the side of a hill. Going ten miles farther, we lodg'd that night in the city of *Fondi* in the kingdom of *Naples*. It is famous for being the place of the birth of pope *Soter*, for being ruin'd by *Barbarossa* in 1534, and for its antiquity; for in the year 421, after the foundation of *Rome*, it was in amity with the *Romans*. It is reported, that *Clement* the seventh, the anti-pope, resided here sometime in the reign of queen *Joanna* the second.

Setting out early on *Tuesday* the second, we came before noon to *Mola di Gaeta*, known formerly by the name of *Formia*. After dinner we ferry'd over the river *Garigliano*, and having rode eighteen miles, lay at *S. Agata di Sessa*. Short of the river are the ruins of a very ancient theatre, and other structures, ruin'd by age; and at a small distance a very long *Aqueduct*, perhaps belonging to the ancient *Minerva*.

Capua.

Wednesday 3d, we set forwards four hours

before day by torch-light; and came to dine at the city *Capua*, near the river *Vulturnus*, whose banks are join'd by a fine stone-bridge. This city is enclos'd with a good wall, and defended by a castle. Some think it was founded by *Capis Silvius*, king of *Alba*, and others of the *Oscans*, by whom it was call'd *Osca*. It was detected and reduced to servitude by the *Romans*, for having entertain'd *Hannibal*, who was debauch'd by its pleasures, and then came to be a colony, tho' it had before vy'd with *Carthage* and *Rome* it self. It was destroy'd by *Gensericus* king of the *Vandals*, rebuilt by *Narses*, and again subverted by the *Longobards*. At present it stands on the ground, where the ancient *Capilinum* is reported to have stood, and the ruins of the old one are to be seen two miles to the northward on the hill call'd *Tifata*. Riding eight miles after dinner through delicious plains, we came to *Aversa* (thought to be built out of the ruins of *Atella*) and four miles from thence I began to meet my friends, who were come out to honour me; and after mutual embraces we took coach, and proceeding four miles farther, entered the long wish'd for city of *Naples*: And thus I finish'd my journey round the world, having spent in it five years five months and twenty days; upon the festival of *S. Francis Xavierius*, the apostle of the *Indies*, and protector of travellers. For the reasons ment on'd in the beginning of the fifth volume, I did not reckon *Wednesday* the third by *Thursday* the fourth of *December* 1698, and consequently twenty one days above the five months. I spent above six months in satisfying the curiosity of several people; till they having enough of me, as is usual, I was deliver'd from their importunity.

*Naples* is seated upon that bay made by *Naples* the two capes or promontories of *Minerva* and

such pleasant foun-  
the wonderful paint-  
court may be call'd  
Europe, and is the  
heart, the multitude  
start, and shews her  
all its glory in a  
the true and lawfu  
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an, than to subdue  
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Some account of

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Capis Silvius, king  
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Wednesday the third  
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and *Misenum*, in 41 deg. 2 min. latitude. On the east of it is mount *Vesuvius*, and the fruitful plains of *Terra de Lavoro*, or *Campania Felix*. Towards the south it looks upon the *Tyrrhene* sea, and looks like a great shell enclos'd with fruitful and delicious banks.

This city (according to the most probable opinion) was founded by *Eumelius Pbalerus*, the son of *Alcon*, who was one of the *Argonauts*, and consequently before the destruction of *Troy*. *Parthenope*, the daughter of the king *Fera*, coming hither out of *Negropont* with a number of *Greeks*, and being taken with the delightfulness of the place, settled at *Pbalerum*, and began to enlarge it, so that the city afterwards was call'd by her name. Now because *Velleius Paterculus*, lib. 1. says, that *Naples* was built by the *Cumani*; I guess the ancient *Pbalerum* or *Parthenope*, to distinguish it from the city, was afterwards call'd *Palepolis* (whatsoever *Lipsius* says of its being founded by the *Cumani*) and of this place, I conceive the historian spoke these words, *Sed aliis diligenter Ritus Patrii mansit custodia*. The others diligently kept up the custom of their country. That is, the custom mention'd by *Strabo*, of sports by lamp-light, and the like. It is also to be observ'd from what has been said, that tho' *Palepolis* and *Naples* were neighbouring cities, and almost one same people; yet there was some difference as to their manners; nor were they so near, but that there was at least a mile distance between them: For *Livy* tells us, that the consuls *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Publicus* besieging *Palepolis*, a city in league with the *Samnites* about the year 426, after the building of *Rome*, placed their army between it and *Naples*, that the *Nicopolitans* might not relieve it. 'Tis true, we cannot tell which are the remains of *Palepolis*; but yet they are very blind who seek for them within the compass of *Naples*; as my learned friend Dr. *Matthew Egicchio*, to whom I am oblig'd for these conjectures, has much reason to say.

This city has run through several forms of government. At first it was under the *Athenian* laws, whilst a confederate of the *Romans*; but afterwards it submitted to their powers, and receiv'd laws as a colony. The empire being overthrown in 412, it suffer'd by the *Goths*, and in 456 by the *Vandals*. Then it fell under the dominion of the *Greek* emperors in 490, then under the *Herali*, and after them under the *Ostrogoths*, from whom it was taken in 537 by *Belisarius*. After him *Attila*, king of the *Goths*, took and kept it eighteen years, and then it was again brought under the *Greek* emperors by *Narses*. It continu'd a long time in the nature of a commonwealth, and

held out a siege against the *Saracens*, tho' *GEMEL-* reduc'd to great extremities, most of the LI. inhabitants being destroy'd. At length in 1699. 1128, it submitted to *Roger*, the third *Norman* duke of *Aquileja*, who had the title of king given him by *Anacleus* the antipope. The *Norman* line being extinct, the *Suevians* came next in 1195, the last king of whom call'd *Manfred*, being slain in battle by *Charles* the first of *Anjou*, the same *Charles* was declar'd king of *Naples* by pope *Clement* the fourth; and some time after he shed all that was left of the *Suevian* blood, causing the unhappy *Conradin* to be beheaded in the market-place. Eight kings of this family ruled the kingdom; and *Joanna* the second being at last left heirs, she adopted *Alfonso* king of *Aragon*; who in 1442 having overthrown the faction of *Renee* duke of *Anjou*, took *Naples* by the way of the aqueducts, and remain'd peaceably possess'd of it. Five of the family of *Aragon* reign'd, till *Frederick* the last of them was expell'd by the *French* and *Spaniards*, who had agreed to his ruin to divide the kingdom. But there being no lasting friendship between different tempers, and sovereignty being an indivisible point; soon after, king *Lewis* the twelfth, and king *Ferdinand's* commanders fell at variance; and *Gonzalo de Cordove*, call'd the great captain, had the fortune quite to expel the *French* about the year 1503. *Joanna*, the daughter of *Ferdinand*, and mother to *Charles* the fifth, inheriting the kingdom devolv'd to the house of *Austria*.

So many wars and changes of government are the cause that the ancient *Naples* is scarce to be found in the modern; but having been often enlarg'd, it is now grown to that degree, that the compass of its walls is almost ten miles; and that of all the suburbs included in twenty one miles and a quarter, containing above five hundred thousand inhabitants. It has nine gates on the land side, and sixteen towards the sea. There are three castles well provided with cannon and soldiers, for that of *Capuana* does not deserve the name, and at present only the courts meet there.

I should be furnish'd with the greatest eloquence, to give an account of the excellency of the country this noble city is seated in, and of the worth of the inhabitants; but I am not capable of such an undertaking: Besides, there is no ancient or modern writer that does not extol the beauty and fruitfulness of its hills and plains, the delicacy of its water, the excellency of its wines, the rarity of its fruit, the plenty of flowers, and in short all that is good dispers'd throughout the world, found together in this place; not to mention the charms of its gardens, and the delights of its *Possessors*.



GEMEL-filipo. This is sufficiently evinc'd for its habitation by the dearest sons of the muses, as *Virgil* the prince of poets, *Statius*, *Livy*, *Horace*, *Claudian*, *Silius Italicus*, and many more in the following ages; from them the *Neapolitans* seem to have inherited a natural inclination to the most noble and delightful studies.

If we regard its situation, the city looks like a noble theatre rising gradually along the sides of the neighbouring hills on the north-side of it; if the streets, they are excellently pav'd with pebbles, and wide enough; if the palaces and publick buildings, there is a vast number of them, and all magnificently adorn'd with gilding and painting, not to mention their symmetry and noble architecture. On the other hand, no city in *Europe* has such noble spirits, and families so greatly descended; and it is hard to decide, whether there are more great scholars, or noble-men. So many famous men have been bred up in its schools, that of their works alone might be made a large and compleat library; were not there a great neglect in publishing the worthy labours of the learned, and yet for what reason no man knows. It is an addition to its praises, that even the provinces subordinate to so glorious a metropolis, do, and men brought forth men, famous for learning in all ages; and not to mention *Salust*, born at *Anternum*, now *Aquila*; *Ovid* at *Sulmo*; *Ennius* at *Rudina* near *Leue*; *Nevius* in *Capua*; *Pacuvius* at *Brindisi*; *Horace* at *Venosa*; *Juvenal* at *Aquinum*, and many more; *Magna Græcia* alone, now known by the name of *Calabria*, may furnish a whole volume. It is most certain, that if *Italy* is more honourable for wisdom, it thence took its original: For, who is there that does not know, how far the *Pythagorean* philosophy spread there, being call'd by another name *Italia*? And if *Pythagoras* teaching at *Cotron*, had sometimes six hundred scholars, and none was ever admitted to his school but what had a comely presence, and a genius fit for philosophy, who can deny

but that soon after, a great number of notable philosophers liv'd about in our villages; *Cicero* tells us, that divine wit instructed all *Italy* in all sorts of learning: But if we attentively read the *Famblicus Calcedicus*, where he speaks of the *Pythagorean* sect, we shall find it was almost all made up of people of *Calabria*. I will not argue, whether *Pythagoras* was born in *Samos* of *Greece*, as is generally believ'd, or in that of *Calabria*, as *Theodoret* affirms; tho' *Plutarch* makes him of *Locris*, perhaps because *Samos* was in the territory of *Locris*. But no body can deny, that (not to mention others less famous) these that follow were *Calabrians* of *Reggio*, viz. *Teletus*, to whom *Plato* directed his dialogue of wisdom; *Timæus*, master to *Plato*; *Theogenes*, the first expofitor of *Homer*; *Aristides*; *Parmenides*; *Melissus*; *Archita*; *Zeno*; and *Zelexus*, the great philosopher and legislator; and also *Xenocrates*, an heroic poet and musician; *Steficorus*, a *Lyrick* poet; *Alexides*, another *Lyrick* poet; *Orpheus*, the writer of the *Argonautica*, for *Orpheus* the *Thracian*, who flourish'd before the *Trojan* war, could not make mention of king *Acinous*, who liv'd full three hundred years after; *Menander* the comedian; and the famous *Philolaus*, whose books were bought by the divine *Plato* for forty *Minæ* of *Alexandria*. Of later times, what country has not cause to envy *Calabria*, for having brought forth *Casiodorus*, *Gianus Parrasius*, *Coriolanus*, *Marivianus*, *Pomponius Letus*, *Berardinus*, *Antony Telefi*, and *Sertorio Quetrimani*; and now in our days *Marco Aurelio Severni*, and *Tommaso Cornelio*, the restorers of learning and philosophy? But perhaps I have proceeded too far upon this subject, and I fear I may have tir'd the reader with my unpolish'd discourse. It is fit therefore, that since the voyage round the world is now ended, he apply himself to more profitable studies; and that I put a period to the labour of writing, which I look upon as not inferior to that of travelling.

F I N I S.

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AN  
A C C O U N T  
OF THE  
SHIPWRECK  
OF A  
DUTCH VESSEL  
On the Coast of the  
Isle of Quelpaert,  
Together with the Description of the  
Kingdom of *COREA*.  
Translated out of French:

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THE  
P R E F A C E.

**T**HIS short relation was first printed in Holland by the secretary, as he calls himself, of the ship that perish'd, and was one of those that escap'd, and, after a long captivity, had the good fortune to return home. There's nothing in it that carries the face of a fable, invented by a traveller to impose upon the believing world; yet there are some men, who will scarce believe any thing but what they see, and at the same time will not stir an inch from home to be inform'd. These sort of creature are not to be satisfied as to the credibility of any thing beyond their own capacities. But for those who only seek a reasonable testimony and probability to believe things, which in themselves are no way irrational, 'twill suffice, that when this account was printed in Holland, the eight men mention'd at the end of this journal, were all in Holland, and examin'd by several persons of reputation, concerning the particulars here deliver'd, and they all agreed in them; which seems to render the relation sufficiently authentick. Besides, as the French translator observes in his preface, there's nothing here asserted in the description of Corea, but what agrees with what Palafox, and others that write of the invasion of the Tartars, have said before. The account, tho' small, is curious; and it may be suppos'd this secretary, the author, was a man of some learning, to be capable of writing it, and not a meer seaman; tho', to say the truth, 'tis plain, and of matters so obvious, and in so indifferent a stile, that it requir'd no great matter of literature to compose it, but only as much as would raise a man above downright ignorance. Thirteen years residence in Corea, was time enough to have given a much more perfect description, and many men in that time would have made it more ample and satisfactory; but the author gave what he had, and I suppose his memoirs were small and ill digested, having leisure enough, but perhaps little inclination, to write in that miserable life, as not knowing whether ever he should obtain his liberty, to present the World with what he writ.

## An Account of the Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel, &c.

The ship's  
departure  
from Hel-  
land.

**W**E sail'd out of the *Texel* on the 10th of *January* 1653, in the evening, with a very fair gale, and after many storms, and much foul weather came to an anchor on the 1st of *June*, in the road of *Batavia*. As soon as we had refresh'd our selves there for a few days, the governour general of the *India* company, commanded us away to *Taposwan*, and accordingly we set sail the 14th of the same month, in our ship call'd the *Sparrowhawk*. We carry'd aboard us *Min Heer Cornelius Lessen*, to take possession of the government of *Taposwan*, and *Formosa*, with their dependances in the place of *Min Heer Nicolaas Verburge*, who had resided there three years according to custom. We had the good fortune to come to an anchor at *Taposwan*, on the 16th of *July*. *Min Heer Lessen* immediately landed, and caus'd our ship to be unloaded. Then having advis'd with the council, he order'd us to *Japan*; in pursuance whereof having our loading and discharge, we put to sea again on the 30th of the same month. The next day held fair till towards the evening, when, as we were getting out of the channel of *Formosa*, there arose a storm, which increas'd all night.

forms.

On the 1st of *August* in the morning early, we perceiv'd a small island very near us; we us'd our utmost endeavours to get under shelter of it, and find some place to cast anchor, for in most parts of that sea there is no bottom to be found. However we compass'd our design though with much difficulty, because we were afraid to come near a floating timber that burnt close by us. Our pilot fortunately looking out, had discover'd that island, otherwise we had been lost, for we were not above a musket-shot from it. The fog clearing up, and the day growing bright, we found our selves so near the coast of *China*, that we could easily discern arm'd men scatter'd along the shore, expecting to make their advantage of our wreck. But God be prais'd, they mis'd of their aim; though the storm increas'd rather than diminish'd. There we continu'd all that day at an anchor in sight of them, as also the night following.

Various  
weather.

The next day the wind falling, we observ'd, that the number of the *Chinese* was much increas'd, which made us stand up-

on our guard, resolving to remove further from them as soon as possible, but were hinder'd by a calm, which lasted all day and next night. The third day we perceiv'd the storm had drove us twenty leagues from our course, so that we were again in sight of the island *Formosa*. We ply'd betwixt that island and the continent, the weather somewhat cold; and what troubled us most, was, that the uncertain winds and calms kept us in that channel till the 11th of that month, when a south-west wind grew up into a storm, with a heavy rain, and forc'd us to run north-east, and north-east and by east. The three following days the weather continu'd still more tempestuous, and the wind shifted so often, that we were continually hoisting and lowering our sails. By this time the frequent beating of the sea had much weaken'd our vessel, and the continual rain obstructed our making any observation; for which reason we were forc'd to take in all our sails, strike the yards, and commit our selves to the mercy of the waves.

On the 15th, the wind blew so boisterously, that we could not hear one another speak, nor durst we let fly an inch of sail: And to add to our misfortunes, the ship took in so much water, that there was no masting of it. Besides, the waves every moment broke in upon us in such manner, that we expected to perish every minute. That night our boat and the greatest part of our gallery were carried away, which shook our boltsprit, and made us fear we should lose our prow. All possible means were us'd to repair the damage sustain'd, and prevent the ill consequences it might produce; but in vain, for the gusts of wind were too violent, and came too close one upon another, besides the breaking of the waves which were ready to sink us every moment. At length finding there was no way to save our selves, but by abandoning the vessel and the company's goods, we resolv'd to loose a fore-top-sail, the better to avoid the greater surges. Whilst we were thus employ'd, a wave coming over our stern, had like to have wash'd away all the seamen that were upon the deck, and fill'd the ship so full of water, that the master cry'd out, My mates, cut down the mast by the board immediately, and recommend your selves to the mercy of God; for if

one

HAM: L.  
1653.

HAMEL, one or two such waves return, we are all  
1653. lost, and all our skill and labour will not save

us. This was our condition, when the second glass of the second watch being just running out, he that look'd out a head, cry'd, Land, land; adding, we were not above a musket-shot from it; the darkness of the night and the rain having obstructed our discovering it sooner. We endeavour'd to anchor, but in vain, because we found no bottom, and the roughness of the sea and force of the wind obstructed. Thus the anchors having no hold, three successive waves sprung such a leak in the vessel, that those who were in the hold were drown'd before they could get out. Some of those that were on the deck leap'd overboard, and the rest were carried away by the sea. Fifteen of us got ashore in the same place, for the most part naked, and much hurt, and thought at first none had escap'd but our selves; but climbing the rocks, we heard the voices of some men complaining, yet could see nothing, nor help any body, because of the darkness of the night.

36 men  
got to  
shore.

On the 16th, all of us that were in a condition to walk, went calling and seeking about the strand, to see if we could find any more that had got to land. Some were found scatter'd about, so that we made up thirty-six, most of us dangerously hurt. Then searching the wreck, we discover'd a man betwixt two planks, which had so press'd his body, that he liv'd but three hours. It is needless to relate how sensibly we were touch'd at the loss of our ship, and to see that of sixty-four men only thirty-six were left in a quarter of an hour. However, we went along the shore to pay the last duty to those bodies the sea had cast up. We found none but our captain *Egbertz* of *Amsterdam*, stretch'd out on the land, ten or twelve fathom from the water, with his arm under his head, whom we bury'd. Having scarce taken any sustenance for two or three days past, because there had been no possibility of dressing any thing, we search'd along the sands, to see whether the sea had not cast any of our provisions ashore, but could get only one sack of meal, a cask with some salt-meat, a little bacon, and, what was best for the wounded men, a hoghead of claret. Our greatest trouble was, to contrive how to make a fire; for having neither heard nor seen any living creature, we concluded we were on a desert island. Towards evening the wind and rain somewhat abating, we gather'd enough of the wreck to contrive some shelter for us, making use to that purpose of the remainder of our sails.

On the 17th, as we were lamenting our deplorable condition, sometimes complain-

ing that we saw no body, and sometimes flatter-  
ing our selves with the hopes of being  
near *Japan*, where we might find some-  
body that would put us in the way to get  
to the *Dutch* factory, our ship being in no  
condition to be refitted; we spy'd a man  
about a cannon-shot from us. We call'd  
and made signs to him; but as soon as ever  
he saw us he fled. Soon after noon we spy'd  
three more, one of them with a musket,  
and his companions with bows and arrows.  
Being come within gun-shot of us, they  
halted; and perceiving we made towards  
them, ran away, though we endeavour'd  
by signs to shew them we desir'd nothing  
but fire of them. At last one of us resolv'd  
to attack them; but they deliver'd up their  
arms without making any opposition,  
wherewith we lighted the fire we wanted.  
These men were clad after the *Chinese* fash-  
ion, excepting only their hats, which were  
made of horse-hair, and we were much a-  
fraid lest they should be wild *Chinese* or pi-  
rates. Towards evening there came an  
hundred arm'd men clad like the other,  
who after counting of us, kept us inclos'd  
all the night.

On the 18th, we spent all the morning  
in enlarging our tent; and about noon, there  
came down about two thousand men, horse  
and foot, who drew up in order of battle  
before our hut. Our secretary, the chief  
pilot and his mate, with a boy, went out  
to meet them. When they came before  
the commander, he order'd a great iron  
chain to be put about the neck of each of  
them, with a little bell, such as the bell-  
weather wears in *Holland*. In that condi-  
tion they forc'd them to fall down, and pro-  
strate themselves before that commander;  
all his men at the same time raising such  
a shout, that we who were in our hut, cry'd  
out, we are lost, and must prepare to be  
us'd after the same manner, which was im-  
mediately put in execution. When we had  
lain some time flat on our faces, they made  
signs to us to kneel. Being in this posture,  
they put some questions to us which we  
did not understand, and we on our side  
did all we could to let them know, that  
we intended to have gone to *Nangasaky* in  
*Japan*. They were as far from understand-  
ing us, as if they had never known *Japan*;  
for they call that country *Jeenare*, or *Jirpon*.

The commander perceiving, he could  
make nothing of all we said, caus'd a cup  
of *Arac* to be fill'd to every one of us, and  
sent us back to our tent. They that con-  
ducted us, to see what provisions we had,  
found only a little bacon and salt-meat,  
which they shew'd to their chief. An hour  
after, they brought us rice boil'd in water,  
and believing we were almost starv'd,  
would

The na-  
tives fur-  
round them.

The na-  
tives ga-  
ther the  
wreck.

Give the  
Dutch  
Men.

They re-  
more the  
passages

We call it  
a cup *Rak*; it  
is made  
either of  
rice, or of  
the coco-  
nut tree, and  
is strong.



and sometimes flat-HAMBL: hopes of being 1653. might find some- The natives fur- ship being in no round we spy'd a man them. us. We call'd ut as soon as ever er noon we spy'd with a musket, bows and arrows. shot of us, they we made towards we endeavour'd e desir'd nothing one of us resolv'd deliver'd up their any opposition. e fire we wanted. er the Chinese fa- hats, which were we were much a-wild Chinese or pi- there came an d like the other, kept us inclos'd

at all the morning They find about noon, there it to be usand men, horse the island in order of battle of Quik- secretary, the chief a boy, went out they came before er'd a great iron he neck of each of such as the bell. In that condi- all down, and pro- that commander; time raising such e in our hut, cry'd ust prepare to be er, which was im- on. When we had r faces, they made ng in this posture, to us which we d we on our side them know, that e to Nangasaky in from understand- ver known Japan; Teenare, or Hirpon. iving, he could We call it said, caus'd a cup Rack; it is made ery one of us, and either of They that con- rice, or of provisions we had, the coco- on and salt-meat, tree, and ir chief. An hour is strong, ce boil'd in water, almost starv'd, would

would not give us much, for fear it should hurt us. After dinner they came with ropes in their hands, which very much surpriz'd us, imagining they intended to strangle us; but our fear vanish'd, when we saw them run altogether towards the wreck, to draw ashore what might be of use to them. At night they gave us more rice to eat; and our master having made an observation, found we were in the island of *Quelpuert*, which is in 33 degrees 32 minutes of latitude.

The na- tives ga- ther'd the wreck.

These people were employ'd all the 19th in getting ashore the sad remains of our wreck, drying the cloaths, and burning the wood to get the iron, being very fond of that metal. Beginning now to grow somewhat familiar, we went up to the commander of the forces, and the admiral of the island, who was also come down, and presented each of them with a prospective glass, and a pot of red wine, with our captain's silver cup, which we found among the rocks. They lik'd the liquor so well, that they drank till they were very merry. They return'd us the silver cup, with many tokens of friendship, and we retir'd to our tent.

Gave the Dutch Mast.

On the 20th, they made an end of burning all the wood of the ship, and saving the iron; during which time, a pleasant accident happen'd. The fire they made coming to two pieces of cannon which were loaded with ball, they gave so great a report, that they all fled, and durst not return a long while, or go near the vessel, till we had assur'd them by signs they need not to fear the like would happen any more. This day they brought us twice to eat.

They re- ceiv'd the Dutch men

On the 21st in the morning, the commander gave us to understand by signs, that we must bring before him all that we had sav'd in our tent, that it be seal'd, which was done in our presence. Whilst this was doing, some persons were brought before him, who had converted to their own use some iron, hides, and other things sav'd out of our wreck, which they had still in their possession. They were immediately punish'd before our faces, to shew us their design was not to wrong us of any of our goods. Each of those thieves had thirty or forty strokes given him on the soles of his feet, with a cudgel as thick as a man's arm, and as tall as a man. This punishment is so severe, that some of their toes dropt off. About noon they made signs to give us to understand, we must depart. Those that were well had hories provided for them, and the sick were carried in hammocks. Thus we set forward, attended by a numerous guard of horse and foot; and travelling four leagues, came at night to a little town call'd *Tadiane*; where,

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after a slender repast, they carried us into *HAMEI*, a warehouse much like a stable. 1653.

The 22d in the morning, at break of day, we set out in the same order, and travell'd to a little fort, near which there were two galiots. Here we halted to dine, and at night came to the town of *Moggan*, or *Mocho*, where the governor of the island resides. We were all conducted to the square before the town-house, where about three thousand men were at their arms, some of whom coming forwards, gave us water to drink in dishes; but they being arm'd after a dreadful manner, we thought they design'd to rid themselves of us. Their vry habit increas'd our fear, for it had somewhat frightful, which is not seen in *China*, or *Japan*. Our secretary, attended by the same persons with whom he appear'd the first time before the commander of the troops, was carried to the governor. When they had lain a while prostrate on the ground, a sign was made to us to do the same, after we had been brought near a sort of balcony which was before the house, where he sat like a king. The first thing he caus'd to be ask'd of us by signs, was, whence we came, and whither we were bound. We answer'd us before, that we were *Hollanders*, and we bound for *Nangasaky* in *Japan*; whereupon he gave us to understand, by bowing his head a little, that he understood something of what we said. Then he order'd us to pass before him by four and four at a time; and having put the same question to us all, and receiv'd the same answer; he order'd us to be carried to the same house where the king's uncle, who had attempted to usurp the throne, had been confin'd, and dy'd. As soon as we were in, the house was beset with armed men, and we had a daily allowance of twelve ounces of rice a man, and the same quantity of wheat meal; but very little besides, and so ill dress'd that we could not eat it. Thus our common meals were for the most part only rice, meal, and salt, and we had nothing to drink but water. The governor seem'd to us to be a very understanding man; and we often found afterwards, that we had not been deceiv'd in our opinion. He was The go- then threecore and ten years of age, had vernor's goodnefs, been born in the capital city of the kingdom, and was in good esteem at court. When he dismiss'd us, he made signs, that he would write to the king to know what he was to do with us. It would be a considerable time before his answer could come, because the distance was fourcore leagues, whereof all but ten leagues by land, and therefore we begg'd of him to order we should have flesh sometimes, and something else to eat. We also obtain'd leave of him

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for

HAMEL, for six of us to go abroad every day by turns, to take the air and wash our linnen; which was granted, to our great satisfaction, for 'twas very heavy to be shut up and live on bread and water. He also did us the honour to send for us often, and to make us write something before him, both in his tongue and in our own. There we first began to understand some words of that language; and he discoursing with us sometimes, and being pleas'd to divert us with some little amusements, we began to conceive some hopes of getting over one day to *Japan*. He also took such care of our sick, that we may affirm we were better treated by that idolater, than we should have been among christians.

A Dutch-  
man  
brought to  
interpret.

On the 29th of *October*, our secretary, the master, and surgeon's mate, were carried before the governor, where they found a man sitting who had a great red beard. The governor ask'd us, who we took that man to be; and having told him, we suppos'd him to be a *Dutch-man*; he fell a laughing, and said, we were mistaken, for he was a *Corelian*. After some discourse had pass'd between us, that man, who till then had been silent, ask'd us in *Dutch*, who we were, and of what country: to which we answer'd, that we were *Dutch-men*, come from *Amsterdam* in the service of the company, and being bound by their command for *Japan*, a storm had thrown us upon that island. That our vessel being stay'd, we begg'd earnestly of God that we might be sent on our way. Then we took the boldness to ask his name, and what countryman he was; to which he reply'd, that his name was *John Wetlevree*, born at *Riip* in *Holland*, whence he came as a volunteer in the year 1626, aboard the ship call'd the *Hollandia*; and, that going to *Japan* in the year 1627, aboard the frigate call'd the *Onderkerker*, the wind drove them on the coast of *Corea*: that wanting water, and being one of those that were commanded ashore to get provisions, he and two more had been taken by the inhabitants: that his companions had been killed seventeen or eighteen years since in the wars, when the *Tartars* invaded *Corea*: that one of them, born in the same town with him, was *Theodorick Gerards*; the other, *John Pieters* of *Amsterdam*. Asking him further, where he liv'd then, and what accident had brought him into that island, he told us, that his abode was in the capital city of the kingdom of *Corea*, whence the king had sent him to know what we were, and what had brought us into his dominions. He added, that during his long residence in *Corea*, he had often ask'd leave of the king to go over to *Japan*, without ever obtaining any other answer

*Riip* is a  
great vil-  
lage in  
*Noris Hol-*  
*land*.

than that he must never expect it, unless he had wings, and could fly thither; that the custom of the country was, to detain all strangers that came thither, but that they wanted for nothing, being provided with diet and clothes as long as they liv'd. Thus all the comfort he could give us, was, that we should be treated as he had been, if we were carried to the king. The joy of finding so good an interpreter dispel'd our melancholy, and made us forget all our misfortunes. 'Twas very surprizing, and even wonderful, that a man of fifty-eight years of age, as he then was, should so forget his mother-tongue, that we had much to do at first to understand him; but it must be observ'd, he recover'd it again in a month. The governor having caus'd all our depositions to be taken in form, sent 'em to court, and bade us be of good cheer, for we should have an answer in a short time. In the mean while he daily bestow'd new favours on us, inasmuch that he gave leave to *Wetlevree*, and the officers that came with him, to see us at all times, and acquaint him with our wants.

About the beginning of *December* a new *A new go-*  
governor came, our benefactor's three years  
being expir'd. We were much concern'd  
at it, as not doubting but that change might  
be prejudicial to us. 'Twould be a hard  
task to express how much kindness and af-  
fection he shew'd us at his departure, inso-  
much that seeing us ill provided against  
winter, he caus'd two pair of shoes, a coat  
well lined, and a pair of stockings of skins  
to be made for every one of us. Besides,  
he treated us nobly, and assur'd us he was  
sorry it had not been in his power to send  
us over to *Japan*, or to carry us over with  
him to the continent. He further added,  
that we ought not to be troubled at his go-  
ing away, because, being at court, he would  
use all his endeavours to obtain our liberty,  
or to have us carried thither. He restor'd  
us the books we had sav'd, with some other  
parcels of goods, giving us at the same time  
a bottle of precious oil, which might be of  
use to us for the time to come. The first  
thing the new governor did, was to reduce  
our allowance to rice, salt, and water. We  
complain'd to the old governor, who was  
detain'd in the island by contrary winds,  
but he sent us this answer; That his time  
being expir'd, 'twas not lawful for him any  
longer to hear our complaints, but that he  
would write to his successor. And as long  
as he was in the island, tho' sparingly, we  
were allow'd as much as might stop our  
complaints.

After that good Lord's departure, which The men  
was in the beginning of *January* 1654, we hardly  
were much worse used than we had been be- by him.  
fore, for they gave us barley instead of rice,  
and

Some at-  
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pair of shoos, a coat  
of stockings of skins  
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ed's departure, which The men  
of January 1654, we hardly  
than we had been be-  
barley instead of rice,  
and

and barley-meal instead of wheat. Thus,  
if we had a mind to eat any other food, we  
must sell our barley, and live upon the twelve  
ounces of meal. This hard usage forced  
us to think of making better use of our li-  
berty of going abroad by six and six at a  
time, than we had done before. We were  
invited by the approaching spring to make  
our escape, and the more, because the king's  
orders did not come, and we were in dan-  
ger of ending our days in that island in  
captivity: therefore, after long consulting  
together how we might seize upon a boat  
in a dark night, at length six of us resolv'd  
to execute this design about the end of A-  
pril: but one of the gang being got atop  
of the wall, to discover the vessel we were  
to seize, he was unfortunately discover'd by  
some dogs, whose importune barking  
made the guards more watchful, and us  
lose an excellent opportunity of making  
our escape.

Some at-  
tempt to  
escape, but  
are pu-  
nish'd.

About the beginning of May, our master  
going abroad with five others, three of  
whom are still living, as he was walking,  
observ'd, that at a little hamlet near the  
city there was a barque well appointed,  
without any body to guard it. He pre-  
sently sent one of his company to get a lit-  
tle boat and some short planks. Then  
making every one of his men drink a  
draught of water, he went aboard without  
taking care for any more. Whilst they  
were labouring to draw the barque over  
a little shoal that was by it, some of the  
inhabitants discover'd their design, and one  
of 'em running out with a musket, went  
into the water to oblige them to return:  
yet that did not hinder their getting out,  
except one, who not being able to get up  
to the others, was forced to go back to  
land. The other five going to hoist sail,  
both the mast and sail fell into the water.  
They soon got 'em up, and setting every  
thing right with much labour, as they en-  
deavour'd a second time to hoist sail, the  
end of the mast broke off short, and could  
not possibly be mended. All these delays  
gave the natives time to get into another  
barque, and soon overtook them, our men  
having nothing to help 'em away. As soon  
as they came together, our men nimbly  
boarded them, hoping to make themselves  
masters of the vessel, notwithstanding their  
enemies weapons; but finding this barque  
was full of water, and unfit for service, they  
all submitted. Being brought ashore, they  
were carried before the governor, who cau-  
sed their hands to be made fast to a great  
log with a strong chain, and having laid  
them flat on the ground, and brought all  
us before them well bound and manacled,  
they were ask'd, whether they had done  
that action without our knowledge, or whe-

ther we had been made privy to it; they all  
positively asserting we knew nothing of it,  
Wettevree before mention'd was set to exa-  
mine what their design was; and they an-  
swering, 'twas no other but to go to Japan.  
How durst you, said the governor, attempt  
that passage without bread and water? they  
answer'd, they had chose rather to expole  
themselves once for all to the danger of  
death, than to die every moment. We  
were immediately unbound, but the six  
unfortunate wretches had every one twenty-  
five strokes on the bare buttocks with a  
cudgel a fathom long, four fingers broad,  
and an inch thick, being flat on the side  
that strikes, and round on the other. These  
strokes were so unmercifully laid on, that  
they who receiv'd 'em were forced to keep  
their beds a month, and we were all of us  
depriv'd of our liberty, and strictly guarded  
day and night.

About the latter end of May orders came  
to carry us to court, at which we knew not  
whether we ought to rejoice, or be troubled.  
Six or seven days after, they put us into  
four boats, with fetters on our feet, and  
one hand made fast to a block, to prevent  
our leaping into the water, which otherwise  
we might easily have done, all the soldiers  
being sea-sick. After two days struggling  
with contrary winds, we were put back, and  
our irons taken off: we return'd to our for-  
mer prison at *Quelpaert*. This island, *Quelpaert*  
which the natives call *Sebefure*, lies twelve  
or thirteen leagues south of the coast of *Co-  
rea*, and is about fourteen or fifteen leagues  
in compass. On the north side of it is a  
bay, where several barques lie, and whence  
they sail for the continent, which is of very  
dangerous access to those that are unac-  
quainted with it, because of several hidden  
rocks, and that there is but one place where  
ships can anchor and tide under shelter, for  
in all other places they are often drove over  
to the coast of *Japan*. The island is all  
encompass'd with rocks, but abounds in  
horses and cattle, which pay great duties  
to the king; so that, notwithstanding their  
breeds of horses and herds of cattle, the  
islanders are very poor, and despis'd by  
the inhabitants of the continent. In this  
island there's a mountain of a vast height,  
all cover'd with woods; and several small  
hills, which are naked, and enclose many  
vales abounding in rice.

Four or five days after, the wind came  
about, and we were ship'd again betimes in  
the morning, with the same precaution as  
before. Towards night we drew very near  
the continent, and having lain all night in  
the road, landed the next morning, where  
our chains were taken off; but our guards  
doubled.

HAMEL. In the morning we had horfes brought,  
1653. to carry us to the city *Heynam*; and having

been separated at sea, and landed in several places, we were very glad to meet all together again at that town. The next morning, having taken a very slender repast, we came to the town of *Jebam*, where *Paul John Cool* of *Piemerende* our gunner died, having never enjoyed his health since our shipwreck. Next day the governor of the town caused him to be buried, and we mounting a horseback, came at night to the city *Nadiao*. The day following we lay at *Sanjiang*, thence to *Tongap*, after crossing a high mountain, on the top whereof is the fort *Ippam-Sanjiang*, which is very spacious. Thence we went to the city *Teyn*, and the next day we baited at the little town of *Kunige*, and at night came to the great town of *Cbintio*, where the king formerly kept his court, and where now the governor of the province of *Thilado* resides.

This is a city of great trade, and very famous in that country, tho' a day's journey from the sea. Going thence, we lay at *Jeslan*, the last town of the province of *Tbilado*; then at the little town of *Gurun*, next at *Jenjan*, and lastly at *Consha*, the residence of the governor of the province of *Tongjando*. Next day we cross'd a great river, and enter'd upon the province of *Sengado*, in which *Sior*, the capital of the kingdom, is seated. After lying many days in several places, we cross'd a river as wide as the *Maese* is at *Dordrecht*, a league from whence is the city of *Sior*, where the king keeps his court. We reckon'd seventy-five leagues we had travel'd from our landing to this city, all the way northward, only a little inclining to the west. Being come to this town, they put us all together into a house, where they left us two or three days, after which time they put us into little huts, three and three, or four and four, with *Chinese* that are settled there: then they carried us all in a body before the king, who examin'd us to all points by the help of *Wettevee*. Having answer'd him the best we could, we humbly beseech'd his majesty, that since we had lost our ship in the storm, he would be pleas'd to send us over to *Japan*, that with the assistance of the *Dutch* there, we might one day return to our country, to enjoy the company of our wives, children, and friends. The king told us, 'twas not the custom of *Corea* to suffer strangers to depart the kingdom; that we must resolve to end our days in his dominions, and he would provide us with all necessaries. Then he order'd us to do such things before him as we were best skill'd in, as singing, dancing, and leaping after our manner. Next he caus'd us to have meat given us, which was well

enough after their manner, and gave each of us two pieces of cloth, to cloath us after their fashion. The next day we were all sent before the general of the forces, who order'd *Wetteeree* to tell us, that the king had put us into his life-guards, and that, as such, he would allow us seventy *Cattys* of rice a month. Every one of us had a paper given him, in which was set down his name, his age, his country, what profession he had follow'd before, and what he now was, all in their character, seal'd with the king's great seal, and the general's, which is nothing but the print of a hot iron. Together with this commission they deliver'd to each a musquet, powder, and ball, with orders to give a volley before the general every first and fourth day of the month ; to be always ready to march into the field with him, whither the king went, or upon any other reviews. In spring and autumn that general reviews his troops three times a month ; and besides, the soldiers exercise as often in private. A *Cingee* and *Wetteeree* were appointed to command us, the former as serjeant, and t'other to have an eye over us, and to teach us the customs and manner of behaviour of the *Corelians*. Most of the great men, being fond of novelty, invited us to dine at their houses, to see us exercise after our manner, and to make us shoot and dance. But, above all, their wives and children were eager to see us, because the meaner sort of the island of *Quelpaert* had spread abroad a report that we were monstrous, and that, when we drank, we were forced for to tuck up our nose behind our ear. These absurd tales were the cause that the better sort of people at *Sior* were amaz'd to see us better shap'd than the people of their own country. Above all, they admir'd the fairness of our complexion, and did so throng to see us, that at first we had much ado to break thro' the croud in the streets ; and we could not be quiet at home, their curiosity was so great. At length the general put a stop to this, forbidding all persons whatsoever to come near us without his leave ; and the more, because the very slaves of great men took the boldness to come and fetch us out of our chambers, to make a jest at, and divert themselves with us.

In *August* the *Tartar* came to demand <sup>A great</sup> the usual tribute, whereupon the king was <sup>fort.</sup> forced to fend us to a great fort, to be kept there as long as the Embassador was in the country. This fort is about six or seven leagues from *Sier*, on a mountain they call *Namma Sanfiang*. 'Tis three hours work to get up to it, and is so strong that the king retires to it in time of war, and most of the great men of the kingdom live there. 'Tis always provided for three years.

They  
come to  
court.

, and gave each to cloath us after day we were all of the forces, who us, that the king guards, and that. s fifty *Cattys* of us had a pa- was set down his try, what profes- ore, and what he racter, seal'd with and the general's, print of a hot iron. mission they deli- powder, and ball, volley before the fourth day of the ady to march into the king went, nt. In spring and was his troops three sides, the foldiers e. A *Chinese* and d to command us, nd t'other to have uch us the customs ur of the *Corefians*. being fond of no- at their houses, to manner, and to

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came to demand A gr- upon the king was fort. great fort, to be e Embassador was fort is about six or on a mount... they 'Tis three hours and is so strong that time of war, and of the kingdom live provided for three years.

years, and for a great number of people. There we continued till the beginning of September, when the *Tartar* went away.

About the end of November the cold was so vehement, that the river, which is a league from the capital city, as was said before, was froze, and three hundred horses loaded pass'd over it. The general taking compassion to see the cold we endur'd, gave the king an account of it, who order'd some hides we had sav'd from our shipwreck to be distributed among us, which were most of 'em rotten, allowing us to fell 'em, and buy something to cloath us warm. Two or three resolv'd, with the money they got by these hides, to purchase to themselves a little hut, chusing rather to endure cold, than to be eternally tormented by their landlords, who were continually finding of us to the mountains, two or three leagues distant, to fetch wood. This labour was intolerable, both by reason of the cold, and because the ways are bad and uneasy. The little hovel they bought cost 'em nine or ten crowns; and the rest having cloath'd themselves the best they could, were forced to pass the remainder of the winter as they had done before.

Two Dutch im-  
pore the  
Tartar's  
assistance.

The *Tartar* returning in March, 1655, we were forbid, as before, under severe penalties, going out of our houses. The day he set forward to return home, *Henry Janus* of *Amsterdam*, our master; and *Henry John Bos* of *Haerlem*, a gunner, resolv'd to go meet this embassador on the way, upon pretence of going for wood. When they saw him appear at the head of several bodies of horse and foot that attended him, they laid hold of his horse's reins with one hand, and with the other turning aside their *Corefian* habit, shew'd him they were clad after the Dutch manner underneath. This at first caus'd a great confusion among the multitude, and the *Tartar* ask'd them earnestly who they were, but they could never make him understand them; however, the embassador order'd 'em to follow, and be where he was to lie that night. Being come thither, he made much enquiry whether there was any body that could understand what they said to him; and having been told of *Wettevee*, he sent for him to come to him with all speed. That interpreter having advertis'd the king, a council was held, where 'twas resolv'd to make the embassador a present, to the end he should so stifle the matter, that it might not come to the cham's ear. Our two poor wretches were brought back to *Sior*, and put into a prison, where they soon after dy'd, but we could never know whether a violent or a natural death, none of us having been ever allow'd to see them. As soon as this business was noised abroad, we were carried be-

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fore the council of war, where 'twas ask'd, *HAMEL*, whether we had any intimation of our companions design? and tho' we could truly assert we had not, yet that would not save us from being adjudg'd to have every one fifty strokes on the buttocks, for not having given notice of our companions going out. We had certainly receiv'd that correction, had not the king remitted it, saying, we were poor wretches cast into his country by storms, rather than any design of plundering. All the penalty he laid on us was, sending us home again, with an injunction not to stir abroad without his orders.

In June, when 'twas thought the *Tartar* was to come, the general sent our interpreter to acquaint us, that a vessel was run aground on the island of *Zyelpaert*, and, that *Wettevee* being too old to perform that journey, those three among us, who best understood the *Corefian* language, must prepare to set out. In pursuance of this order, the assistant, the pilot's mate, and a gunner were chosen, who set out two days after, to bring an account of that shipwreck.

The *Tartar* coming in August, we were commanded, under pain of severe punishment, not to stir out of our quarters till three days after he was gone. The day before he came, we receiv'd letters from our companions, by an express, in which they gave us an account, that they were confined on the southernmost borders of the kingdom, where they were strictly guarded, to the end that if the great cham had receiv'd any intelligence concerning the two unhappy fellows that were dead, and should demand the rest, they might tell him they were all three cast away going to the island *Zyelpaert*. The *Tartar* came again about the latter end of the year, and we were by the king's order strictly confin'd to our houses, as we had been before.

Tho' the *Tartar* had sent twice into *Co-All* the *rea*, since the attempt unfortunately made *Dutch* by our two companions, without making *ba-* any mention of it; yet most of the great *nish'd* men used all their endeavours with the king *the* to destroy us. The council sat three days upon this affair, but the king, his brother, the general, and some others, were not altogether of that opinion. The general was for making each of us fight two *Corefians*, all with the same weapons, pretending that so the king would be rid of us, and none would have it to say, that the king had murder'd poor strangers. Some more charitable persons, who knew we were kept shut up, and ignorant of what was doing, gave us this intelligence privately: hereupon *Wettevee* told us, that if we liv'd three days, we should in all likelihood live long



HAMEL, enough after. Now the king's brother, 1653. who was president of the council, passing by our quarters, as he was going to it, and very near to us, we had the opportunity to cast our selves at his feet, and implore his favour, lying with our faces prostrate on the ground. This sight mov'd so much compassion in him, that for the future he sollicit'd our affair so earnestly, that we owe our lives only to the king and him. This giving offence to many persons, who might attempt other methods to destroy us; for the preventing their wicked designs, and to avoid our appearing before the tartars, it was thought fit to banish us into the province of *Tbillado*, where we were to be allow'd fifty pounds of rice a month, at the king's cost. Accordingly, we departed from *Sior in March*, on horses provided for us, our acquaintance bearing us company as far as the river, which is a league from the city. There we took our last leave of *Wettevree*; for from that day to this, we have never seen nor heard talk of him. We pass'd through all the same towns we had seen in our way to the court, and coming to lye at *Jeam*, we set out the next morning, and about noon arriv'd at a great town call'd *Dusfong*, or *Tbillapening*, commanded by a large citadel opposite to it. The *Penigse*, who is chief in the absence of the governour, resides there, and has the title of colonel of the province. To him the sergeant that had the charge of us, deliver'd us with the king's letters. He was immediately sent away to go fetch our three companions that had been sent away the year before, who were twelve leagues off, where the vice-admiral commanded. We were all lodg'd together in a publick-house, and three days after, those that were absent being brought to us, we were again together thirty-three of us, the miserable remains of our shipwreck.

Their im-  
ployment. In *April* they brought us some hides that had been left behind at *Quelpaert*, from which place we were but eighteen leagues, they not being worth sending to *Sior*. We fitted our selves the best we could, and laid up some small provisions in our new habitation. The only business we were charg'd with, was to pull up the grass that grew in the square before the castle twice a month, and to keep it clean.

This year 1657, our governour being accus'd of some misdemeanours, was forc'd to go to court to clear himself, where it is reported he was in danger of his life. But being well belov'd by the people, and favour'd by the great ones on account of his family, which was one of the noblest in the kingdom, he came off so well, that his honours were increas'd. He was very good to us, as well as to the natives. In *Februa-*

ry came a governour very unlike the other; for, besides that he found us more work, he would oblige us to go three leagues off to the mountain to fetch wood, which his predecessor had caus'd to be brought home to us gratis. But God be prais'd, an apoplexy deliver'd us from him in *September* following, which no body was sorry for, so little was he lik'd.

In *November* came a new governour, who took so little care of us, that when we ask'd him for cloaths, or any things else, he answer'd, the king had given him no orders as to that point, that he was only oblig'd to furnish our allowance of rice, and for other wants it was our business to provide as we thought fit. Our cloaths being now worn out with carrying of wood, and the cold beginning to pinch us, we resolv'd to cast off shame among those people, and to beg, making our advantage of their curiosity, which led them to ask us a thousand questions. Accordingly, that we might get something to cloath us, and not be forc'd to run half a league for a handful of salt, we presented a petition to the governour for his leave to beg, representing that we could not possibly get our living any longer by carrying wood, because we were naked, and our labour would yield us nothing but a little salt and rice; therefore we humbly pray'd, he would permit us to go abroad in our turns. He granted it; and we made such good use of this favour, that in a short time we were provided against the cold.

At the beginning of the year 1658, the governour was call'd away, and his successor afflicted us with new crosses. He forbid us going abroad, and told us, that if we would work for him, he would give each of us three pieces of cotton-cloath. After having long consider'd upon his offers, which would not set us above other wants, especially in a scarce year as that was, and knowing we should wear out more cloaths in his service than he would give us, we with all imaginable respect presented to him, that he ought not to require that of us; after which an accident happen'd, which oblig'd him to consent to our demands. Those people are so much afraid of a fever, that the only thoughts of it terrifies them, and some of us being then under that disease, he consented that we should beg in companies, provided we were not absent above a fortnight or three weeks, and that we neither went towards the court, nor *Japan*. The other half of us that remain'd at home, he order'd should look to the sick, and take care to pull up the grass in the square.

In *April* this year, the king dy'd, and his son succeed'd him with the consent of the great *Cham*. However, we went on in our trade,

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ous men, who are very charitable and  
grateful, for the pleasure we did them in  
giving an account of our adventures, and  
shewing them the customs of other coun-  
tries. They were so much pleas'd to hear  
us, that they could have spent days and  
nights in our company.

The next governour that came in the  
year 1660, was so kind to us, that he of-  
ten declar'd, if it were in his power, he  
would send us back into our country, or at  
least to some place where there were coun-  
try-men of ours. He granted us a confir-  
mation of the liberty of going abroad  
without any restraint. This year happen'd  
such a drought, that all sorts of provisions  
were very scarce. The following year 1661,  
was yet more miserable, abundance of peo-  
ple were famish'd to death, and the roads  
were full of robbers. The king vigo-  
rously pursu'd them, and by that means  
prevented many robberies and murders.  
He also order'd the dead bodies found in  
the fields, to be buried. Acorns, pine-  
apples, and other wild fruit, were all the  
support of the people, and the famine was  
so great, that villages were plunder'd, and  
some of the king's stores broke open, and  
none punish'd for it, because those disor-  
ders were committed by the slaves of great  
men, and this calamity lasted all the year  
1662. The next year 1663, felt some  
share of it ; for either the poor had not  
sow'd, or else they had no crop ; however,  
that was remedy'd by the plentiful harvest  
in other places that were water'd by rivers,  
or lay near bogs, otherwise the country had  
been utterly destroy'd. The place where  
we were being no longer able to furnish us,  
the governour writ about it to the intend-  
ant of the province, who answer'd, that  
the king having appointed our subsistence  
to be furnish'd there, he could not remove  
us to another place without an order from  
his majesty. About the end of February,  
the governour pursuant to the orders he had  
receiv'd from court, dispers'd us into three  
towns, twelve he sent to *Sayfiano*, five to  
*Siunfchien*, and as many to *Namman*, for  
we were but twenty-two at this time. This  
parting was very grievous to us, it being  
a great satisfaction to be all together in a  
place, where we were at our ease, and had  
good provisions ; whereas it was to be fear'd  
they might send us to some place that still  
labour'd under the hardships of famine.  
This our sorrow was turn'd into joy, for  
this alteration was the occasion of our get-  
ting away, as will appear in the sequel. A-  
bout the beginning of March, after tak-  
ing leave of our governour, and returning  
him abundance of thanks for his favours,  
we set out from thence afoot, carrying the  
sick and what baggage we had, on the

horses allow'd us. Those that were going  
to *Sayfiano*, and to *Siunfchien*, went the  
same road with us, and we lay all in the  
same town the first and second night.  
The third day we came to *Siunfchien*,  
where we left five of our companions. The  
next night we lay in a country-house, and  
setting out early in the morning, came a-  
bout nine to *Sayfiano*, where those that con-  
ducted us deliver'd us to the governour, or  
admiral of the province of *Tballado*, who  
resides there. He presently order'd us lodg-  
ing, and such furniture as was necessary,  
and the same allowance we had enjoy'd till  
then. This seem'd to us to be a very good  
worthy Lord. Two days after our com-  
ing, he went away to court, and three days  
after his departure, came another to succeed  
him, who prov'd our scourge ; for he would  
not suffer us to be far from him, and left  
us expos'd to all hardships of the summer  
and winter. The greatest favour he granted  
us, was leave to go cut wood fit to make  
arrows for his men, whose only employ-  
ment is continually shooting with the bow.  
The great men striving who shall keep the  
ablest archers. He put many more hard-  
ships upon us, but God gave us our revenge.  
Winter drawing on, and the town we were  
in not having furnish'd us with necessaries  
against the cold, we represented to the go-  
vernour in what a good condition our com-  
panions were in the other towns, and hum-  
bly pray'd he would vouchsafe to permit  
us to go seek out for something to defend  
us against the cold. He gave us leave to  
be absent three days, upon condition the  
one half of us should remain with him,  
whilst the other half was abroad. This  
liberty was very beneficial to us, because  
the great men, who had compassion on us,  
favour'd our sallies, and we were some-  
times allow'd to be a month abroad. What-  
soever we got was brought and put in  
common with those that remain'd in the  
city. This continu'd till the governour's  
departure, who was sent for by the king to  
come to court. At his arrival there, he  
declar'd him general of his army, an em-  
ployment always possess'd by the second  
man in the kingdom. His successor eas'd  
us of all our burdens that had been im-  
pos'd on us, and order'd we should be as  
well treated as our companions were in the  
other towns. Thus we were only oblig'd  
to pass muster twice a month, to keep our  
house in our turns, and to ask when we  
would go abroad, or at least to give the  
secretary notice, that, if occasion were, they  
might know where to find us. We gave  
God thanks for having deliver'd us from  
such a wicked man, and sending such a  
good one. This man, besides the favours  
already mention'd, often treated us, and  
civilly condoling our misfortune, ask'd,  
why,

HAMEL.  
1653.

Famine.

The Dutch  
parted.

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charitable

HAMEL, why, being so near the sea as we were, we <sup>1653.</sup> did not attempt to pass over that small sea which parted us from Japan? We answer'd, we durst not venture upon such a thing contrary to the king's will; and besides, we knew not the way, and had no vessel. To this he reply'd, there were barques enough along the sea-coast. We rejoind'd, they did not belong to us, and that if we miss'd our aim, we should be punish'd as thieves and deserters. The governor laugh'd at our scruple, not imagining we talk'd after that manner only to prevent their being jealous of us, and that all our thoughts day and night were employ'd in contriving how to seize a barque, and that our enemies had obstructed our buying one till that time. Now we receiv'd the news, that our late governor had not enjoy'd his new honour above six months, before he was summon'd to answer before the king for his misdemeanours. He was accus'd of having put to death several persons, as well nobles as commoners, on very slight occasions. He was condemn'd to receive four-score and ten strokes of a cudgel on his shin-bones, and to be banish'd for ever.

Comets.

Superstition.

About the latter end of the year a blazing-star appear'd, and after that two at once; the first was seen in the south-east for about two months, the other in the south-west, but their tails were opposite against one another. The court was so much alarm'd at it, that the king caus'd all the guards to be doubled in all his ports, and aboard his ships. He also caus'd provisions to be carry'd into his strong hold, and store of ammunition. He made all his forces, both horse and foot, exercise every day, and expected nothing less than an invasion from some of his neighbours; inso-much that he forbid making any fire at night in those houses that might be seen from the sea. The common sort spent all they had, keeping only as much as would serve them poorly to subsist with rice, because they had seen the same signs in the heavens when the *Tartars* came to over-run their country. They also remember'd that some such thing had appear'd, before the *Japanese* declar'd war against them. Wherever we were, they ask'd us, what we judg'd were the consequences of comets in our country. We told them, it denoted some signal judgment of God to follow, and generally the plague, war, or famine, and sometimes all three. Having had experience of it, they agreed with our opinion. We liv'd this and the ensuing year 1665, enough at our ease, using all our endeavours to make our selves masters of a barque, but without success. Sometimes we row'd in a little boat, which served us to get our living along the shore, and sometimes to round

some small islands, to see whether nothing would fall out to our purpose, and which might forward our escape. Our companions that were in the two other towns, came every now and then to see us, and we repay'd their visits often, or seldomer, according as it pleas'd our governor, for some were more favourable than others. Yet we were patient under the greatest severities, thinking it a great mercy that God granted us our health, and a subsistence during that long captivity. The following year 1666, we lost our protector and good friend; for his time expiring, the king honour'd him with a better employment. It is incredible how much good he did to all sorts of people indifferently during his two years government; and accordingly he was entirely beloved both in the city and country, and the king and nobility had a great esteem for his wisdom and good behaviour. Whilst he was in his post, he repaired publick structures, cleared the coasts, and maintained and increased the marine forces. The king was so well pleas'd at these actions of his, that he preferred him to the prime dignities at court. We were without a governor for three days after his departure, for it is enough, if he that quits has his place supply'd the third day by his successor; these three days being allowed the new governor, that by the advice of some diviner, he may choose a happy minute to enter upon his government. As soon as install'd, he thought it not enough to use us with all the severity the banish'd governor had done, but would oblige us continually to mould clay, which we refused to do, alledging that his Dutch predecessor had not impos'd any such labour upon us; that our allowance being scarce enough to keep us alive, it was but reasonable to allow us what time we had to spare from our own affairs, to get something to cloath us, and supply our other wants; that the king had not sent us to work, or if we must be so us'd, it were better for us to quit his allowance, and desire to be sent to Japan, or some other place, where there were any of our nation. All the answer was, ordering us to be gone, threatening he would find a way to make us comply. But he was luckily prevented; for but few days after, he being in a very pretty vessel, some fire accidentally fell into the powder, and blew up the prow, killing five men. Here it must be observ'd, that those people keep the powder in a powder-room before the mast. The governor believing he could conceal that accident, gave no account of it to the intendant of the province; but he was mistaken, for the fire was seen by one of the spies the king keeps on the coasts, and even in the heart

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heart of the country, to be inform'd of all that happens. This spy having acquaint- ed the intendunt with it, he sent an account of it up to court, whither the governour was immediately summon'd, and by sentence of the judges receiv'd fourscore and ten strokes on his shin-bones, and was banished for ever. Thus in July, we had another governour, who behaving himself towards us in all re- spects as the last had done, requir'd of us every day an hundred fathom of mat. We gave him to understand that was impossible to be done, and made the same remon- strances to him as he had done to his prede- cessors. This mov'd him no more than it had done them; for he told us, that if we were not fit for that sort of work, he would find other employment for us, which he had done, but that he fell sick. His rigidness made us conclude, that our misfortunes were beyond redress, because new officers rather add new burdens, than take off those that are already laid on. Thus, besides our own affairs, we were oblig'd to pull up the grafts in the square of *Penigle*, and then to go cut, and bring home wood fit for arrows. These considerations made us resolve to take the advantage of our ty- rant's indisposition, and to get a barque at any rate whatsoever, choosing rather to hazard all than to groan any longer in capti- vity among idolaters, and bear with all sorts of wrongs they would offer us. For the compassing of our design we decreed to make use of a *Corefian* our neighbour, who was very familiar with us, and whom we had often reliev'd in his distress. We propos'd to him to buy, or cause a barque to be bought for us, pretending we want- ed it to go beg cotton in the neighbouring islands, promising him a good share when we came again. He perform'd what he was instructed with, bargaining very bold- ly for a fisherman's barque, and we pre- sently gave him the money to pay for it. The seller perceiving it was for us, would have gone from his bargain, at the insti- gation of some that told him, it was to make our escape, and if we did so, he would be put to death. This was really true; but we offering to pay double the value, he consented, making more account of the present pr. 31 than of the mischief that might ensue. As soon as the two *Co- refians* were gone, we immediately furnish'd the barque with sails, an anchor, rigging, oars, and all things we thought necessary, in order to set out at the first quarter of the moon, that being the fittest season. We kept two of our companions, whom their good fortune had brought to visit us, and who wanted not much courting; and under- standing that *John Peter of Uries*, an able sailor, was at *Sunfchien*, we went to desire

him to come to us, telling him all things *HAMEL* were in a readiness. The messenger mil- 1653.  
fing of him at *Sunfchien*, went to look for him at *Namman*, which is sixteen leagues farther, and brought him away, having travell'd above fifty long leagues in four days. The day and hour being appointed *Their de-* to depart, which was the 4th of *September*; *parture*, as the moon was setting, though our neigh- bours had conceiv'd some jealousie; yet we forbore not at night, after eating a bit of what we had, to creep along under the city walls to carry the rest of our provisions, be- ing rice, pots of water, and a frying-pan. The moon being down, no body saw us. The first thing we did, we went over into a little island, which was within cannon- shot, where we fill'd a cask, we found in the barque, with fresh water. Thence, with- out making any noise, we made our way before the vessels belonging to the city, and just opposite to the king's frigates, making out as far as we could into the channel. The calm which had continu'd till then, ceasing, there started up a fair gale, which invited us to hoist sail, as we did, heartily calling upon God to assist us, and resigning our selves up to him. On the 5th of *September* in the morning, when we were almost out of the channel of the island, a fisherman hail'd us, but we would not answer, fearing it might be some ad- vanced guard to the men of war that lye theareabouts. At sun-rising the wind fell, which oblig'd us to lower our sails and row, to get farther off and prevent being dis- cover'd. About noon the weather began to freshen, and at night we spread our sail, directing our course by guess south-east. The wind growing fresh at night, we cleared the point of *Corea*, and were no longer apprehensive of being pursued, and the wind holding all night we made much way.

The sixth day in the morning we found our selves very near the first of the islands of *Japan*; and the same gale still favour- ing us, we came without knowing it, be- fore the island of *Firando*, where we durst *Island of* not put in, because none of us had ever been *Firando*. at *Japan*, and we were nacquainted with the road. Besides, the *Corefians* had often told us, there were no isles to coast along in the way to *Nangasaki*. We therefore pass'd on to come up with an island that lay farther off, which appear'd to us very small and near to us, and accordingly we left it astern that night.

The seventh day we held on our course with a cold wind, and uncertain weather, running along abundance of islands, which seem'd to us to be numberless; and being possess'd there were no islands to be left be- hind, we endeavour'd to get above them.

HAMEL, At night we thought to have touch'd at a small island, and would have rid it out at anchor there, but the sky seem'd to look stormy; but we perceiv'd such abundance of fires all about, that we resolv'd to continue under sail, going before the wind, which was very cold.

The 8th, in the morning, we found our selves in the same place, whence we set forward at night, which we attributed to the force of some current. Hereupon we resolv'd to stand out to sea, but we had scarce sail'd two leagues before there started up a contrary wind, and blew so hard, that it forced us in all haste to seek the shelter of the land; and the weather still growing more boisterous every moment, after crossing a bay, we came to an anchor about noon, without knowing what country we were in. Whilst we were dressing some small matter to eat, the natives pass'd backwards and forwards close by us, without saying any thing, or making any stay. About evening, the wind being somewhat fallen, we saw a barque with six men in it, who had each of them two knives at their girdle. They row'd close by us, and landed a man opposite to the place where we were. This made us weigh and set sail as fast as we could, making use of our oars at the same time, to get out of the bay as soon as possible, and gain the open sea. But that barque prevented us, for setting out in pursuit of ours, it soon overtook us. True it is, if we would have made use of our long bamboos, we could easily have prevented their coming aboard us; but seeing several other barques set out from the shore full of men, who by the description we had heard of them, must be *Japonesse* we troubled our selves no farther. They hailing us, and asking us by signs, whicher we would go? We let fly the colours with the arms of *Orange*, which we had provided for that purpose, crying, *Holland, Nangasacki*. Hereupon they made signs to us to strike our sail and go ashore, which we presently did. They carry'd one of our men into their barque, and plac'd the rest in order before one of their pagods.

Being come to an anchor, and having plac'd barques about ours to guard it, they took another of our men, and carry'd him to the first they had drawn out, asking them several questions, but neither understood the other. Our arrival alarm'd all the coast, and there was not a man to be seen, but was arm'd with two swords; but what satisfy'd us was, that they endeavour'd to shew us *Nangasacki*, and seem'd to tell us there were some of our nation there. At night a great barque that brought the third man in dignity of the isle of *Gotto*, came aboard us. That gentleman perceiv-

ing we were *Hollanders*, gave us to understand by signs, that we had fix ships at *Nangasacki*, where he hop'd to be with us in four or five days, if we desir'd it. He signify'd to us that we were in the island of *Gotto*, subject to the emperor; and to satisfy his curiosity, desiring to know whence we came, we had a great deal of trouble to give him to understand that we came from *Corta*, and that it was thirteen years since we had been shipwreck'd on an island belonging to that kingdom; that we desir'd nothing so earnestly at present, as to get to *Nangasacki*, to some of our country-men, and that to gratify this our inclination we had expos'd our selves in a poor barque, in a sea unknown to us, where we had sail'd forty leagues without a compass, to reach *Japan*, not regarding all the *Corefians* had said to persuade us that the *Japonesse* put all these strangers that came into their country to cruel deaths.

We continu'd the three following days well guarded in the same place aboard our barque, whither they brought us water, wood, flesh, and gave us a mat to cover us from the rain, which fell in great abundance all that time.

On the 12th, they furnish'd us with provisions to go to *Nangasacki*, and that same night we anchor'd on the other side of the island, where we spent the night.

On the 13th, that gentleman we mention'd before weigh'd anchor, being attended by two large barques, and two little ones, he carry'd some letters from the emperor, and some goods. Our two companions were in one of those great barques, and did not come to us again till we were at *Nangasacki*. About evening we saw the bay of that city, and at midnight anchor'd before it, where we found five ships of ours. Several inhabitants of *Gotto*, and even some of the chief men, presented, and did us many kindnesses, without taking any thing of us.

On the 14th we were all carry'd ashore, where the companies interpreters receiv'd us. When they had writ down all the answers we made to their several questions, they carry'd us to the governor's house, and about noon we were brought before him. When we had satisfy'd his curiosity, he much commended our action, in overcoming so many dangers and difficulties to recover our liberty. Then he order'd the interpreters to conduct us to our commandant, *Min Heer William Volguers*, who receiv'd us very kindly. *Min Heer Nicholas le Roy*, his deputy, was also very friendly, and so was all the nation in general. When we went thence they caus'd us to be habited after our own fashion.

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Situation

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Bounds.



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On the first of *October*, *Min Heer Volguers* left the island, and on the 23d fail'd out of the bay with seven ships. The governor of *Nangafaki*, who would have kept us a year, caus'd us to be brought before him on the 25th of the month, and after examining us over again, restored us to the company's director, who lodg'd us in his own house, whence we fail'd some days after for *Batavia*. Where we arriv'd on the 20th of *November*, and at our landing deliver'd our journal to the general, who, after a very favourable reception, promis'd to put us aboard the ships that were to sail from thence on the 28th of *December*. These ships, after some storms, arriv'd at *Amsterdam* on the 20th of *July* 1668. where we return'd thanks to God for having deliver'd us from a captivity of thirteen years, and twenty eight days, beseeching him to have mercy on our poor companions, who were left behind. Here follow the names of those that return'd home, and of those that were left in *Corea*.

The names of those that return'd from *Corea*.

Henry Hamel of *Gorcum*, secretary to the ship, and author of this account.  
*Godfrey Denis* of *Rotterdam*.  
*John Piers* of *Uries* in *Friesland*.  
*Gerard Jans* of *Rotterdam*.  
*Matthieu Thoecken* of *Enchuyfen*.  
*Cornelius Theodorick* of *Amsterdam*.  
*Benet Clerc* of *Rotterdam*.  
*Denis Godfrey* of *Rotterdam*.

The names of those that remain'd in *Corea*.

*John Lampe* of *Amsterdam*, Assistant.  
*Henry Cornelius* of *Ureelandt*.  
*John Nicholas* of *Dort*.  
*Jacob Jans* of *Norway*.  
*Anthony Ulders* of *Emdden*.  
*Nicholas Arents* of *Off-Poren*.  
*Alexander Bosquet* a *Scotchman*.  
*John* of *Utrecht*.

## The description of the kingdom of COREA.

**Situation.** THE kingdom known to us by the name of *Corea*, and by the natives call'd *Tiozenconk*, and sometimes *Caoli*, reaches from 34 to 44 degrees of north latitude, being about one hundred and fifty leagues in length from north to south, and about seventy-five in breadth from east to west; therefore the *Corefians* represent it in the shape of a long square, like a playing card: nevertheless it has several points of land which run far out into the sea.

**Division.** 'Tis divided into eight provinces, containing three hundred and sixty cities and towns, without reckoning the forts and castles, which are all on the mountains.

**Coasts.** This kingdom is very dangerous and difficult for strangers, who are unacquainted with its coasts, to land, because 'tis much enclos'd with rocks and sands. Towards the south-east 'tis very near *Japan*, there being but twenty-five or twenty-six leagues distance betwixt the town of *Poufsan* in *Corea* and that of *Otsaco* in *Japan*. Betwixt them is the island *Suisima*, which the *Corefians* call *Taymutta*: it formerly belong'd to them, but they exchang'd it for that of *Quelpaert*, in a treaty of peace concluded with the *Japonefe*.

**Bounds.** On the west this kingdom is divided from *China* by the bay of *Nanking*, but is join'd to it on the north by a long and high mountain, which is all that hinders *Corea*'s

being an island. On the north-east it is bounded by the vast ocean, where there's every year a great number of whales taken, Fishery. some of 'em with the *French* and *Dutch* harping-irons, those people using to follow that fishery. There are abundance of herrings also catch'd there in *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*. Those taken the two first of these months are as large as ours in *Holland*; but what they catch afterwards are smaller, and like those in *Holland* call'd *frying herrings*, which are eaten in *March* and *April*. Hence we infer, that there's a passage above *Corea*, *Japan*, and *Tartary*, which answers to the straits of *Weigats*: for this reason we often ask'd of the *Corefian* seamen, who use the north-east sea, what lands were beyond them, and they all told us, they believ'd there was nothing that way but a boundless ocean.

Those that go from *Corea* to *China* embark in the uttermost part of the bay; for the way by land is too troublesome, by reason of the difficulty there is in passing the mountain, especially in winter, because of the excessive cold; and in summer, because of the many wild beasts. 'Tis easy to pass over on the north side in winter, the bay being generally froze hard enough to bear. The cold is so intense in *Corea*, that in the year 1662, we being in the monasteries

Cold.

HAMEL,  
1653.

nafteries on the mountains, there fell such a wonderful quantity of snow, that they made ways under it to go from house to house; and to go upon it, they wear small boards like little battledores under their feet, which hinders their sinking, and yet is no obstruction to going up or down. This we forgot to insert in the journal. By reason of this excessive cold, those who live on the northern coast feed only upon barley, and that none of the best, for no rice or cotton can grow there: those that are best to pass there, have their meal brought from the south. The poorer sort there have no clothes but what are made of hemp and pitiful skins; but, to make amends, the root *Nisy* grows there, which they give to the *Tartar* for their tribute, and drive a great trade with it to *China* and *Japan*. The rest of the country is fruitful, and produces all things necessary to support life, especially rice, and other sorts of grain. They have hemp, cotton, and silk-worms; but they know not how to work the silk. There is also silver, lead, tygers skins, and the *Nisy*-root, not to speak of beasts, and fowl, and several other things. They have store of horses and cows, and make use of oxen to till the land, and of horses to travel and carry goods from place to place. There are also bears, deer, wild boars, swine, dogs, cats, and several other creatures. We never saw any elephants there but alligators or crocodiles of several sizes, which keep in the rivers: their back is mulquet proof, but the skin of their belly is very soft. Some of 'em are eighteen or twenty ells long, their head large, the snout like a hog, the mouth and throat from ear to ear, the eye sharp but very small, the teeth white and strong, placed like the teeth of a comb. When they eat, they only move the upper jaw. Their backbone has sixty joints; on their feet are long claws or talons, their tail is as long as the body; they eat either fish or flesh, and are great lovers of man's flesh. The *Corejians* often told us, that three children were once found in the belly of one of these crocodiles. Besides these, there are abundance of serpents and venomous creatures. As for fowl, they have swans, geese, ducks, herons, storks, eagles, falcons, kites, pigeons, woodcocks, magpies, daws, larks, lapwings, pheasants, hens, and plenty of 'em all, as well as other sorts not known in *Europe*.

**Absolute monarchy,** *Corea* is subject to a king, whose power is absolute (tho' he pays an acknowledgment to the *Tartar*) and he disposes of all things as he pleases, without asking any body's advice. There are no lords of peculiar places, that is, who are proprietors of towns, islands, or villages, and all the

great mens revenues arise out of those estates they hold during pleasure, and from the great number of their slaves, for we have known those that had two or three hundred; so that the lands and employments the king bestows on any man, revert to him after his death.

For martial affairs, the king keeps abundance of soldiers in his capital city, who have no other employment than to keep guard about his person, and to attend him when he goes abroad. All the provinces are oblig'd, once in seven years, to send all their freemen to keep guard about the king for two months; so that, during that year, 'tis constantly under arms, to send all the men in their turns to court. Each province has its general, who has four or five colonels under him, and each of these as many captains depending on them, and each of these is governor of some town or strong hold; inasmuch that there's not a village but where at least a corporal commands, who has tithing-men, or officers over ten men, under him. These corporals are oblig'd, once a year, to deliver to their captains a list of what people are under their jurisdiction, and by this means the king knows how many men he may reckon upon when he has need. Their horse wear cuirasses, head-pieces, and swords, as also bows and arrows, and whips like ours, only that theirs have small iron points. The foot, as well as they, wear a corselet, a head-piece, a sword, and musquet or half-pike. The officers carry nothing but bows and arrows. The soldiers are oblig'd to provide fifty charges of powder and ball at their own cost. Every town in its turn furnishes also a number of religious men, drawn out within its own liberties, to guard and maintain the forts and castles at their own expence, these being in narrow passes, or on the sides of mountains. They are counted the best soldiers, and obey officers chosen out of their own corps, who observe the same discipline as the other. Thus the king knows to a man how many are fit to serve him; those that are sixty years of age are discharg'd from duty, and their children supply their places. The number of freemen who are net in the king's service, and have not been, together with the slaves, makes about half the people in the country. If a freeman lies with a woman-slave, or a man-slave with a freewoman, the children born of them are slaves; and those whose father and mother are both slaves, belong to the mother's master. *Corea* being almost encompass'd on all sides by the sea, every town is to maintain a ship ready rigg'd, and provided with all necessaries. Their ships have generally two masts, and thirty or thirty-two oars, to each of which there

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Council.

Revenue.

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there are five or six men, so that each of this sort of galleys carries about three hundred men for rowing and fight. They carry some small pieces of cannon, and abundance of artificial fire-works. For this reason every province has its admiral, who views these vessels once a year, and gives an account of what he finds, to the high admiral, who sometimes is present at these reviews. If any of the admirals, or the officers under them, commits a fault, he is punish'd with banishment, or death, as in the year 1666, we saw our governor punish'd, who had the command of seventeen vessels, for not acquainting the king that the powder had taken fire, and blown up five men.

**Council.** The chief officers by sea and land, who make up the king's council, meet every day at court, and serve him in all things that occur, without having power to oblige him to any thing. They must wait till their advice is ask'd, before they give it, and till they are appointed to manage any business, before they must meddle with it. These people have the first places about the king, and live and die in those employments, or till fourscore years of age, provided they commit no crime that renders 'em unworthy to continue. The same is practis'd in other inferior employments at court, which no man quits, unless it be to rise. The governors of places, and subaltern officers, are remov'd every three years, and very few of 'em serve out their time, because they are for the most part accus'd of some misdemeanors during their administration. The king keeps spies in all places, to inform him of every man's behaviour, which is the reason why many are often punish'd with death, or perpetual banishment.

**Revenue.** The king's revenue for maintenance of his house and forces, arises out of the duties paid for all things the country produces, or that are brought by sea; to this purpose, in all towns and villages there are store-houses, to keep the tythe; for the farmers, who are generally of the common sort, take the tythe of all things upon the spot in harvest time, before any thing is carried away. The great men live upon their revenues, as has been said before; and those that have employments live upon the allowance the king gives 'em, to be receiv'd out of the revenues of the places where they reside, assigning what is rais'd in the country for the sea and land forces. Besides this tythe, those men who are not list'd are to work three days in a year, at whatsoever business the country will put 'em upon. Every soldier and trooper has every year three pieces of cloth given him to cloath him, which in all are worth a pistole, which is part of the pay of the troops that are in the capi-

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tal of the kingdom. This is what is rais'd on the people, who know no other duties or taxes.

**Justice** is severely executed among the *Corefians*, and particularly upon criminals. He that rebels against the king is destroy'd, with all his race, his houses are thrown down, and no man does ever rebuild 'em, and all his goods forfeited, and sometimes given to some private person. When the king has once made a decree, if any man is so presumptuous as to make any objection to it, nothing can protect him from severe punishment; as we have often seen it executed. Among other particulars, I remember that the king being inform'd that his brother's wife made great curiosities at needle-work, he desir'd of her, that she would embroider him a vest; but that prince's bearing him a mortal hatred in her heart, she stich'd in betwixt the lining and the outside some charms and characters, of such nature, that the king could enjoy no pleasure, nor take any rest, whilst he had that garment on. After he had long studied to find what might be the cause of it, at last he guess'd at it; he had the vest ripp'd, and found out the cause of his trouble and uneasiness. There was not much time spent in trying that wretched woman; the king condemn'd her to be shut up in a room, the floor whereof was of brass, and order'd a great fire to be lighted under it, the heat whereof tormented her till she died. The news of this sentence being spread abroad thro' all the provinces, a near kinsman of this unhappy woman, who was governor of a town, and in good esteem at court for his birth and good qualities, ventur'd to write to the king, representing, that a woman who had been so highly honour'd as to marry his majesty's brother, ought not to die so cruel a death, and, that more favour should be shewn to that sex. The king, incens'd at this courtier's boldness, sent for him immediately, and after causing twenty strokes to be given him on his shin-bones, order'd his head to be cut off. This crime, and those I shall speak of next, are only personal, and do not involve the whole family in the punishment. If a woman kills her husband, she's buried alive up to her shoulders, in a highway that is much frequented, and by her is laid an axe, with which all that pass by, and are not noble, are oblig'd to give her a stroke on the head till she's dead. The judges of the town where this happens are flogged for a while; the governor is taken away, and 'tis made subordinate to another government, or, at best, only a private gentleman is left to command in it. The same penalty is inflict'd on such towns as mutiny against their governors, or send false com-

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HAMEL.  
1653.  
Justice.

**HAMEL** 1653. *plaints against them to court. The man that kills his wife, and proves he had cause to do, as, for catching her in adultery, or any other heinous fault, is in no danger for so doing: if the woman so kill'd was a slave, the penalty is, to pay three times her value to the owner. Slaves that kill their masters are cruelly tormented to death; but they look upon it as nothing for a master to kill his slave, tho' it be upon a slight account. Thus they punish murder. After they have long trampled upon the criminal, they pour vinegar on the putrify'd carcase, which they then pour down the offender's throat thro' a funnel, and when he is full, they beat him on the belly with cudgels till he bursts. Thieves are trampled to death; and tho' this be a dreadful punishment, yet the *Corefians* are much addicted to stealing. If a single man is found a-bed with a married woman, he is stripp'd naked to a little pair of drawers, then daubing his face with lime, they run an arrow thro' each ear, and fasten a little drum on his back, which they beat at all the cross streets, to expose him to shame: this punishment ends in forty or fifty strokes of a cudgel on the man's bare buttocks, but the woman receives 'em with drawers on. The men are naturally v-ry amorous, and so jealous, that they seldom, and with much difficulty, allow their best friends to see their wives. If a married man be taken lying with another man's wife, he is to suffer death, and chiefly among persons in high place; and the criminal's father, if living, or else his nearest relation, must be the executioner. The offender is to chuse what death he will die; but generally the men desire to be run thro' the back; and the women, to have their throat cut. Those who by a time appointed do not pay what they owe to the king, or private persons, are beaten twice or thrice a month on the shin-bones, which is done till they can find means to discharge the debt: if they die before they have satisfied the creditor, their nearest relations are bound to pay for them, or suffer the same punishment; so that neither the king nor private persons ever lose what is due to them. The slightest punishment in that country is, to be bastinado'd on the bare buttocks, or on the calfs of the legs; and they look upon it as no disgrace, because 'tis very common, and they are often liable to it for only speaking one word amiss. Inferior governors and subordinate judges may not condemn any man to death without acquainting the governor of the province. No man can try prisoners of state without the king be first inform'd. As concerning their punishments, this is the manner how they bastinado on the shin-bones: they tie the criminal's feet together*

on a little bench four fingers broad, and laying such another under his hams, to which they are fast bound, they strike betwixt these two bindings with a flick as long as a man's arm, somewhat round on the one side, and flat on the other, two inches broad, and about the thickness of a crown-piece. This sort of laths are generally of oak or alder, wherewith they must not give above thirty strokes at one time, and then two or three hours after they repeat 'em, till the whole number be given according to the sentence. When the offender is to be beaten on the soles of the feet, he is made to sit down on the ground, then having bound his feet together by the great toes, they rest 'em on a piece of wood they have betwixt their legs, and beat 'em with a cudgel as thick as a man's arm, and three or four foot long, giving as many strokes as the judge has order'd. The bastinadoing on the buttocks is thus; the men being stripp'd, they make 'em lie on the ground with their faces down, and bind 'em to a little bench. The women have a pair of wet drawers left on, and in this posture they beat them with a larger and longer lath than those before mention'd. An hundred strokes are equivalent to death, and many die of them, and some even before they have receiv'd fifty. When any are adjudg'd to be beaten on the calfs of the legs, 'tis done with rods or wands as thick as a man's thumb. This punishment is common to women and young apprentices. Whilst all these sorts of punishments are inflicting, the criminals cry so lamentably, that the spectators seem to suffer no less than the offenders.

As for religion, the *Corefians* have scarce any. The common sort make some odd grimaces before the idols, but pay them little respect; and the great ones honour 'em much less, because they think themselves to be something more than an idol. To prove this, when any of their kindred or friends dies, they all appear to honour the dead man at the offering the priest makes before his image, and frequently travelling thirty or forty leagues to be present at this ceremony, whether to express their gratitude to some great man, or to shew the esteem they have for some learned religious man, and that they preserve the memory of him. On festivals the people repair to the temple, and every one lights a bit of sweet-wood; then putting it into a vessel for that purpose, they go offer it to the idol, and placing it before him, make a low bow, and depart. This is their worship. For their belief, they are of opinion that he who lives well shall be rewarded, and he who lives ill shall be punish'd. Beyond this, they know nothing of

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of preaching, or of mysteries, and therefore they have no disputes of religion, all be-  
lieving and practising the same thing  
throughout the kingdom. The religious  
men offer perfumes before an idol twice a  
day, and on festivals; all the religious of a  
house make a noise with drums, batons,  
and kettles. The monasteries and temples,  
which the kingdom swarms with, are for  
the mo<sup>t</sup> part on the mountains, each un-  
der the liberty of some town. There are  
monasteries of five or six hundred religious  
men, and at least four thousand of them  
within the liberties of some towns. They  
are divided into companies of ten, twenty,  
and sometimes thirty, and the eldest go-  
verns; and if any one does not do his duty,  
he may cause the others to punish him  
with twenty or thirty strokes on the but-  
tocks; but if the offence be heinous, they  
deliver him up to the governor of the town  
they belong to. It being lawful for any  
man to become a religious, all the country  
of *Corea* is full of them; and the more,  
because they can quit this profession when  
they please: however, generally speaking,  
these religious men are not much more re-  
spected than the slaves, because of the great  
taxes they are oblig'd to pay, and the work  
they are forced to do. Their superiors are  
in great esteem, especially when they are  
learned, for then they are equal with the  
great men of the country, and are call'd  
*the king's religious men*, wearing their order  
over their clothes: they have the power of  
judging as subaltern officers, and make  
their visits on horseback, being very well  
receiv'd and entertain'd in all places. They  
must eat nothing that has had life: they  
shave their heads and beards, and are for-  
bidd conversing with women. If any of 'em  
breaks these rules, they give him seventy  
or eighty strokes on the buttocks, and ban-  
nish him the monastery. When they are  
first shav'd, or soon after, they give 'em a  
mark on the arm, which never wears off;  
and by that those are known who have  
once been religious men. They work for  
their living, or use some trade; some go a  
begging, and all of 'em have some small  
allowance from the governor. They al-  
ways keep little children in their houses,  
whom they very carefully teach to read and  
write. If these children will be shav'd,  
they keep 'em in the service, and have  
all that they can earn till the master dies,  
which makes them fr<sup>e</sup>, and heirs to all  
their goods; for this reason they are oblig'd  
to wear mourning for them, as for their  
father, in return for all the pains they have  
taken to instruct and bring them up. The  
monasteries and temples are built at the  
publick charge, every one contributing pro-  
portionably to what he's worth. There is

still another sort of people like these reli-  
gious men, as well in regard of their absti-  
nence as their serving the idols, but they  
are not shorn, and may marry. They be-  
lieve, by tradition, that once all mankind  
had but one language, but that the design  
of building a tower to go up to heaven  
caus'd the confusion of tongues. The no-  
bles frequent the monasteries very much, to  
divert themselves there with common wo-  
men, or others they carry with 'em, be-  
cause they are generally deliciously seated,  
and very pleasant for prospect and fine gar-  
dens, so that they might better be call'd  
pleasure-houses than temples; which is to  
be understood of the common monasteries,  
where the religious men love to drink hard.  
In our time there were two monasteries of  
religious women in the city of *Sior*; in one  
of 'em there were none but women of qua-  
lity; in the other, maids of the common  
fort. They were all shorn, and observ'd  
the same rules and duties as the men. The  
king and great men maintain'd 'em; but  
three or four years since, the king now reign-  
ing gave 'em leave to marry.

Having spoke of the government and  
ecclesiastical affairs, I'll now descend to pri-  
vate matters. The houses of the *Coréans*  
of quality are stately, but those of the com-  
mon sort very mean; nor are they allow'd  
to build as they please. No man can cover  
his house with tiles, unless he have leave to  
do so; for which reason most of 'em are  
thatch'd with straw or reeds. They are  
parted from one another by a wall, or elie  
by a row of stakes or palisades. They are  
built with wooden posts or pillars, with the  
interval betwixt 'em fill'd up with stone up  
to the first story; the rest of the structure is  
all wood daub'd without, and cover'd on  
the inside with white paper glew'd on.  
The floors are all vaulted, and in winter  
they make a fire underneath, so that they  
are always as warm as a stove; the floor is  
cover'd with oil'd paper. Their houses are  
small, but one story high, and a garret  
over it, where they lay up their provisions.  
The nobility have always an apartment for-  
wards, where they receive their friends, and  
lodge their acquaintance; and there they  
divert themselves, there being generally be-  
fore their houses a large square, or bas-  
court, with a fountain or fish-pond, and a  
garden with cover'd walks. The women's  
apartment is in the most retired part of the  
house, that no body may see 'em. Trade-  
men, and the chief townsmen, generally  
have a store-house adjoining to their man-  
sion-house, where they keep their goods and  
treat their friends with tobacco and arrack.  
There are virtuous women among them,  
who are allow'd the liberty of seeing peo-  
ple, and going into company, and to teasts,  
but



1653. **HAMEL** but they sit by themselves, and opposite to their husbands. They have scarce any more household-goods than are absolutely necessary. There are in the country abundance of taverns and pleasure-houses, to which the *Corefians* resort, to see common women dance, sing, and play upon musical instrument. In summer they take this recreation in cool groves, under close shady trees. They have no particular houses to entertain passengers and travellers, but he who travels goes and sits down, where night overtakes him, near the pales of the first house he comes at, where, tho' it be not a great man's house, they bring him boil'd rice and dress'd meat enough for his supper. When he goes from thence, he may stop at another house, and at several; yet on the great road to *Sior* there are houses, where those that travel on publick affairs have lodging and diet on the publick account.

**Marriages** Kindred are not allow'd to marry within the fourth degree. They make no love, because they are married at eight or ten years of age; and the young maids, from that time, live in their father-in-law's house, unless they be only daughters: they live in the husband's father's house till they have learnt to get their living, or to govern their family. The day a man marries he mounts on horseback, attended by his friends, and having rode about the town, he stops at his bride's door, where he's very well received by the kindred, who take the bride and carry her to his house, where the marriage is consummated without any other ceremony. Tho' a woman has bore her husband many children, 'tis in his power to put her away when he pleases, and to take another; but the woman has not the same privilege, unless she can get it by law. A man may keep as many women as he can maintain, and repair to them at all times, without scandal; but at home he keeps only his wife, the others are about the town, or in houses apart from his; yet the noblemen have two or three women besides their wife in the house; however, there's but one that rules, and has the management of all things; the others have each a distinct apartment, whither the master of the house goes when he pleases. To say the truth, they make no great account of their wives, and use 'em little better than slaves, turning 'em away for the least faults, and sometimes on bare pretences, and then they force 'em to take their children, who those poor wretches are bound to maintain. This liberty of putting away the mother and children, is a means to make the country very populous.

**Education** The nobility, and all freemen in general, take great care of the education of their

children, and put 'em very young to learn to read and write, to which that nation is much addicted. They use no manner of rigour in their method of teaching, but manage all by fair means, giving their scholars an idea of learning, and of the worth of their ancestors, and telling them how honourable those are, who, by this means, have rais'd themselves to great fortunes, which breeds emulation, and makes them studious. 'Tis wonderful to see how they improve by these means, and how they expound the writings they give 'em to read, wherein all their learning consists. Besides this private study, there is in every town a house where the nobility, according to ancient custom, of which they are very tenacious, take care to assemble the youth, to make them read the history of the country, and the condemnations of great men, who have been put to death for their crimes. To perfect them in their learning, there are assemblies kept yearly, in two or three towns of each province, where the scholars appear to get employments, either by the pen, or by the sword. The governors of towns send able deputies thither, to examine them, and chuse the best qualified; and, according to the report made to them, they write to the king. The greatest men in the kingdom are there, whether they are in post or not. Their employments are bestow'd on those that are thought worthy, and the king orders their commissions to be issued out. The old officers, who till then have only had civil or military commissions, at this time use all their endeavours to be employ'd in both professions, to increase their revenue. The aspiring to these honours is often the ruin of the candidates, because of the presents they make, and treats they give, to gain reputation, and obtain votes. Some there are also that die by the way, and most of 'em are satisfied with getting the title of the employ they aim at, thinking it honour enough to have been design'd for a post.

Parents are very indulgent to their children, and, in return, are much respected by <sup>and chuse</sup> them. They depend upon one another's good behaviour, and if one of 'em withdraws after an ill action, the other does the like. 'Tis otherwise with the slaves, who have little care of their children, because they know they will be taken from 'em as soon as they are able to work, or do any business. When a freeman dies, his children <sup>Mourning</sup> mourn three years, and during all that time they live as austere as the religious men, are not capable of any employment, and if any of 'em is in a post, he must quit it. 'Tis not lawful for them, during that time, to lie with their wives; and if they should have any children born during the

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mourning, they would not be accounted legitimate. 'Tis not permitted them to be in a passion, or to fight, much less to be drunk. The mourning they wear is a long hempen robe, without any thing under it, but a sort of sackcloth wove with a twisted thread almost as thick as the twine of a cable. On their hats, which are made of green reeds wove together, instead of a hat-band, they wear a hempen rope. They never go without a great cane or cudgel in their hand, which serves to distinguish who they are in mourning for, the cane denoting the father, and a stick the mother. During all this time, they never wash, and consequently look like *Mulattoes*.

As soon as one dies, his kindred run about the streets shrieking, and tearing their hair; then they take special care to bury him honourably in some part of a mountain shewn them by a fortune-teller. They use two coffins for every dead body, being two or three fingers thick, shut close, and put one within 't'other to keep out the water, painting and adorning them as every one is able. They generally bury their dead in spring and autumn. As for those that die in summer, they put them into a thatch'd hut rais'd upon four stakes, where they leave them till rice-harvest is over. When they intend to bury 'em, they bring 'em back into the house, and shut up in their coffins with 'em their clothes and some jewels. In the morning, at break of day, they set out with the body, after a good repast and making merry all the night. The bearers sing, and keep time as they go, whilst the kindred make the air ring with their cries. Three days after, the kindred and friends of the party deceas'd return to the grave, where they make some offerings, and then they eat together, and are very merry. The meaner sort only make a grave five or six foot deep, but the great men are put into stone tombs rais'd on a statue of the same substance; at the bottom whereof is the name carv'd, with the qualifications of the party there buried, mentioning what employments he enjoy'd. Every full-moon they cut down the grass that grows on the grave, and offer new rice there; that's their greatest festival next to the new year. They reckon by moons, and every three years they add one, so that the third year has thirteen, whereas the other two have but twelve moons each. They have conjurers, diviners, or sooth-sayers, who assure them whether the dead are at rest or not, and whether the place where they are buried is proper for them, in which point they are so superstitious, that it often happens they will remove them two or three times. When the children have fully performed the duty

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they owe to the father and mother by means of this tedious ceremony, if they have left any estate, the eldest son takes possession of the house that belongs to him, with all the lands depending on it. The rest is divided among the other sons, and we never heard that the daughters had any share, because the women carry nothing to their husbands but their cloaths. When a father is fourscore years of age, he declares himself incapable of managing his estate, and resigns it up to his children, who maintain their father, and always pay him a great deal of respect. When the eldest has taken possession of the estate, he builds a house at the publick expence for his father and mother, where he lodges and maintains them.

The *Corejians* are very much addicted to stealing, and so apt to cheat and lye, that there is no trusting of them. They think they have done a good action when they have over-reach'd a man, and therefore fraud is not infamous among them; yet if a man can prove that he has been cheated in a bargain of horses, cows, or any other thing whatsoever, he may be righted tho' it be three or four months after. Nevertheless they are silly and credulous, and we might have made them believe any thing we would, because they are great lovers of strangers, but chiefly the religious men. They are an effeminate people, and shew very little courage and resolution when they are put to it. At least we were told so by several credible persons, who were witnesses to the havoc the emperor of *Japan* made in their country when he slew their king; not to mention what *Wettevee* so often told us about the irruption of the *Tartar*, who coming over upon the ice, possess'd himself of the kingdom. He assur'd us, as one that had been an eye-witness to the whole, that more *Corejians* dy'd in the woods, whither they fled, than were kill'd by the enemy. They are not asham'd of cowardise, and lament the misfortune of those that must fight. They have often been repuls'd with loss when they have attempted to plunder some *European* vessel that has been cast on their coast, being bound for *Japan*. They abhor blood, and fly when they meet with any. They are much afraid of the sick, and particularly those that have contagious distempers, and therefore they presently remove them, whether they are in the town or country, and put them into little straw hovels in the middle of the fields. There no body talks to them, but only those that are to look after them, who give notice to passengers to keep off; and when the sick man has no friends to take care of him, the others rather let him die than they will come near him.

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HAMEL. him. When there is a plague in one town, 1653. or village, the avenues to it are shut up with a hedge of briars and brambles, and they lay some on the tops of the houses, where there are any sick, that all people may know it. They might when they are sick, make use of the simples that grow in their country, but the people are not acquainted with them, and almost all the physicians are employ'd by the great ones; so that the poor, who cannot be at that charge, make use of blind men and conjurers, in whom they once repos'd such great confidence, that they follow'd them every where, cross rivers and rocks, and particularly into the temples of the idols, where they call'd upon the devils. But this custom was abolish'd by the king's order in the year 1662.

Before the *Tartar* subdu'd this kingdom, it was full of luxury and debauchery, the *Corejians* whole business being eating and drinking, and giving themselves up to all lewdness. But now the *Tartars* and *Japoneſe* tyrannize over them, they have enough to do to live when a year proves bad, because of the heavy tribute they pay, and particularly to the *Tartar*, who comes three times a year to receive it. They believe there are but twelve kingdoms or countries in the whole world, which once were all subject, and pay'd tribute, to the emperor of *China*; but that they have all made themselves free since the *Tartar* conquer'd *China*, he not being able to subdue them. They call the *Tartar*, *Tiekſe*, and *Orankay*, and our country *Nampankoug*, which is the name the *Japoneſe* give to *Portugal*, and therefore not knowing us they give us the same name, having learnt it within these fifty or sixty years, since when the *Japoneſe* taught them to plant tobacco, to dress and make use of it, for till then it was unknown to them, and they telling them the seed of it came from *Nampankoug*, they often call tobacco *Nampankoy*. They take so much at present, that the very children practise it at four or five years of age, and there are very few men or women among them that do not smoke. When first brought them, they brought it for its weight in silver, and for that reason they look'd upon *Nampankoug* as one of the best countries in the world. Their writings give an account, that there are fourscore and four thousand several countries; but most of them do not believe it, and they say, if that were so every little island and sand must pass for a country; it being impossible, say they, for the sun to light so many in a day. When we nam'd some countries to them, they laugh'd at us, affirming, we only talk'd of some town or village; their geographical knowledge of the coasts reaching no

farther than *Siam*, by reason of the little traffick they have with strangers farther from them. They have scarce any trade, but only with the *Japoneſe*, and with the people of the island of *Ceusima*, who have a store-house in the south-west part of the town of *Pouſan*. They supply *Corea* with pepper, sweet-wood, alum, buffler's horns, goats and buck-skins, and other commodities, which we and the *Chineſe* sell in *Japan*. In exchange, they take the product and manufactures of the country. The *Corejians* have also some trade at *Peking*, and in the northern parts of *China*, but it is very chargeable, because they only go thither by land, and on horse-back. None but the rich merchants of *Sur* trade to *Peking*, and are always three months at least on the way. This whole trade is in linnen, or cotton-cloth. The great ones, and chief merchants buy and pay for all with money, but the meaner sort deals only with rice and other commodities by way of barter.

There is but one sort of weight and measure throughout the kingdom, but the traders abuse it very much, notwithstanding all precautions and orders of the governors. They know no money but their casis, and those pass only on the frontiers of *China*. They pay silver by weight in little ingots, like those we bring from *Japan*.

Their language, their way of writing, and their arithmetick, are very hard to learn. They have many words to express the same thing, and they sometimes talk fast, and sometimes slow, especially their learned men, and great lords. They use three several sorts of writing, the first and chiefest like that of *China* and *Japan*, which they use for printing their books, and for all publick affairs. The second is like the common writing among us. The great men and governors use it, to answer petitions, and make notes on letters of advice, or the like; the commonalty cannot read this writing. The third is more unpolish'd, and serves women and the common sort. It is easier to write in this character than the others, names and things never before heard of being noted down with very curious fine pencils. They have abundance of old books, both printed and manuscript, so choicely kept that none but the king's brother is trusted with them. Copies of them with cuts are kept in several towns, that in case of fire they may not be quite lost. Their almanacks are made in *China*, they themselves wanting skill to make them. They print with boards or wooden cuts, and lay one cut to each side of the paper, and so strike off a leaf. They cast accounts with little long sticks, as we do with counters. They know not how to keep

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keep books of accounts or shop-books, but when they buy any thing, they set down the price under it, and write on it what they made of it, and so find what profit or loss.

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When the king goes abroad, he is attended by all the nobility of the court, wearing the badge of his order, or piece of embroidery before and behind, on a garment of black silk, with a very broad scarf, a great body of soldiers following in good order. Before him go men on horse-back, and others on foot, some of them carrying colours and banners, and the others playing on several warlike instruments. They are follow'd by the life-guards, which are made up of the chief burghers of the town. The king is in the middle, carry'd under a very rich gold canopy, and proceeds with such silence, that the least noise is not heard. Just before him goes a secretary of state, or some other great officer, with a little box, into which he puts all the petitions and memorials private persons present upon the end of a long cane, or which they hang along the walls or pails, so that they cannot see who prefers them. Those that are appointed to gather them, bring them to the secretary, who puts them into the little box, and when the king returns into his palace, they are all laid before him to decide what is to be done, which he performs, and his orders are executed out of hand, no body presuming to contradict them. All the doors and win-

dows of the houses in the streets through which the king passes, are shut, and no body does presume to open the least cranny of them, much less look over the wall, or over the pails. When the king passes by the great men or soldiers, they must turn their backs to him, without daring to look, or so much as cough. Therefore upon these occasions, most of the soldiers put little sticks into their mouths, that they may not be accus'd of making a noise. When the *Tartar's* ambassador comes, the king going in person with all his court out of town to receive him, waits upon him to his lodgings, and in all places every body does him as much or more honour than to the king. All sorts of musicians, dancers, and vaulters, go before him, striving who shall divert him most. During the whole time the *Tartar* is at court, all the streets from his lodging to the palace are lin'd with soldiers; who stand within ten or twelve foot one of the other. There are two or three men who have no other employment but to pick up notes thrown out of the *Tartar's* window to be carry'd to the king, who desires to know what the ambassador is doing at all times. To conclude, that prince studies all ways to please him, endeavouring by all manner of civility to make him sensible of the respect he bears the great *Cham*, that he may make a favourable report concerning him to his master.

1653.

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A N  
A C C O U N T  
O F  
*A Voyage from Spain to Paraquaria :*

Perform'd by the Reverend Fathers,

*Anthony Sepp and Anthony Behme,*

Both German JESUITS;

The first of Tyrol upon the river Eth, the other of Bavaria.

Containing a description of all the remarkable things, and the inhabitants, as well as of the missionaries residing in that country.

Taken from the letters of the said *Anthony Sepp*, and publish'd by his own brother *Gabriel Sepp*.

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Translated from the HIGH DUTCH Original, Printed at  
NURENBERG, 1697.

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Advertisement to the Reader.

**T**HE reverend fathers Anthony Sepp and Anthony Behme, with several other zealous Jesuits, being inflamed with a holy zeal for the propagating of the catholick faith in far distant countries; resolved with a great deal of cheerfulness to leave their native country. And travelling into Spain, took upon them the holy function of missionaries, for the conversion of the infidels, and instruction of the already converted Indians in Paraquaria, a province of the western America. After their arrival at Buenos Ayres, the said father Sepp having thought fit to send an account of this voyage, together with a description of that country, its inhabitants, manners, government, &c. in two letters sent into Germany; the same were thought absolutely worthy to be publish'd, for the many remarkable things contained therein, and scarce known before in these parts.



## An Account of a Voyage from Spain to Paraquaria, &c.

### C H A P. I.

*An account of father Anthony Sepp, of the society of Jesus, his voyage out of Spain to Paraquaria, and his arrival at Buenos Ayres; with a short description of that place, and its inhabitants. Dated at Buenos Ayres in Paraquaria, upon the river call'd Rio de la Plata in America, 15th of April, being the holy Easter-day, 1691.*

**W**E embark'd the 17th of January, on St. Anthony's day, at Cadiz, and arriving the 6th of April at Buenos Ayres, were receiv'd there with such demonstrations of joy as is scarce to be express'd; because the inhabitants of this place (which is no bigger than a country town) had not seen any ships from Spain for three years last past, whereby they were reduced to that extremity, that they had scarce a shirt left to shift themselves with; so that our vessels fold a yard of linnen cloth at twenty dollars, and twenty-five dollars, &c. a vast profit indeed, it being computed that at the rate they fold their commodities of iron, copper, linnen cloth, &c. they were worth at least twelve millions of Reals.

Concerning my other sufferings in this voyage, I will write more at large another time; I will only tell you, that without God's peculiar mercy, out of forty missionaries that were aboard these vessels, not half would have reach'd the American shore, as being altogether unacquainted with such harsh diet as our covetous captain was pleas'd to afford us, which was very hard biscuit full of maggots, because it had been baked two years before; about a pint of ill-scented and corrupted water a day, and a small quantity of flesh; but so full of maggots that, without the utmost necessity, we could not so much as have look'd upon, much less have eaten it.

I being the eldest of the missionaries, had the advantage of a cabin, of about six foot long and three broad; but the rest of the missionaries were forced to take up their quarters in the fore-castle of the ship, expos'd to the injuries of the weather and air, and, for an additional plague, were constantly incommoded with the stench of the hens-dung, which were kept thereabouts, and of which ten commonly died in a day;

not to mention what other hardships we were expos'd to, our clothes being all tatter'd and torn, and it being part of our daily employment to keep our selves tolerably free from vermin. After all these trials of our patience, we arriv'd in America, at which I could not refrain from tears, and upon my knees gave thanks to almighty God, for his deliverance from so many dangers and troubles.

Thus much of our voyage. I will now give a brief account of Paraquaria and Buenos Ayres (reserving a more perfect description thereof for another occasion.) Buenos Ayres is a small town, seated upon Rio de la Plata (the Plate River) which at its mouth, where it exonerates it self into the sea, is at least sixty German miles broad, and consequently resembles rather the sea than a river; its water is accounted very wholesome, and, to promote digestion, we drank every day of it, even after eating much fruit, without the least detriment. Their thatch'd houses, or rather huts of clay, have no more than one floor, and scarce ever last above seven years. However, about five years ago, our fathers have found a way of burning of lime, and making of tiles, wherewith they have cover'd their college, and are building now a steeple of brick, and hereafter intend to build also the church and the college of the same materials.

Hereabouts are no trees, such as our elms, firs, or such-like, fit for fuel, but whole woods of peach, almond, and fig-trees, the wood whercof is used in the kitchen. These they propagate by putting only the kernels into the ground, which grow up to admiration, and produce fruit the first year. I gather'd, this very day, some figs from a tree, the trunk whereof was bigger than I could grasp with both arms. The grounds are here so rich of pasturage, that you shall see thirteen thousand or fifteen thousand

SEPP. 1691. oxen feeding together; so that when you want a fat ox, you have no more to do than to go only into the field, throw a rope about the horns, bring him home and kill him for your use. Our college sold once twenty thousand oxen at a time, for twelve thousand crowns. They are very tall, and generally white, and valued only for their hides, all the rest, except perhaps the tongue, being left generally a prey to the birds and wild dogs, which flock together sometimes to the number of three or four thousand, and, if they meet with nothing else, do great mischief, and devour the calves, which are as big here as a moderate heifer with us.

Of partridges they have such prodigious quantities, that you may kill 'em with your cane or stick as you walk along, they being as tame and as large as our pullets. Their bread is made of the best wheat, as white as snow, but not salted, salt being very scarce among these *Indians*, and consequently but rarely used.

The inhabitants hereabouts, as well *Indians* as *Spaniards*, are *Roman Catholics*. The first live for the most part upon beef, which they eat without either bread or salt, and half raw. They go into the field, and having thrown the rope about an ox's neck, they ham-string with a knife, then they kill him by thrusting a knife into the neck-joint, cut off the head, and take out the entrails, all which they throw away as useless; and this they do in less than half a quarter of an hour's time. In the mean while that their comrades are employ'd in making a fire, these cut off large slices from the ox's ribs, or wherever they like it best, and putting them upon wooden sticks, toast 'em a little over the fire, and so devour 'em before they are scarce heated through. Sometimes they lay a whole quarter of an ox to the fire, but cut it off and eat it whilst 'tis on the spit. Thus have I seen two of these *Indians* devour an ox in two hours time (I mean the flesh, for they throw away the head, feet, and entrails) so that they seem to contend in this point for the superiority with *Caligula*, *Manimus*, *Apicius*, and *Tripbo*, famous gluttons among the ancients, the last of which kill'd an ox with his fist only, and eat him alone afterwards the same day.

The better to digest so vast a quantity of half-raw meat, some throw themselves immediately after into cold water stark naked, to retain the natural heat within their entrails, to promote digestion. Others, on the other hand, lie upon the ground with their stomachs downwards in the hot sand; here they sleep till they think they have well enough digested their last meal, and then go to work again as before. This gluttony produces worms in their bowels, progenerated from the vast quantity of raw and indigested meat, so that they seldom attain to the fiftieth year of their age.

As for the rest of the inhabitants of *Paraguay*, they are very good christians, and acknowledge no other superiors but the missionaries, whom they reverence like fathers, as they are indeed oblig'd to them for every thing, their education, cloathing, and food. They are very apt to imitate any thing that is laid before 'em; I have seen some writing of theirs as exact as the best print. They make clocks and trumpets, not inferior to any in *Germany*; but value musick above every thing else. When I shew'd 'em some of my compositions and musical instruments I brought along with me out of *Europe* (tho' I am but an indifferent musician) they were ready to adore me. At the time of our arrival we were met by about sixty *Indians*, playing upon their pipes and *American* horns, one of 'em keeping the time by the motion of a kind of a flag, after a very ridiculous manner. I presented these musicians with some toys, such as looking-glasses, needles, fish-hooks, glass-beads, *Agnus Dei's*, small pictures, &c. which they valued beyond gold and silver. But my paper beginning to fail me, I will only tell you, that I, with twenty missionaries more, are to leave *Buenos Ayres* before long, in order to go deeper into the country, into divers cantons, of which there are twenty-four in this province, each of 'em having five thousand, some eight or nine thousand, others fifteen thousand inhabitants, each under the tuition of two missionaries, who are to provide not only for their souls, but also for their bodies, by allotting each family their due share of meat, bread, flower, &c. without which they would devour all at once. No more at this time. I recommend my self, &c.

CHAP. II.

A particular description of father Anthony Sepp's voyage out of Spain into Paraquaria; taken out of his second letter dated in the canton of Japegu, in the province of Paraquaria, on the 24th of June, 1691.

The JOURNAL.

IT having pleas'd the almighty God to make me an unworthy instrument in the conversion and instruction of the pagans of America, he was pleas'd, thro' his mercy, to conduct me thro' many tribulations and dangers, from Cadiz to Buenos Ayres, where I arriv'd safely on the 6th of April, 1691. I left Trent the 9th of July, 1689, and travel'd thence to Genoa, not without great danger from the Banditti; thence embarking for Cadiz, I arriv'd there the 11th of September, being forced to stay a whole year at Seville for the departure of the ships bound for Buenos Ayres. I re-embark'd again on the 17th of January 1691, at Cadiz, for the prosecution of our intended voyage thither. Aboard these ships were forty-four missionaries of divers nations, Spaniards, Italians, Flemings, Sicilians, Sardinians, Genoese, Milanese, Romans, Bohemians, and Austrians. I was a native of Tyrol, and my companion father Anthony Adam Behme a Bavarian, of whose extraordinary zeal in his new mission, for the conversion of a certain nation call'd Yares, wherein he underwent great hardships, and was likely to have offer'd up his blood for the glory of Christ, by the hands of a pagan Barbarian, who had infallibly kill'd him, had his bloody design not been prevented by a certain new-converted Indian, belonging to my flock. I say, of all this I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

Our squadron consisted only of three ships, of betwixt fifty and sixty guns each. The Capitaina, or commodore's vessel, call'd *De Sanctissima Trinitate*, commanded by Don Antonio de Retana; the *Almiranta de Christo Nazareno*, by Don Antonio Gonzalez, and a pink, call'd *Matre Dolorosa*, commanded by a certain *Biscayne*, as were indeed the other two commanders. We embark'd aboard the *Almiranta*, in company of the three governors of Buenos Ayres, *Assumption*, and *Chili*, with their ladies and families, besides divers factors, merchants, barbers, negro slaves, two hundred soldiers, one hundred seamen, and others; but before we enter'd the great Atlantick ocean, all the fathers missionaries went over to the *Matre Dolorosa*, where the captain allow'd me no other place to lie in than a narrow cabin about five foot long, and not above

two and a half broad; and my beloved companions place, I mean father Anthony Behme and another Austrian father's, were so short, that all that while they were not able to lie streight in it: some other fathers, who were not quite so tall as he, would have chang'd places with him, but he would not put the least inconvenience upon them to ease himself. There was a little window to let in the air, but this being shut for the most part, to keep out the sea-waves, we spent our time in darkness; besides which, the scent of the water in the ship was so nauseous to us, that we were ready to be suffocated with it; and were, on the other hand, no less pester'd with thousands of mice and rats, some whereof were not much less than cats, and made a most terrible noise. The smell of the onions and garlic, and of stinking tobacco, of about six hundred pullets, two hundred and eighty sheep, and one hundred and fifty hogs, which were not far from our quarters, were no small addition to the rest of our troubles. To add to our affliction, we had for our diet nothing but stinking meat, and biscuits full of maggots, the first having been salted a year, and the last baked two years before our departure, and kept by the captain. His covetousness was in some measure punish'd by the loss he sustain'd daily in his poultry and sheep, of the first of which died six or eight a day; and a pestiferous contagion reigning among the hogs aboard, most of them were thrown overboard. How often have we been glad to catch the rain-water, sent us from heaven, in sheets, hats, and vessels, with a great deal of thankfulness? I will not mention here the trouble and vexation we endur'd from the vermin; how often I have been glad to make use of the cables instead of a pillow, to patch my torn clothes, wash my own linnen, and suchlike other inconveniences, these being but trifles in comparison of the rest of our sufferings: the best was, that all this was in some measure recompens'd by a prosperous gale and voyage, which brought us, without any sinister accident, to our desir'd port.

The 18th of January, being still in sight of Cadiz, the fathers of the *Jesuits* college there came aboard us, to bid us adieu. We were not a little delighted with the vast

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number of small vessels, some of which came often aboard us, to sell us some fruits and other refreshments, whilst others passing in sight of us, wish'd the captain, governors, and us a happy voyage, in their usual sea-language, such as *Dios Cavelleros*, adieu gentlemen; a *Dios buen viage*, adieu, a good voyage; *buen passage*, a happy passage; *Vent in poppa*, a fair wind; *Mar bonanza*, a quiet sea, &c. We answer'd them with our drums and trumpets, and the fire of our cannon and small arms.

Being got out of sight of *Cadiz* the 19th, I observ'd the body of the sun exactly at its setting, and that of the moon exactly to appear much larger than ever I had observ'd it in *Germany*. The 20th we made 10 leagues with a fair wind. The 21st, 22d, and 24th of *January*, a brisk north wind carried us directly within thirty leagues of the *Canaries*, or *Insula fortunata*, which lie one hundred leagues from *Cadiz*. The 25th, being the day of the conversion of *St. Paul*, the sky began to be darken'd with clouds about midnight, which was soon after follow'd by so terrible a tempest, that the captain and whole ship's crew cry'd out *Misericordia, misericordia*, giving all over for lost; however, it lasted not long, the fury of the tempest being somewhat allay'd by break of day, and the clouds soon after dispers'd by the sun-beams. We receiv'd no other damage in this terrible tempest, accompany'd with thunder and lightning (a most terrible and dismal thing at sea) than that one of our ships had her mast brought by the board, which our captain wisely prevented in ours, by furling its sails in good time; one of the best remedies to divert the fury of this otherwise irresistible element.

Our procurator had brought along with him a *sanctified bell*, as we call it, and *Kaloke* by the *Americans*, unto which they attribute this virtue, that as far as its sound reaches, no thunder or lightning can do any mischief; for which reason we took care to have it rung at this time of danger. The original of its virtue must be traced as far as *Mexico*, where, they say, was formerly a bell of a vast bulk, which, as often as it lightned and thunder'd, rung of it self, and as far as the sound thereof reach'd, no thunderbolt was ever known to fall: afterwards 'twas thought fit to cast many bells of the metal of this great bell, which are given as a singular present to persons of quality; and ours is one of the same kind, every *Procurator* who goes from the *Indies* to *Rome* having such a bell allow'd him, to protect him in his voyage.

The 26th of *January*, having pretty well refitted our ship, we prosecuted our voyage, the *Capitaine* leading the van, which was

follow'd by the *Amirante*, but the pink being heavy laden, and pretty much damaged in the last tempest, remain'd behind for six or seven, and sometimes eight leagues, yet within sight. Thus we continued our course the 27th, 28th, and 29th. The 30th, by break of day, a seaman placed on the main-topfail-mast cry'd with a great deal of joy, *Cavelleros, terra, terra, Land, land, gentlemen*; it being a constant custom aboard those ships, for him that keeps watch on the main-topfail-mast to look about him continually with a perspective-glass, and at the sight of land, or any ships, to give notice thereof to the ship's crew, who, if they prove ships, set up a red flag, and discharge as many great guns as there are ships seen: the same is done by all the other ships of the same squadron, with such exactness, that if a captain fails in this point, he's oblig'd to pay a considerable fine.

The 30th of *January*, as we told you before, we discover'd land, which prov'd the high and famous rock call'd the *Peak of Teneriffe*, which appear'd all bare, without any trees, and cover'd on the top with snow. This *Peak* is well known to the mathematicians in their observations. The 31st, coming to the noted *Canary* isles, at 28 degrees, and seven degr. from *Cadiz*, we pass'd betwixt the isles of *Teneriffe* and *Palma*, the first to the left, and the other to the right of us, there being seven of 'em in all, but *Teneriffe* and *Palma* are only well peopled, where the *Franciscans* have a stately convent; and the *Canary* sack is prefer'd by the *Spaniards* before all other wines: they are also famous for a certain kind of singing-birds, call'd from thence *Canary-birds*. In the isle of *Palma* that brave father *Ignatius Azebedius* obtain'd the glory of martyrdom, with thirty of his companions.

*February* the 1st, we proceeded in our voyage with a brisk gale, which lasted all that night. The 2d, being *Candlemas-day*, a certain father, a *Fleming* by birth, made his last vow. We celebrated this day with a consort of musick, but the boisterousness of the sea not permitting me to play on the theorbo, we were forced to be contented with the harmony of the trumpets, and the thundering of our great cannon, which were discharg'd upon this occasion. The same day a certain negro-slave, belonging to the governor *Don Augustin de Robles*, was also initiated with the holy baptism. The 3d, we reach'd the *Tropick of Cancer*, sufficiently known by its excessive heat, which generally reigns there; but we happening to be blest with a cool north wind at that time, found it as pleasant as the most delightful spring-season in *Europe*.

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The 4th, abundance of flying fish fol-  
lowed our ship for a considerable time in  
the air, till at last they betook themselves  
to the water again. The seamen, for di-  
version sake, ty'd a strong thread on a cane,  
with a hook at the end, and a white fea-  
ther instead of the floating wood; the fly-  
ing fish mistaking the same for whiteings,  
and snapping at them with much eagerness,  
were thus catch'd by the hook.

The 5th of *February* being the feast of  
the *Japoneſe* martyrs, a novice entred him-  
self into our society, and made the usual  
vow; and the missionaries took the holy  
sacrament.

The 6th we pass'd with a prosperous  
gale the *Heſperides Iſle*, or isles of *Cape*  
*Verde*, so call'd from their constant verdure,  
which continues throughout the whole year,  
notwithstanding their situation, under the  
*Torrid* zone. It is an unwholesome place,  
by reason of the venomous vapours which  
arise from the many pools and fens; some  
years before eight missionaries, with some  
soldiers and seamen, went ashore here,  
and eating too greedily of the coco-nuts,  
water-melons, and oranges that grow here,  
paid for it with their lives; for which rea-  
son strict orders were given, that no body  
should go ashore here. We happen'd to  
have aboard us certain negroes, that were  
natives of this country, two of which I in-  
structed at the same time to sound the  
trumpet. These told me divers old stories  
of their country, viz. That they had a  
*Negro* bishop among them, and divers ca-  
nons that were likewise *Negro*s, and also  
many *Negro* priests; but that the fathers  
of the *Jesuits* college (belonging to the  
*Portuguese*) were *Blacks*. This he told us  
because the white colour was in no great  
esteem there, the greatest blackness being  
accounted the greatest beauty among them.  
This day we observed in our garden (which  
we had brought out of *Spain* to transplant  
into *Paraquaria*) the *Narcisse*-flower to  
blossom, and a *Muscadine* vine begin to bud.  
The *Jessamine* continuing still in blossom.

The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and  
12th, we sail'd forward very briskly, and  
found our selves at 6 deg. on this side the  
line, or *Equator*, the north-star and *Ursa*  
*Major* being scarce any further observable  
to us. The 13th, 14th, and 15th, we  
saw divers sea monsters, and among the  
rest a certain large fish flying near the ship,  
like an eagle. Our ship's crew catch'd an-  
other fish not unlike a wolf in his head,  
ears and hair, but the body like a fish.  
After dinner, the seamen being in a merry  
vein, threw out a chain, at the end of  
which was fasten'd a leaver weighing at  
least six pound weight. A sudden rejoicing  
being heard among the ship's crew, the go-

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vernors, the ladies, missionaries and mer-  
chants came running upon the deck to see  
what the matter was, when they found that  
eight of the stoutest seamen were drawing  
a certain large fish into the ship not unlike  
an ox.

The governor of *Buenos Ayres* having a  
mind to give us a diversion, order'd the  
captain to call his three great dogs he had  
brought away with him, which being  
done, they were not very forward to ap-  
proach this sea monster till being set on  
they at last ventur'd, when this sea ox de-  
fended himself so well by striking with his  
tail at the dogs, and sometimes wounding  
them with his teeth, that they were forced  
to give it over; and the cabin-boys and  
some seamen came with their weapons to  
make an end of him, which they did ac-  
cordingly, boil'd and eat him; we had our  
share also, which I and father *Bebme* lik'd  
very well. There was a thing very obser-  
vable in this sea monster. That to his skin  
all over his body adher'd vast numbers of  
small fish, which were his young ones,  
but such fish as being sensible of their ene-  
my who press'd upon them, had fasten'd  
themselves there to avoid his fury. Nothing  
is more common than to see the dolphins  
play in the *Atlantic* sea.

The 16th we began the nine days  
prayers in remembrance of the *Indian* apo-  
stle *St. Francis Xavierius*. The 17th, 18th,  
and 19th, the heavens blessed us with ve-  
ry seasonable showers of rain, to our no  
small refreshment, our water aboard the  
ship beginning already to taste very ill,  
and what was worse, we had no more than  
two small measures allow'd of it a day;  
you may be sure that every body was bu-  
sied enough in catching what water they  
could in sheets, table-cloths and hats, and  
you might see the poor soldiers and seamen  
catch it in their shoes; and it was plea-  
sant to see even those few failers that  
were left, to open their wells, and to catch  
the rain-drops with a great deal of eage-  
rness.

The 20th we perceiv'd divers small fires,  
like *Ignes fatui*, the reason whereof is not  
so easily to be found out at sea as on land.  
The 21st we came within a league of the  
*Equinoctial* line, which was pass'd by the  
22d of *February* early in the morning.  
We were not a little surpris'd to find the  
air so temperate and delightful, like the  
spring season; whereas commonly by rea-  
son of the nearness of the sun, the heat is  
very excessive under the line. Ships are of-  
ten becalmed for sixty or seventy days, and  
every thing seems to change its nature:  
the water putrefies, flesh stinks, fleas, lice,  
and other vermin dye: the scent of spices  
and balsams vanish, and abundance of peo-

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We were not unmindful that among our friends in *Europe*, this was the *Merry Thursday* as they call it, which they spend in feasting, but we found that our *African* almanack did not agree with theirs, our pots and dishes being quite empty. Father *Bebme* and I were got into the acquaintance of divers *Dutch* and *Hamborough* merchants at *Cadiz*, who, though *Lutherans*, invited us often to dinner, and shew'd us many other civilities; among them Mr. *Buermaster*, a *Hamborough* merchant, was very kind to us, and at parting presented us with two *Muscovite* hams, telling us that he believed they might stand us in good stead in our voyage, which proved true enough, we having preserved them hitherto for the last extremity; but being more unwilling not to let pass the *Merry Thursday* unremember'd, we invited all the *Bobemian*, *Flemming*, *Austrian*, and some *Italian* missionaries to partake of our hams, which they did, and we eat them merrily, though without bread, wine or water; to add to our mirth, I play'd several tunes upon the *Theorbe*, and father *Bebme* and I diverted them with some pleasant tunes upon the flagelet.

The 23d and 24th the night wind continuing, we were advanced a degree to the south side of the line; it being *St. Matthew's* day, all the missionaries, brothers and novices, took the sacrament. The same morning hearing a more than ordinary noise upon the deck, and enquiring the reason thereof, I was answer'd, that they had seen *St. Thelmus* on the top of the mast. You must know that this *St. Thelmus* a *Dominican* being accounted a patron of seafaringmen, is revered by them every morning and evening. Now it often happening that certain fiery meteors appear at sea like the *Ignes fatui* by land; the ignorant seamen cry out immediately *St. Thel-*

*mus*, falling upon their knees, and saying certain ejaculations to divert the danger of an approaching tempest, which they say is portended by the appearance of *St. Thelmus*; though in all our voyage to *Buenos Ayres* we met with no considerable danger, nor lost as much as one man at sea; whereas not long ago in a voyage to the *Philippine* islands, the squadron that went from *Cadiz*, threw above five hundred dead carcasses over board with a cannon ball ty'd to their bodies, under the discharge of one great piece of artillery, the usual ceremony at burials at sea.

The 25th and 26th we met with very unconstant weather, sometimes it rain'd, sometimes it thunder'd and lighten'd, and not long after perhaps the fun rejoiced us again for a small time with her pleasant fun beams; a thing very common betwixt the *Tropics*, especially within two degrees on both sides of the line; whereas beyond the *Tropics* the sea is generally so easie and free from tempests, that the *Spaniards* have given it the name of *Mar de las Danas*, or the *Lady's sea*.

And upon this occasion I ought not to be unmindful of my promise, made in my letter from *Seville* to the fathers of our society, concerning the needle of the compass, viz. To give them a true account whether the needle of the compass under the line, does change from the north where it stood before, to the other north pole on that side, after they are pass'd the equator. Concerning which I will tell you, that according to my own and father *Bebme's*, and divers other missionaries observations, that the needle does not in the least change its positions, and shews the north as well here in *Paraguaria* as in *Europe*, the whole difference being not real, but only in respect of our own acceptions; for what they call the south in *Europe*, is the north with us here; and as the south wind is the warmest with them, so is it the coldest here. The north wind is cold in *Europe* and warm here. The heart of our winter is about midsummer, yet without frost or snow, a thing so little known among these *Indians*, that they can't tell whether it be black or white: and in *December* and *January*, when all is cover'd with snow and ice in several parts of *Europe*, we enjoy here the most delightful fruits of the summer. In short, he that call'd *America* the world turn'd topsie turvey, was not much in the wrong of it.

But we must return to our voyage. The 27th of *February* at 2 deg. of southern latitude, we began our voyage not with *Muscovy* hams as we had done the *Thursday* before, but with stinking beef and water; yet we were merry with this slender fare.

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After dinner I visited the sick, and gave them some almonds and some confited aniseeds, which I had brought along with me from *Cadix* for my own use. After I had made them a short sermon upon *Patience*, I presented to them the image of our lady of *Ottingen*, which they kiss'd with a great deal of devotion.

The 28th of *February* we began our lent. Father *Anthony Paru* our superior, a *Spaniard* by birth, a person who for his gravity and whole behaviour resembled *St. Xaverius*, and most of the *Spanish* missionaries, brothers and novices had been continually troubled (ever since their coming from *Cadix*) with the sea distemper or vomiting; which not only continued but increased daily; the reason whereof I attribute to nothing else, than that this was the first time of their going to sea, which being plainly observable in those missionaries that were aboard us, that came from *Germany*, the *Netherlands* and *Italy*, and had pass'd over the *Mediterranean* into *Spain*, were not so much afflicted with it. Our greatest trouble was, that we had nothing wherewith to comfort them, for our pullets were all dead as well as the sheep, and there remained twelve hogs, so lean and tough, and the biscuit so full of maggots, that they were very unfit food for a sick stomach. The ship's crew had a kind of hard black biscuit, such as they feed the galley slaves with aboard the galleys; these being without maggots, father *Anthony Bebbe* and I eat them with the same satisfaction now as if they had been the best *French* bread. How often did we wish at this time for the scraps which we had seen in our college under the table?

The 1st of *March* we began to perceive the tempests and sudden hurricanes which had pester'd us so frequently about 3 deg. in latitude of the line, betwixt the two *Tropics* to change remarkably; the weather being much more settled, towards the evening we saw an entire rainbow quite across the sky, resembling our rainbows, except that we perceiv'd more of the blew mix'd with the other colours.

The 2d of *March* we sail'd along the coast of *Parnambuco* in *Brazil*, where father *Anthony Vierra* one of our society, a *Portuguese* by birth, and formerly chaplain to queen *Christine* of *Sweden*, lives in the *Jesuits* college. The same night *Don Antonio Gonzalez* captain of *Almiranta* evacuated a stone as big as a pigeon's egg. The 3d at sun-set a strange *Indian* bird settled upon our mast, accounted a sign that we were within 30 leagues of the shoar of *Brazil*, because the birds seldom venture further at sea, where they have no trees by the way to rest upon. His tail was like that of a

dragon's, the wings no bigger than those of *SEPP*. an ordinary cock; the head like that of a turkey, and the bill like that of a snipe. The governor of *Buenos Ayres* let fly at it with his fusée, but the shot not being strong enough to penetrate through the feathers, he escaped with life.

The 4th being the first *Sunday* in *Lent*, we had a sermon, which we continued for eight days successively, where the governors and ladies were always present. The 5th we found our selves at 8 deg. towards the *Tropic* of *Capricorn*, and though we had the sun *Vertical* (because it made not the least shadow about noon) we were not troubled with any excess of heat. The 6th, 7th, and 8th, nothing of moment happened, except that now and then we were refresh'd with a welcome shower of rain. The 9th, the *Tropic* of *Capricorn* began to shew his horns, but was no less favourable to us than the *Cancer*, we being not molested with heat. The 10th proved a very clear star-light night, and among other stars we then observed the *Pole Star* or *Polus Antarcticus*, the *Peacock*, the *Apis Indica*, the *Chameleon*, *Nubacula Major* and *Minor*, with several other stars, not to be met with in our celestial globe, as being as much unknown to the *European Astronomers*, as divers places and rivers are to the geographers, and therefore left out in their maps.

The 11th, we saw some sea pigeons, four of which settled on our masts; we kill'd two of them, and they were not unlike our pigeons. The 12th being the day of *Canonization* of *St. Ignatius* and *Xaverius*, we received the blessed sacrament. I visited the sick, and presented them with what refreshments I had. The 13th at one a clock in the afternoon, we pass'd the *Tropic* of *Capricorn*, 23 deg. from the *Equinoctial* line, and by entering the *Temperate* zone, advanced toward the river of *la Plata*.

Much might be said of the *Temperate* zone, were it not beyond my purpose: I will only tell you that it has got its name from its most excellent temperature of air, being neither too hot nor too cold, neither too moist nor dry; of which we found the happy effects, all our sick beginning to mend from this time, except the lately baptized *Negro* who continued very ill; I offered him the image of our lady of *Ottingen*, exhorting him to trust to her goodness for relief, which he did, and kiss'd it with a great deal of satisfaction; and recovered not long after. The 14th being becalmed we catch'd several fish, very different from ours in *Europe*. In the belly of one they found a whole waistcoat, in another an arm of a man. I spent the greatest part of this day in instructing four *Negro* boys belonging to the governor of *Buenos Ayres* to found

SEPP. found the trumpet, which cost me no small pains; however before the end of my voyage they had learn'd to sound about six or seven tunes.

The 15th, *Don Antonio de Retano*, captain of the *Capitana*, came aboard us to give our captain a visit, which was return'd afterwards by our captain. They saluted one another every time with eight cannon shot. In the evening I explain'd to some of the *Negro* women certain points of the christian religion, giving them an account of certain miracles perform'd by our lady of *Otingen*, the image whereof I shew'd them; they kiss'd and reverenc'd it, and finding them very desirous to keep it, I presented them with some others, of which father *Bebme* and I had caus'd several hundred to be made of earth at *Seville*; they valued this present above all the gold and silver I could have given them.

The 16th and 17th the wind being somewhat slacken'd, we divert'd our selves again with fishing, and one of the cabin-boys laying unadvisedly hold of the fish, he fasten'd his teeth into his hand, and held so fast, that his teeth could not be disengag'd till they cut of the head. The 18th being the 3d Sunday in *Lent*, we were alarm'd with a cannon shot, but having sent a boat to the *Capitana* to learn the reason, we found that it was only the usual ceremony made at the burial of a deceased seaman, whom they had thrown over-board with a bullet ty'd to his neck. The only person who lost his life in the whole voyage, he being not very well before we left *Cadiz*. The baptized *Negro* begins to mend every day; of which I desire an account may be sent to the reverend fathers, jesuits, *Philip Seuch* preacher, and *Joseph Adelman*, two great admirers of this image; as also to the masters of the *Tertian* scholars, and to all our companions, especially to father *Felik Jueger*; to satisfy them that our lady of *Otingen* does not cease to perform miracles, even among the *Indians* in *America*. For the image which I have caus'd to be set up in our church, they reverence and present with a deal of devotions: nay, a certain *Indian* painter has drawn two, no ill copies after it, which I have presented to father *Bebme*, who does wonders with them among the *Barbarians* call'd *Taros*; for such as are baptized reverence them with bended knees, make the sign of the cross before them, nay bring their young babes to the chapel (made of straw and clay) where one of them stands in order to kiss this holy image; all which, together with the indefatigable care of the said father *Anthony Bebme* (of which more hereafter) I look upon as a happy preface of the entire conversion of

these *Barbarians*; whose ease I desire may be recommended to the fervent prayers of those of our society in *Europe*, who thereby will have a share in those blessings that attend the office of a missionary.

But we must return to our ships. The 19th being the feast of *St. Joseph* the foster father of our Saviour, I did read mass and attended all the fathers, brothers and novices at dinner, it being my turn so to do. A little before sun-set the dogs began to bark and play very merrily, beyond what we ever observed them to do before; the captain told us that it was an infallible sign that we were not far from land, which the dogs by their quick scent could discover at a great distance; we soon found that he was not deceived in his guess, because soon after we got sight of the isle of *St. Thomas* on the coast of *Brasil*. The 20th our *Muscadine* vines in our little garden aboard us, began for to cast their leaves. The 21st being *St. Benedict's* day, I said mass instead of another father, whose turn it was; in which, as well as in every mass that ever I said, I bid them adieu. Constantly included in my prayers *Rudo*, father *Alphonso*, and my sister *Mary Beneditta*, with all the brothers and sisters in their respective convents; I desired to be remembered to them. The same evening I preached to the ship's crew, *Negros* and other passengers, my pulpit being only some cables wrapt together; and the seats of the auditors, the anchors belonging to the ship. I enlarg'd upon the life of the holy father *Benedict*, concluding with a moral exhortation to follow his holy footsteps. After sermon I told them several remarkable things of the two monasteries of *St. Mary's Hill*, and of the *Holy Crois of Loben*, of their original and situation upon high rocks, of their several rules and discipline; and how I had a brother in one and a sister in the other of these convents; who I was sure would offer their daily prayers for my safe passage over the wide sea. Tho' I speak to them in *Spanish*, in which I am not very perfect, yet they did hear me with the same attention as if I had been born a *Spaniard*; and I always found that when I spoke to the *Indians* concerning *Germany*, and such like far distant places, they were as attentive to it as the *Europeans* when they hear of the *Indian* affairs.

The 22d they catch'd a fish weighing no less than ninety pound weight. It was of a green colour, with gold colour'd spots, the flesh was very sweet and mellow. The 23d we were forced to laver, by reason of the contrary winds, so that we could not make above half a degree that day, tho' at that rate of sailing there goes sometimes twenty four nay thirty leagues to a degree, where-

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fifteen. The 24th being St. Gabriel's day,  
we received the communion again, and the  
25th being the day of the Annunciation of  
our lady, it was celebrated with four mas-  
ses, the discharge of all our cannon, and  
by displaying all our ensigns and flags, and  
a comfort of our musical instruments, viz.  
The pipe, *Theorbe*, trumpets, drums and  
hautboys. The ship's crew danc'd in the  
evening to a drum and pipe. Soon after  
divers herons and birds of prey flying over  
our ship, we look'd upon them as certain  
messengers that we were not very far from  
the shoar, to the no small satisfaction of us  
all. Nothing can be more natural for men,  
than to long for that element which has gi-  
ven them life and being. I spent part of  
the evening in giving good instructions to  
the *Negros* aboard us, and in exercising the  
young ones at the trumpet, who began by  
degrees to found some few tunes. The *Ca-  
pitana* gave us the signal by a cannon shot,  
and sent us word by a boat that they had  
found the bottom, and found seventy fa-  
thom water; for whenever any ships ap-  
proach the shoar, they are sure to found  
the bottom by a certain piece of lead dip'd  
in suet or white wax, fastened to a rope of  
many fathoms long, which as soon as it  
touches the bottom, they draw up again,  
and by the colour of the earth that sticks to  
it, whether the ground be earthy, rocky  
or sandy, the last being the best for ancho-  
rage. We discovered at the same time a  
remarkable difference in the colour of the  
sea-water, which appear'd not quite so blew  
as before.

The 26th we had a favourable gale,  
which made the whole ship's crew, but e-  
specially us missionaries, full of hopes to  
reach the desired shoar before long. The  
27th the *Capitana* gave us the usual signal  
with a cannon shot and the white flag, that  
they had seen land; the *Almirante* did the  
same soon after, and was follow'd by the  
*Pink*. Our explorer on the top-mast dis-  
covered the land without the help of a pro-  
spective glass, to the right hand of us to-  
wards *Brasil*, immediately after break of  
day, as it is incredible with what joy every  
body climb'd, some upon ladders, others  
in the masts, to take part in so agreeable  
sight; some were cleaning their prospec-  
tive glasses, whilst others were endeavouring  
to discover it with their eyes; among these  
was father *Bebme*, who being very quick-  
sighted, cry'd out about noon, *Land, Land*  
*good Fishers*, and not long after every body  
had a plain sight of that so long wish'd for  
continent of *America*; which made us fall  
on our knees to offer our thanks to God Al-  
mighty for his mercy, in bringing us so  
near to the desired port.

VOL. IV.

We found the depth here of about 30 SEPP.  
fathom, at 24 deg. of southern lat. and 1691.

26 min. about 7 or 8 leagues from the  
mouth of the river de la Plata. At the same  
time we saw two clouds in the south, very  
high in the hemisphere, which we had first  
discover'd, and consequently kept sight of  
ever since we approached the line, but only  
just above the horizon. Our captain told  
us that these two clouds were the surest  
guides to ships bound for *Paraquaria*, and  
I remember that as soon as the captain saw  
them, before we pass'd the line, he told us,  
be joyful good fathers, here are our infalli-  
ble guides, these two clouds will shew us  
the way to *Paraquaria*, and rest as soon as  
we come there. Which in effect proved  
true, not that these clouds did drive before  
us, but they standing vertical over *Para-  
quaria*, and being in sight of us, we had  
no more to do than to steer our course di-  
rectly towards them. We saw in those sou-  
thern parts divers new stars, such as *Derado*,  
*Xipbias*, call'd the *Gold Fish*, *Noah's Dove*,  
the *Paradise Bird*, the *Phoenix*, the *Pica*  
*Brasilica*, *Indus Sagittiferus*, with divers o-  
thers.

The 28th of February we advanced to  
the mouth of the river, which at the en-  
trance is no less than seventy leagues over;  
and were told that the river of the *Amazons*  
in *Brasil* was much broader than this. We  
had much ado to find the right channel,  
and were fain to take in most of our sails,  
for fear of touching upon the sands. The  
water continued salt, as I found by experi-  
ence, but the colour was changed from blew  
and green, into a whitish colour not unlike  
the rivulets. After much rain, to the right  
of us, we had the cape of St. Mary, where  
we could plainly see the tower, built by the  
*Spaniards* after the discovery of *Paraqua-  
ria*. Then we pass'd by the isle call'd *De*  
*los Lobos*, from the vast number of sea-  
wolves which are seen hereabouts. We saw  
a great number of them with heads like  
dogs, and hair on their backs instead of  
scales, and they howled like our wolves.  
But we came not in sight of the cape St.  
*Anthony*.

Thence we had still sixty leagues to *Bue-  
nos Ayres*, which was at 38 deg. southern  
latitude, just as *Cadiz* at 35 deg. of nor-  
thern latitude. We saw hereabouts vast  
quantities of white wild pigeons. About  
noon we came to the isle *Meldonato*; and a  
rumour being spread in *Spain*, that the *Por-  
tuguese* had taken the post and fortified  
themselves in that island, the governor of  
*Buenos Ayres* (pursuant to his orders received  
from his catholick majesty) went ashore in  
the said island with some gentlemen and  
soldiers, to know the truth thereof; they  
took a view of the whole island, and found

7 P

neither

SEPP. neither men nor the footsteps of men, much  
1691. less any houses or fortifications; but prodigious numbers of fat oxen, cows, calves and horses, the grass being so high, that it almost covered the cattle, notwithstanding they were very large. They kill'd an ox, which they brought along with them besides several other things; but the ox was so big that they were forced to cut him into quarters before they could carry him into the long-boat.

They brought also along with them divers sorts of flowers, of which they had made garlands and put them on their hats. The governor, after his return aboard the ship, told us, that near the shore, upon a rock, there stood a wooden cross, set up doubtless by the Spaniards, as a token that they were the discoverers of it. The flowers they brought along with them were not unlike some of our European flowers. One had some resemblance to our gilliflower, another to our saffron, and another to that of our wild sage. But what surprized me most, was a certain flower (such a one as I never met with before in my life) having a thorny crown, a lance, 3 nails, and the characters of ropes upon its leaves; which for that reason I gave the name of the passion-flower. After this day we always came to anchor at night, not daring to sail in the night time for fear of missing the channel, which has on both sides most dangerous sand-banks, thinking our selves much more safe than in the open seas. We all rested very well, and the 30th by break of day weighed our anchor, and with all the sail we could make pass'd by the *isle de los Flores*, to call'd from its abundance of flowers. I spent part of the day in instructing a Negro boy who was afterwards baptized at Buenos Ayres.

April 5th, I found by that water where-with I wash'd my face, that it had very little of the brackish taste left, which put us in hopes that we might drink fresh water by noon, which happen'd accordingly; and it would have done one's heart good to see how every body did run to satiate himself with the most delightful draught of fresh water, which went down with more pleasure at that time, than the best of wines could have done at another, notwithstanding it was not very clear. We found twenty fathom water.

April 2d, I told you before that this river is full of sand banks, to avoid which four men were constantly employed to sound the depth by the plumb, and, according as they found the earth, which stuck to the bottom of it, either sandy, clay or marly, they cry'd at every turn, 20 *fathom, clay ground*; 18 *fathom, sand*; so that by the special care of our captain, we pass'd on

very happily without striking upon the sand banks.

April 3d, a large bird of prey settling upon the mast of our ship, the governor of Buenos Ayres shot a bullet into his carcase, which was too strong for his stomach to digest; he had most terrible large claws. Soon after we catch'd a pretty small bird with our hands. It was of a sky-blew colour all over the body except the head, where it had a red tuft; it made not the least noise when it was catch'd, and was presented to the governor's son. The same day the captains dispatch'd *Don Pietro de Castro*, in a yacht to Buenos Ayres, to give notice of our arrival.

The 4th, we were within twenty leagues of Buenos Ayres, yet could not see it; we spent that day in clearing the ships, put up our flags, covered the galleries with scarlet cloth, and opened the port-holes for the cannon, to give the usual salute at our arrival in the port. The governors, merchants, factors, passengers, soldiers, and in short all the ship's crew, even to the cabin-boys, put on their best apparel, to make the best appearance they were able at their arrival in the harbour; among which the equipage of the governor of Buenos Ayres, and the ladies, together with the flags, ensigns and ornaments of the vessels, made a most glorious shew, the last appearing upon the water like so many triumphant castles. The poor missionaries were the only persons, who in their habits had not the least share in all these preparations, their cloaths being very old, especially mine, and those of father *Bebme*, who being made a year before the rest, were so tatter'd that they would not hold a stitch; and therefore wore our night-gowns over them.

The 5th immediately after sun-rising, we got sight of the so much desired port of Buenos Ayres, as the Spaniards call it, from its most excellent temperature of the air, throughout the whole year. Towards evening we saw two boats, with two pair of oars each, to make the best of their way towards us: In one was the son of the governor of the place, accompany'd with three of the chief officers, to welcome the new governor, and in the other the *Procurator*, or chief of our society in *Paraguay*, to do the like to the missionaries aboard, and to regale us with divers sorts of provisions and refreshments; or, to speak in plain terms, to feed the hungry. The father procurator brought along with him four sheep and two calves, but we refusing to eat flesh in lent, bestowed the same upon the hungry soldiers; of American fruits they brought us musk-melons, apples, melons and water-melons, call'd *Sandias* by the Spaniards, some onions and garlick, twenty whea-



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wheaten loaves of the best sort, a small barrel with the best honey, a basket of sweet-meats, preserv'd lemons and citrons, &c. all which how welcome it was to our hungry stomachs we will give you leave to guess; the other boats having brought also such like refreshments for the governours and ladies, they were no less pleas'd with them than we, after so tedious and troublesome a voyage.

The 6th of *April* we arriv'd happily in the port *Buenos Ayres*; where all that day nothing was to be heard but the thunder of our cannon, the noise of our trumpets, drums and pipes: Here they saw our flags and ensigns display'd, on the shoar several companies of horse and foot, a vast number of *Indians* with their musical instruments, abundance of negroes to bid us welcome; and to render our arrival the more conspicuous, many of the *Indians* came running

with full speed, and thronging through the SEPP.  
crowd to kiss our hands, so that I could not refrain from tears, but upon my knees implor'd God's mercy to assist me in my intended design of bringing many of these innocent people to the knowledge of the gospel: Thus surrounded by a vast multitude of these *Americans*, and accompanied by the father provincial *Gregory de Gresco*, and the rest of our society, we pass'd from the gate straightways to the church, where we sung the *Te Deum* with a great deal of devotion, the bells ringing all the while all over the town. Thus having given you the best account I could of this voyage, pursuant to my promise at our departure, I will now proceed to our journey from *Buenos Ayres*, into the cantons of the *Indians*; in hopes that you will, in consideration of the weight of the matter, pardon the unpoliteness of the stile.

### C H A P. III.

*An account of another voyage performed by father Anthony Sepp, May 1691. from Buenos Ayres, for 200 leagues up the river Uruguay, to the cantons of the Indians.*

**B**UT before I embark, a second time, I think it not amiss to give you a short description of *Buenos Ayres*, not questioning but tho' the same has been done more at large before by other historians; yet what comes from the hand of a friend, who lives upon the spot, will be look'd upon as more sure and acceptable, than what comes from strangers, that have been no eye-witnesses of what they publish to the world. Being arriv'd the 6th of *April* 1691. (as we told you before) at *Buenos Ayres*, our father provincial thought it highly necessary, that the forty four missionaries, which had endured so much hardship in so long a voyage, should have a month allowed them for the recovery of their strength, which was much impaired by so many fatigues, some being so much alter'd in their complexions, that they appear'd as meagre and pale as death it self.

His first care was, to endear himself to us by all imaginary acts of charity; he provided food and drink, clothed and received us with all the marks of kindness and liberality in his college, where we did not want any thing the place afforded; as on the other hand such of our missionaries as were able employ'd the approaching holy week in hearing confession, and giving absolution to the *Spaniards* living at *Buenos Ayres*, no *Indians* being permitted to inhabit the town; for the old college here (tho' next to that of *Corduba* in *Tucuman*, the biggest of these parts) consisting only of

eight fathers and one brother, including the father provincial and his deputy, had their hands full, in the daily performance of their duty.

This province exceeds in bigness all *Germany*, the *Netherlands*, *France* and *Italy* taken together, not in the number of cities, for such it has none; not in colleges, for of these there are no more than eighty, and in them only a hundred and sixty persons, but in its vast extent, and the great distance of our colleges from one another, some of which are a hundred, two hundred, three hundred, nay five hundred or six hundred leagues asunder. There is one continu'd plain of two hundred leagues betwixt *Buenos Ayres* and *Corduba* in *Tucuman*; in these two hundred leagues you see not so much as one tree; yet nothing but the best pasturage in the world; full of fine cattle, such as oxen, cows, calves and horses, all which, as they belong to the first that catches them (there being neither village, nor house, nay not so much as a shepherd's hut to be seen in the whole plain) so you may take them by thousands, and dispose of them at pleasure. But we must not venture too far into this spacious field, for fear of losing our little town of *Buenos Ayres*; which has no more than two streets built crosswise; it lies at 35 deg. towards the *Antarctic Pole* (of southern latitude) as *Cadiz* in *Spain* stands at 35 deg. towards the *Arctic Pole* (of northern latitude:) it is a very healthful place, as its name intimates; under the government of a *Spa-*

SEPP. a *Spanish* governour, which is changed every five years. It has four convents, viz. of the *Franciscans*, *Dominicans*, *Trinitarians* and *Jesuits*; who all live here in a great deal of poverty, by reason of the great scarcity of many things requisite for the conveniency of human life. The houses and churches here are not built of brick, but clay, not above one story high; and this is not for want of stone, but of lime and mortar; the burning of which has been but lately set up here, as well as the making of tiles and bricks some years before. They have since that time began to build a steeple of brick, which is near half finished, and intend soon to begin a new church of the same materials. The jesuits themselves are the architects, and the workmen, certain *Indians* sent thither from the cantons in the country. The college, and some few houses are also covered with tiles, but the rest only with stone.

The castle it self, where the governour resides, is only of clay, surrounded with an earthen wall, and a deep trench, defended only by nine hundred *Spaniards*; tho' in case of necessity, thirty thousand *Indian* horse might be arm'd out of the several cantons, and these not unskillful in the use of fire-arms and swords, in which they are instructed by the missionaries, as also how to draw up into squadrons and battalions, and to act both offensively and defensively, as well as the *Europeans*. Not to speak here of their own arms, as bows, arrows, slings, &c.

The ecclesiastical government here is composed of one bishop only, and three canons, whose revenues in all do not amount to above three thousand crowns *per Annum*; which, according to a true computation, does not amount beyond half the sum, considering that silver is cheaper here than iron; for you may sell a two-penny knife here for a crown; an ordinary hat, such as you buy in *Germany*, for two shillings for ten or twelve crowns; a gun of about ten or twelve shillings price, for thirty crowns, and so in proportion; because these things are often not to be bought for any money here.

On the other hand provisions are dog cheap; an ox, or rather to speak more properly, a fat cow (for they don't value the flesh of oxen) they buy for two *Reales de Plata*, or ten or twelve pence, a good horse for two shillings and for less, because I have seen two good horses given for a knife not worth six pence in *Germany*, and a good ox for a few needles; but of this more hereafter.

About *Buenos Ayres* you see whole woods of peach-trees, neither have they any other fuel, but the wood of almond and

peach-trees; these they propagate by putting only the kernels into the ground, which bear fruit the next year. But chestnuts and hazelnut-trees will not thrive so well here. They tell you an odd story in *Spain*, concerning the origin of the peach-trees, viz. That when the *African* moors invaded *Spain*, they brought along with them vast quantities of peach-stones to plant in *Spain*, the fruit whereof being poisonous in *Africa*, they did not question but it would have the same effect in *Spain*; by which means they hoped to root out the *Spaniards*; but that, contrary to expectation, the said fruit proving quite otherwise in the *Spanish* soil, the *Spanish* missionaries brought abundance of these stones into *Paraguaria*, where they were planted, and propagated to a prodigious number: This country also produces the most delicious black and white figs; I remember that a poor negro, a slave belonging to the college, went in the *Easter* ... days along with me into a wood, where he got upon a tree, and gathered me as many as he pleased; I offer'd him a *Spanish* half-penny for his pains, which he refused, till I forced him to take it, wherewith he think himself as rich as *Cresus*, he returned me a thousand thanks, and told me, that if I would but give him the least notice, he would fetch me as many figs as I pleased.

All this while, our chief recreation consisted in giving them an account of the affairs of *Europe*, especially concerning the *Hungarian* war, the siege and relief of *Vienna*, the taking of *Buda* and *Belgrade*, the conquest of *Transilvania*, and such like; sometimes the discourse would run upon the actions of *Lewis XIV.* king of *France*, sometimes about the divisions raised by father *Fontaine* in that kingdom; all which being novelties to them, they were extremely pleased with our discourse.

But the father *Provincial*, and the father *Procurator Ignatius de Trios* (who has brought this letter as far as *Rome*) not thus satisfied, would needs have me make a trial of my skill in music; so that to satisfy their curiosity, I was forced to play before them upon the great *Theorbe* which I had bought at *Augsburgh*, and upon the lesser *Theorbe* bought at *Genoa*; at which they seem'd much surpriz'd: Father *Anthony Belme*, and I, gave them also a consort of the flute, upon the violin, and a little stroke upon the trumpet *Marine*, which I got made at *Cadiz*; all which they were much delighted with, tho' I must confess my self but a very indifferent artist.

I made also a present of certain thebes and other trifles, to the provincial and his deputy, and gave to the rest of the fathers a few earthen images of our lady, which were received and valued by them beyond gold

or

or silver: For it is to be observed, that in this country the smallest present of this kind is fit for a provincial, who will think himself as much obliged upon such an account, as if in *Europe* you presented him with a piece of the best miniature; the reason whereof is, that the merchants that traffick into these parts, thinking it not for their purpose to trouble themselves with the selling of pictures, images and beads, the same are scarce ever brought hither but by the missionaries, and consequently highly valued by the inhabitants: Father *Bebme*, my companion, did in like manner give them sufficient proofs of his liberty; he presented that father provincial with a wooden cross, on which were no less than seven sun-dials neatly done, and to the rest of the fathers he gave some lesser crosses, which he had bought at *Caliz* and *Seville*.

By such like presents, tho' of little intrinsic value, we so gain'd upon the affection of the college, that they began to be very inquisitive of what part of *Germany* we were, and would often wonder what was the reason that they had not hitherto had so much as one missionary out of *Germany* in those parts; which was indeed no more than the truth. I told them that the only reason I knew of, was, That there being but few *Jesuits* colleges in that part of *Germany* which is immediately subject to the emperor, they could furnish but few missionaries. Unto which they reply'd, That the whole empire being subject in some measure to that emperor, and the *Spaniards* making no difference betwixt the nations of the several provinces of *Germany* (provided they were not of the *French* faction, a nation ever hated by them,) and that there was at that time a most strict alliance betwixt the emperor and the house of *Bavaria* by the marriage of that prince with the emperor's daughter, they could scarce conceive how so many colleges could not furnish some missionaries for the *Indies*.

I had no other answer to make, than that my first alledged reason, being an opinion generally received in *Germany*, I had taken all possible pains to undeceive them, in that point since my departure thence, and that I had written to my friends from *Seville*, that they were in an error as to this point: A *Bavarian*, *Suabian*, *Swiss* or *Palatin* missionary being as well qualified for that station, as a native of *Tyrol* or *Vienna* itself; which has been sufficiently verified since, by the trust reposed in father *Anthony Bebmé* (tho' a *Bavarian*) by the superior of our order. Unto which we might add, that since our coming thither, the natives seem to be more fond of us than the rest. But we must return to our story. After we had rested our selves for a month at *Buenos Ayres*,

VOL. IV.

the father provincial sent most of the missionaries lately come from *Spain* to *Cordoba* 1691. in *Tucuman*, for the convenience of their studies, most of them being but novices, and the rest students of philosophy and divinity. But the most of the missionaries as they were no *Spaniards*, and most of them arrived to a good age, he dispatch'd to the several cantons upon the river *Parana* and *Vinguas*, deeper into the country. We pass'd up the river in the following manner.

Three hundred *Indian* christians were appointed, with certain vessels, to carry us up the stream; but, before we embark'd, 'twill be requisite to give you a description of these vessels, which are call'd *Canoes* by the *Spaniards*. They take the trunks of two large trees, about seventy or eighty foot long, and three or four foot diameter; these two trees they fasten together, like our float-woods, yet at the distance of a pace from one another; this interstice they fill up with canes of about twelve foot in length and two foot in depth, and upon it erect a certain hut of small canes and straw, sufficient to contain conveniently enough two or three persons; the sides are commonly of straw or cane, cover'd with the same, over which they lay an ox's hide: on one side it has a little window, and on t'other the door, made likewise of an ox's hide. In these huts the missionaries divert themselves during the voyage, with as much satisfaction as if they were in a palace, and perform the same religious exercises as if they were in one of their colleges, without the least interruption, the *Indians* rowing very orderly, without the least noise, so that you shall scarce hear 'em speak a word all day long.

We embark'd in these canoes (two or three in each) the 1st of *May*, 1691, about two or three leagues from *Buenos Ayres*, because the missionaries are always careful not to let the *Indian* christians come as far as to that place, where these simple people would be soon corrupted and infected with the vices of the *Spaniards*. Thus we were row'd up the stream by twenty-four men in each canoe, and soon after pass'd by several islands on both sides of us, very delightful for the vast number of their palm, laurel, lemon and citron-trees, surpassing in natural beauty all the gardens of *Europe*, nothing being so much to be lamented as that all these islands (of which there are no less than sixty) which might serve princes for gardens, should be uninhabited, and be receptacles only for wild beasts.

Of fishes, and those of a delicious taste (but having not the least resemblance to ours, except some few small ones) this river affords such vast quantities, that you need no hook nor rod to take 'em, but only to hold

SEPP. hold out both your hands; nay, they'll leap  
1691. into your boat, where you may catch 'em  
with ease.

After we had for eight days row'd up the stream of the *Rio de Plata*, which henceforward is call'd *Rio Paraguay* (*Rio* signifying in Spanish as much as a river) we left *Rio negro*, i. e. the black River, to our right, and *Rio Terzera* on the left, and afterwards quitting likewise the river *Paraguay* (which has given its name to *Paraguayria*) enter'd the river *Uruguay* to the right, having its course three hundred leagues thence towards the side of *Brasil*. Upon this river, viz. two hundred leagues from *Buenos Ayres*, are seated fourteen of the Indian cantons, and twelve more upon the river *Parana*, deeper in the country on the right hand, whereof father *Scheerer* having publish'd a map, I will accordingly direct your way by the time.

First therefore, look for *Buenos Ayres*, and leaving the cape of *St. Mary* to the right, follow the track of the river upon which it lies, where you'll meet with another river, not named there, which is the river *Uruguay*, about the same bigness with the *Danube* near *Vienna*, upon which I now live in the first canton, from whence I writ this letter. Here you'll find in the map *St. Nicholas*, higher up *St. Xavier*, and still higher *St. Sacramentum*, *St. Joseph*, &c. Where is to be observ'd, that father *Scheerer* being not able to insert all the names, by reason of the narrow compass of the map, he mentions *St. Nicholas* in the first place, upon the river *Uruguay*, whereas 'tis the seventh in order; for *Yapay*, where I live, is the first; next, *Misiss Paraguaría*; seven leagues thence *Sorubí*, then *de Santa Cruz*, and twenty leagues further *St. Thomas*, from *St. Thomas of Borja*, now to that *Ayofoli*, *La Concepcion*, and so forth.

The 15th of May we took a walk along the banks of the river and adjacent woods: we found near the river-side abundance of fine Stones, which, if polish'd, would resemble our precious stones: we also saw a kind of vessel, naturally baked by the sun, of sand, and as bright within as if it had been glaz'd by a potter. In these the Indians keep their drink in the hottest season, and hanging it in the night-time in the air, it keeps the water as cool as if it had been set in ice. We also found here divers pieces half wood half stone, and divers pieces of citron-peel and flesh petrify'd, which seem to shew a petrifying quality in this river.

The 20th, a considerable number of *Barbarians* approaching our vessel, we sent our interpreter to know what their business was. They told us, that they had brought twenty horses to sell; so we landed, and having

ask'd the price of the horses, we produced our needles, knives, fish hooks, tobacco, bread, and the powder of certain leaves of a tree growing in *Paraguayria*, which they look upon as extraordinary wholesome, and put it in their drink (of which more anon.) These trifles, which in all cost not above a crown, were chang'd for twenty horses; and they were besides so well pleas'd with their bargain, that they went away whistling, a certain sign of their satisfaction.

He that was their chieftain, and is commonly a forester (whom they call *Carizque*) was clad only in a doe's skin, hanging down from his shoulders; the rest had on by a piece of skin wrapp'd about the middle, hanging down before as far as to the knees; the boys and girls were stark naked; upon the head they have nothing but long black hair, as strong as horse hair; in their ears they have holes, in which they hang either fish bones, shining like the mother of pearl, or a colour'd feather ty'd to a thread; the boys and girls had likewise white fish-bones or feathers, which they wore on their chins, in holes made for that purpose; they also wore feathers of divers colours ty'd in a string round their necks. The men are much of the same size as the Europeans, but not quite so tall, with thick legs and large joints; their faces scarce differ from one another, being rather round than oval, but flat, and of an olive colour. They were arm'd each with a bow, and a whole handful of arrows, these being accounted the most courageous, and most addicted to foreery among these *Barbarians*; and these are the same *Yares*, for the conversion of whom father *Anthony Belme* was sent thither, and lives among them to this day, not without great difficulty and danger, they having more than once attempted his life.

Some of the most robust among 'em had several deep scars on their bodies; these wounds they give themselves in their tender age, without the least repining, and wear 'em afterwards as a mark of their courage. The women appear more like devils than rational creatures; their hair hangs loose over their fore-heads, the rest, twisted in several locks, covering their backs to the hips; their faces are full of wrinkles, with their arms, shoulders, and breasts naked; their ornaments about the neck, hands, and arms are certain fish-bones, made like scales of mother of pearl, or large scales of fish. The wife of the *Carizque* wears a triple crown, like the popes, made of straw; their children they wrap, as soon as they're born, in a tyger's skin, give 'em suck only for a short time, and afterwards feed 'em with half-raw meat, out of which they suck the juice.

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The men have a custom, at the death of their nearest kindred, to cut off a finger every time off the left hand ; and if one of their daughters dies (provided the be hand some) they make a feast, and drink round out of the skull.

The 23d, we went ashore again, to purchase some meat of these *Barbarians* ; not above eighteen paces from the bank side we saw their huts of straw, without any roofs, fix'd upon the bare ground, an men household stuff consisted in a few tompons hollow'd out, which they use as we do our copper and earthen vessels, and a few sticks instead of spits ; their bed was a tyger or ox hide spread upon the ground, except that their *Cazique* had a net fallen'd at some distance from the ground, on two trees, for his bed, the better to secure himself against the wild beasts and serpents. There being a considerable number of us, they began at our approach to quake for fear like an ash leaf ; but no soon'r did they see us produce our needles, fish hooks, and bread, but they did run towards us with open arms, and we exchange'd for as much fat cows flesh for our three hundred *Indians*, and as much veal for our own use, as we had occasion for all that time.

In the mean while having cast my eye upon a little innocent boy that had taken hold of me, and considering with my self what pity 'twas that so innocent a babe should be left among these *Barbarians*, and in time become a sacrifice to the devil, I told the father, that if he would consent to the sale of the child, I would cloath him, and take care of him as long as I liv'd. He consented ; so my next addressee were to the mother, whom I tempted with bread, needles, and tobacco, to part with the child, but she answering me, that she had a peculiar kindness for this child, but would consent to let me have one of the rest, I pitch'd upon a girl, which she seem'd pretty well satisfied with ; but when she saw me produce the needles, tobacco, &c. her heart began to fail, and her natural inclination overcoming all other considerations, she recall'd the bargain, so that I was fain to rest satisfied, but, however, made her a small present of some trinkets, to engage her against another occasion.

The 24th, after I had said mass, father *Anthony Behme* and I erected a wooden cross upon a hovel near the bank side, with this inscription, *Germania* ; to intimate that we were not without hopes of settling one time or other the gospel here ; and tho' some of our company could not forbear to smile at it, and said among themselves, *They are indeed good simple Germans*, yet were we not altogether deceiv'd in our hopes, for within the year God was pleas'd to bless the

endeavours of father *Anthony Behme*, that St. not far from this place he erected a kind of canton for the converted *Indians*, with a small chapel dedicated to St. *Joachim*, as we shall see more at large anon.

The 24th of May, the meat which we had bought of the *Indians* being almost consumed, we mounted the twenty horses we had purchas'd, and riding for about half an hour into the country, over the most fertile meadows in the world, met with abundance of fat cattle, whereof we took six of the fattest cows, and four calves, which we kill'd upon the spot, and having thrown away the entrails, head, and feet, cut 'em into quarters, and so carried 'em to our boats. 'Tis almost incredible how nimble the *Indians* are in catching, killing, and quartering these beasts, but they are no less nimble in eating 'em, without salt or bread, and more than half raw, a custom not easily to be abolish'd among them, tho' I have often attempted it ; for I remember that several times I have sent some meat boil'd after our way to some *Indians* that were sick, which they receiv'd thankfully, but afterwards gave it to the dogs, and return'd to their own diet.

The 25th, we saw coming down the river a boat like ours, which afterwards proved to belong to father *Joseph Seravia*, a missionary of the canton of St. *Guces* : he had twenty musicians with him, who welcom'd us with their instruments in the name of all the rest of the canton ; he also presented us with ninety white loaves, two small barrels of honey, pickl'd peaches, lemons, citrons, apples, water melons, and suchlike *Americian* fruits, which came in very good time, ours being most spent before. This was the first missionary we met with, being an ancient person, and very venerable for his grey hairs, and the service he had done in taking care of eight thousand souls, without a companion : 'twas upon this score that he was ravish'd, to hear that forty-four missionaries were lately arriv'd from *Spain*, not questioning but that he should soon have an associate ; which happen'd accordingly.

Just before night I agreed with the said father to sing our Lady's *Litany* among the *Barbarians*, which I did accordingly, and could scarce refrain from tears when I saw some of the *Indian* children that came along with him to sing with a great deal of joy to the praise of the Mother of God. We continued to do the same every night before we went to rest, and were infinitely pleas'd, to see even the *Barbarians* flock to us, and to hear us with a great deal of attention and decency.

The 26th we came to a certain cataract or water fall in the river *Uruguay*, where the

water



SEPP- water rushes with such violence from the rocks, that we were forced to take our boats to pieces with incredible difficulty, the trees which compos'd them being sixty or seventy foot long, and three in diameter; notwithstanding which they carried them, and all the other materials, over these narrow rocks in less than six hours, and soon set 'em together again in the same manner as we have describ'd 'em before.

This cataract, and the ridge of rocks over which the water passes, seems by providence to be fix'd here for the singular advantage of the poor *Indians*, against the avarice of the *Spaniards*, who meet here

with their *ne plus ultra*, as not being able to go further with their ships; which is the reason that hitherto they have been confined to *Buenos Ayres*, and never been able to settle in these cantons, which were otherwise sufficiently inviting to them, by reason of the vast profit they would draw from thence. And happy 'tis for the poor *Indians*, who being a simple nation, would otherwise be soon infected with the vices of the *Spaniards*, who, besides this, would make them their slaves, they making not the least account whether they are *Christians* or *Pagans*, but treat 'em promiscuously, rather like dogs than men.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Containing an account of the arrival of father Anthony Sepp, and father Anthony Behme, in Jajegu, the first canton of the Indians; dedicat'd to the three wise men from the east: and of the troubles and other difficulties attending the office of a missionary in these cantons.*

AFTER we had happily pass'd the before-mention'd cataract, we continued our voyage for some time still against the current, till at last, the 1st of June (just a month after we left *Buenos Ayres*) we began to come within sight of *Jajegu*, the first canton upon this river, dedicated to the three wise men of the east, at 26 degr. and 7 from *Buenos Ayres*. As we were infinitely rejoic'd at so agreeable a sight, we express'd our satisfaction by covering our straw huts with the green branches of trees, and adorning the doors with such lemons and citrons as we had left. We drew up our squadron of boats into a half-moon, and by the sound of our drums and hautboys (of which each boat had one) gave notice to all the adjacent cantons of the converted *Indians* (the houses, churches, and steeples made a most glorious shew in so desolate a country) of our approach before they could see us.

We advanced in the same order June the 2d, directly opposite to the first canton, and were no sooner espied by the inhabitants, but they express'd their joy, by their usual acclamations; *Jepuan! Jepuan!* You may guess how pleasing a sight it was to us, to see the people in vast numbers leave their huts, some on horseback, some on foot, others with their bows and arrows, others almost without their cloths to flock to the river side, not excepted even the boys and girls, and aged persons, who all would partake of these demonstrations of joy at our arrival.

But what not a little surprized us, was, that among all this crowd, we saw not as much as one *Indian* woman kind above se-

ven years of age; some thought them less curious, others attributed their absence upon this solemn occasion, either to fear or modesty; but found our selves extremely mistaken in our guess, when we were told that they were all repaired to church to return thanks to GOD for his mercy, in protecting the missionaries in their voyage hither; but we will leave them to their devotion and return to the river, where the father *Procurator* and father *Superior* strove to out-do the *Indians* in all the demonstrations of the most sincere joy and satisfaction that could be imagin'd. They had sent two well equip'd boats like galleys to meet us, lined on both sides with firelocks; these two made a mock engagement, discharging their muskets briskly at one another, under the sound of drums, trumpets and hautboys, whilst some *Indians* diverted us with wrestling together in the water, till at last winding about, they gave us a triple salvo and joyn'd with ours.

On the river side we saw the father *Procurator*, and father *Superior* at the head of two troops of horse, and as many companies of foot, all *Indians*, but clad after the *Spanish* fashion, and arm'd with cymetars, muskets, bows, arrows, slings, &c. Four ensigns did their utmost in shewing us their skill in managing their colours; as four trumpets, and some hautboys animated the people, and saluted us at our landing. We had no sooner set foot a shore, but embracing one another, we march'd in good order through a green triumphal arch towards the church, being follow'd by some thousands of converted *Indians*, where being welcom'd by the ringing of the bells, and

and entering the church with a singular gravity and devotion, we found the *Indian* women still at their prayers, and that with so much fervency, that not one among 'em stir'd as much as her head, or cast her eyes at us as we came into the church.

We began the *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, which being done the *Corregedor* or chief of the *Indians* receiv'd us in the name of the whole nation with a short but very good speech, the like did one of the *Indian* women; and that very elegantly, if we may credit what the father *Superiour* (who is well versed in the *Paraquarian* language) assured us.

Thus we spent that day and the next following in mirth and Jollity. In the evening we were invited to see four different dances. The first was performed by eight ho's, managing their pikes or lances with great dexterity whilst they danced. The second was by two fencing-masters. The third by six seamen. And the fourth by six boys on horseback. All these were *Indians*, but clad after the *Spanish* mode, and that with so much curiosity, that they might

have not been ashamed to appear before *SEPT.* persons of the first rank in *Europe*. They afterwards gave us the diversion of a kind of a tournament on horseback; it being then night, they had illuminated the place with ox horns fill'd with suet, they having neither oyl nor wax here.

The 3d of *June* being *Whit-Sunday*, all the missionaries said the first mass in the *Indian* church here; returning their most humble thanks to *God Almighty*, for having made them his instruments in the conversion and instruction of these poor *Indians*, and imploring his mercy to enable them to go through with so great a work, especially in the attaining of the language of the natives; among which that of the *Paraquarians* is the chiefest, having for the rest not the least resemblance to the *Spanish*, *German* or *Latin*; being a peculiar language, as may be seen by the enclosed table, containing the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Mary* in the *Latin*, *Spanish* and *Paraquarian* languages, with some few rules for the reading of it, as it was copied by an *Indian*.

## Pater-Noster & Ave Maria,

In Lingua

## Paraquariensi, Hispanica & Latina.

**S**anta Cruz  
Ra angaba rehe  
Or amora rey mba-  
ragui.  
Orepi ciro epe  
Tupa Oreyara,  
Tuba, hac Taira  
hae.  
Espirito santo rera  
pipe  
Amen, Jesus.

Ore ruba.

Ore ruba  
Ibape ereibae  
Imboyero bia ripiramo  
Ndereta maranga tu toy-  
co  
Tou ndereco maranga tu-  
orebe  
Tiyaye nderimimbota.  
Que ibipe.  
Ibayeyyaie nabe.  
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**P**or la senal  
Dela santa Cruz  
De nuestros enemi-  
gos  
Libra nos Senor  
Dios nuestro  
En el nombre del  
Padre  
Y del Hijo  
Y del Espirito santo  
Amen, Jesus.

Padre nuestro.

Padre nuestro  
Que estas en los Cielos  
Santificado  
Sea el tu Nom-  
bre  
Venga a nos el tu  
Reyno  
Hagase tu voluntad  
Asi en la tierra  
Como en el cielo

**P**Er Signum  
Sanctae Crucis  
De inimicis nostris

Libera nos  
Deus noster,  
In nomine  
Patris  
Et Filii,  
Et Spiritus Sancti,  
Amen.

Pater-noster.

Pater-noster  
Qui es in Coelis,  
Sanctificetur  
Nomen tuum.  
Adveniat regnum  
tuum.  
Fiat voluntas tua,  
Sicut in Coelo,  
Et in terra.

7 R Oremibia

SEPP. Ocrembiu

1691. Aranabo guara

Enece curi orebe

Ndeny ro

Oreyngai pabae upe.

Oreere recumengu ahara up

Oreny ro nunga

Hae eipotareme

Angaipape oreca

Orepiciro epecant

Mbae pochia gui

Amen, Jesus

Tupa rander aro Maria

Ndere ni he Tupa graciarche

Tupa nandeyara

Ndeirunamo oyco

Ymombu catupiramo

ereico

Cuna pabagni

Ymombu catupiramo

abe oyco

Ndemembira Jesus.

Santa Maria.

Tupaci maranymbae

Fnemboe ndemembiraup

Ore yngaipa bae rehe

Ang, hae oremano motaramo abe.

Amen, Jesus.

El pan nuestro

D cadu dia

Da nos lo oy

Y perdona nos

Nuestras deudas

Affi como nos otros

Perdonamos

A nuestros deudores

Y no nos dexes caer

En la tentacion

Mas libra nos de mal

Amen, Jesus

Dios te salve Maria

Plena de gratia

El Senor

Es contigo

Bendita tu

eres

Hietres todas las mugeres

Y bendito es el fructo.

De tu vientre Jesus

Santa Maria

Madre de Dios

Ruega per nos otros

Pecadores

Apra, y en la ora de nuestra muerte

Amen, Jesus.

Panem nostrum

quotidianum

da nobis hodie.

Et dimitte nobis

debita nostra,

sicut &amp; nos

dimittimus

debitoribus nostris.

Et ne nos inducas

in tentationem,

Sed libera nos a malo,

Amen.

Ave MARIA,

gratia plena,

Dominus

Tecum:

Benedicta tu

in mulieribus:

Et benedictus fructus

ventris tui Jesus.

Sancta Maria,

Mater Dei,

Ora pro nobis

Peccatoribus,

nunc &amp; in hora

mortis nostrae,

Amen.

Hæc Lingua componitur ex meris particulis. Literas F. L. duplex R R. non habet.

Loco Futur P. hinc Musici non dicunt: Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, sed Pa. Ut, Re, Mi, Pa, Sol, La. Loco L. utitur R. simplici. Pronuntiationes habet tres non ita faciles, his Signis notatas. Primum est gutturale, & semper ponitur supra i, pronuntiaturque intra os retrahendō linguam, & quasi aerem attrahendo, ut ibi terra, y aqua; ibæ, cælum. Secundum signum ponitur supra vocales, a, e, i, o, u, non tamen semper, & pronuntiatur totum in naribus, ut Tupa, Deus, quasi intra u & p esset in Tupa. Tertium est difficillimum formari, namque debet in gutture simul & naribus, ut: amoio, incito; alterum ad iram: aroyro, contemno. Hocque signum sapissime integrum sensum mutat: Sic Tupa cum pileolo gemino significat Deus: Tupa sine pileolo significat Lectum, in quo Indi dormiunt, quod est rete ex duabus arboribus suspensum. Lincola supra n pronuntiatur in naribus sicut Italicum gna, ut: cuna, mulier, qua si cognat. Ya, ye, yi, yo, yu: Velut Cha, che, chi, cho, chu, leñe, ut yara, Dominus: nan de yara, noster Dominus, yu acus. Præterea notandum, quod vocabula debeant pronuntiari cum accentu in ultima, nec non cum aliqua asperitate gutturali Helvetica: quam me Lucerna olim apprehendisse plurimum modo juvat.

## Declinatio Nominis.

Nominativus. Abare, Hic Sacerdos. Gen. Abarembae, Res Sacerdotis. Dat. Abare upe, Sacerdoti. Accus. Abare, Sacerdotem. Voc. Abare, o Sacerdos. Abl. Abaregui, vel, agui, de Sacerdote. Abare pipe, cum Sacerdote. Abarepe, in Sacerdote. Abare rehe, pro Sacerdote.

Jorge Chapare gibuta heyta, Musicus, 1692.  
yo peyare Junii.

The same day the father *Superiour* did allot to each of the new missionaries his place. My lot was to stay in the first canton, call'd *Japaya*, dedicated to the *Three Wise Men of the East*, the patrons of Ger-

many, and the city of *Cologne*. Father *Anthony Beñme* was sent to *S. Michael*, a hundred leagues from hence. The two *Bobemian* missionaries one to *St. Anne*, and the other to *Ad reductionem Corporis Christi*, one hundred

hundred and twenty-one leagues from hence, the rest to other places, but all using the same language. And upon this occasion I cannot but give some account of the present condition of our cantons (call'd by us *reductions*, because they were reduced to the catholick faith by the missionaries) or districts or towns, which you please.

Of these there are in all twenty-six, each of which is provided with two missionaries if possible, though of late years by reason of the slow supplies of missionaries from *Spain*, they have been faind to be contented often with one; sometimes they have also a brother for an assistant. Each of these cantons contains generally three thousand, four thousand, five thousand, six thousand, and sometimes a greater number of souls. All such as are capable of receiving the communion, come to confession at least four times a year; besides which the missionary must baptize the children, give the extreme unction to dying persons, pray with them, and last of all bury them: his business is also to marry such as intend to enter into the matrimonial state, after they have been three times proclaimed in the church; to catechise the children; to say the *Ave Mary* and *Litany* daily before the old ones, who are so simple and forgetful, that if you should neglect them but one day, they would not know how to make the sign of the cross. Every *Sunday* and *Friday* the missionary is oblig'd to preach and say high Mass; during *Lent* he must give them a kind of sermon three times a week, and take care of the processions. All this would be passable enough were it not that at the same time they must act the part of a clerk, they must take care of the church ornaments and plate, and keep it clean, unless they will have it brought to the altar nasty and dirty; these poor wretches being not capable of managing these things.

Every missionary besides his ecclesiastical function, is also under an absolute necessity here of acting the part of a Steward, not only for himself, but likewise for all the *Indians* under his jurisdiction. To be short, he must be cook, nurse, doctor, architect, gardener, weaver, smith, painter, baker, potter, tile-maker, and every thing, that may be, or is necessary in any common-wealth: This may seem incredible to some people, but is nevertheless the naked truth, the *Indians* being naturally so stupid, that unless, as for instance, I don't my self bring what quantity of salt I think fit into the kitchen, and plainly shew my *Indian* cook, how much of it he must put into such a pot, and how much into another, he would certainly put it all (though never so much) in one, and leave the rest

unseasoned; and all the remedy you have, *Supp.* is, that if you cannot eat it, he will, and 1691. tell you afterwards, he could find no fault in it; nay, what is more, if I expect to have my victuals dress'd any ways cleanly, I must take care to have the vessels brought every day into my chamber, and look into them my self before they are us'd, without which you would certainly be poisoned with nastiness.

Next to my apartment I have a garden divided into several partitions, one whereof is my flower-garden, another my physick-garden (for they know not what a physician or apothecary is) another my kitchen-garden, beside an orchard and vineyard. In the kitchen-garden grow all the year round, divers sorts of saler herbs, endive, curl'd and not curl'd, cichory-roots, parsnips, turnips, spinage, radishes, cabbages, carrots, beet-roots, parley, anise-seed, fennel-seed, coriander-seed, melons, cucumbers, and divers sorts of *Indian* roots; in my physick garden I have mint, rue, rosemary, pimpinel, sweet-marjoram, &c. my flower-garden produces white lillies, *Indian* lillies, yellow and blew viols, poppies, and many sorts of *Indian* flowers.

In my orchard I have apple and pear trees, and haseel-nut-trees, but these two last will bear no fruit here, tho' they grow very lofty; peaches, pomegranates, sweet and sour lemons, sweet and sour citrons, vaninceys, and divers other *Indian* fruits.

My vineyard has so many vines, that sometimes it may produce five hundred large casks of wine in one year, but this year I have scarce had grapes enough for my table; the reason is, the vast multitude of pismires, wasps, wild pigeons, and other birds, which have devoured all, tho' I have constantly kept eight *Indian* boys on purpose to cleanse them of the pismires; add to this the north wind, which has blown continually all this year; a slender recompence for the pains I have taken, in pruning, shaving, and attending the vines; but patience.

However these frequent miscarriages in the vines, make the vine here a dear commodity, a cask being sold sometimes for twenty or thirty crowns, a great price for such an unwholesome wine as this, which is not to be preserv'd without a great deal of lime, without which it would turn to vinegar in a little time; this makes us use the wine very sparingly, and sometimes not a drop in six months, it being sometimes so scarce that we shall not have enough for the communion table.

The missionary is also obliged to be both physician and apothecary, and both order and administer vomits, purges, venisections, or what else seems to be requisite for the

R. non habet.  
d. Pa. Ut, Re,  
es habet tres non  
ponitur supra i,  
trahendo, ut ibi  
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pa, Deus, quasi  
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n: aroyro, con-  
Tupa cum pileo-  
in quo Indi dor-  
pra n pronuncia-  
Ya, ye, yi, yo,  
an de yara, no-  
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is. Dat. Abare  
Sacerdos. Abl.  
e. Abarepe, in

Musicus, 1692.

gne. Father Ah-  
Michael, a hun-  
The two Bohe-  
t. Anne, and the  
poris Christi, one  
hundred

SEPP. the recovery of the patient; nay, what is 1691. worse, he must be head nurse, for tho' they have four appointed on purpose in each canton, yet are they so void of sense and judgment, that without constant overlooking they soon would send the patient to the other world.

The best of all is, that these *Indians* are not subject to many distempers; the worms are their chiefest plague, occasioned by the vast quantity of half raw meat, they eat daily, which being ill digested corrupts in the bowels, and generates worms, and these the *Bloody Flux*, which puts an end to their lives, especially if it happen to be cold weather, of which these *Indians* are extremely sensible; tho' their coldest season, even in *June* is scarce so cold as with us in *April*. To remedy this evil, nothing is more proper, than to give a vomit made of tobacco leaves, all bitter things being at mortal enmity with the worms; after the vomit we take some cows milk, into this we squeeze the juice of a four lemon, put some rue and mint into it, after all is well mix'd, squeeze and strain the liquor from it, and so give it the patient.

Scarce any other distemper is known here, except that now and then the spotted fever

reigns among them, which about four years ago carried off above two thousand persons only in our canton; providence, as it seems, having thought fit not to afflict with many distempers a wretched nation that is destitute of all sorts of remedies. For cinnamon, nutmegs, mace, saffron, ginger, cloves, rice, antimony, theriaca and mithridate, as well as other medicinal herbs and compositions, are not as much as known here; nay, even salt is a very scarce commodity with us, especially if our usual supplies from *Spain* happen to fail: Hence it is that the *Indians* use no salt with their meat or in their bread, tho' they else are very eager after it, and will have it if they can come at it. For my part, I find that custom may bring a man to any thing, for I begin to love their bread tolerably well, and find no great difference betwixt that and ours, viz. *Huaco* in their nicest cook. Most of their cantons are seated upon an ascent, for the convenience of carrying off the rains and other waters into the river in which they lie; which is much of the same bigness with the *Danube*, and the water thereof so wholesome, that you may drink of it as much as you please, even after melons, peaches, figs, &c. without receiving the least harm.

#### C H A P. V.

##### *Description of the Cantons or Towns inhabited by the converted Indians in Paraquaria.*

THESE cantons, as we told you just now, are generally seated upon an ascent near the rivers *Uruguay* and *Paraka*, some of which contain 700 or 800, others 1000 families and above so that comprehending father and mother with all their children (which are very numerous) you may safely reckon 6000, 7000 or 8000 souls to a canton. Near the church of each canton is a square market-place four hundred foot long, and as many broad, the rest being divided into streets like our towns in *Europe*; but the houses are very different, being no more than huts erected upon the bare ground, the sides whereof are only of clay, and the roofs covered with straw, except some few that of late years have been covered with tiles: windows and chimneys are not in use among them; hence they are constantly so full of smoak, that I have been in danger of losing my eyes by it, when I have been frequently visiting the sick. These huts are not divided into chambers, kitchens, or other apartments, all these being comprehended in one room, their cellar being a hollow pumpkin in which they keep their water for drinking: Those that value themselves above the rest, make use of a net

fastened to two trees instead of a bed; but the poorer sort are contented with a tyger's skin or ox-hide spread upon the ground, without pillars or bolsters, instead of which they make use of a stone or piece of wood. Their kitchen furniture consists of two or three pots or pans; the hand serves instead of a spoon, the teeth in lieu of knives, the five fingers for forks; their drinking vessel is a silver pumpkin, the fire-hearth is under the bed, there they fasten the net at night, then make a spit of the next stick they meet with; and whilst their meat is a roasting they eat it off continually in slices; tho' some only hold it a little over the flame, and so eat it without farther ceremony.

The door of these huts is of an ox-hide, about six spans high and three broad; this brings you into the place where father, mother, sisters and brothers, children and grand-children pig all together in one room; besides, three or four dogs, and as many cats; whence you may guess what a scent there must arise from such a mixture in so narrow a compass, which strikes the nostrils of the poor missionaries, when they come to do their duty among them, beyond what can be imagined or expressed, for all which



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which they have no other comfort than to see these poor innocent wretches expire, with all the signs of an entire resignation that can be imagin'd: It is rarely to be seen, that during their distempers, they discover the least symptoms of impatience, no sighs after their wives and children, no desires after treasures, nor troubles how to pay their debts, no regret of leaving their friends; for as they scarce ever take care of these things in their life-time, so they seldom disturb their rest when they are to leave this world.

When a virgin has attained the fourteenth year of age, and a boy sixteen, they are marriageable, and we seldom stay longer, for fear of worse consequences; it having been found by experience, that when the maidens and young men continue in a single state for any considerable time, they have found means to pair themselves. The objection, which in other places is made against such young marriages, takes no place here, where there is no dispute about dowry or settlements, or which way they will maintain themselves; all this they leave to God Almighty, and our care, they never applying themselves to any trade or profession. So that upon marriage it is the missionary who provides the hut, it is he who provides the wedding cloaths, viz. five yards of coarse woollen stuff for each; a bed they never want, ox's hides being cheap enough; and the wedding dinner is made with a fat cow, which is likewise presented by the missionary.

Their marriage agreement consists only in two articles, viz. The woman promises to fetch what water the husband wants from the river, in lieu of which he engages to furnish the kitchen with fuel. We allow them no music nor dancing at their weddings, but so soon as they are married, and have heard mass, the bridegroom goes his way, and the bride hers; and if the missionary has presented them with a fat cow, a little salt, and a few loaves, they invite the parents to dinner, and so make the best cheer they can. There is one thing peculiar in their marriages, viz. that here the man does not woo the woman, but on the contrary the woman the man; in this case the maid comes to the missionary, and says, *Pay*, i. e. father (for so they call us) I have an inclination to marry such or such a one, if you will be pleased to give your consent; whereupon the missionary sending for the person, says, my son (for so we call them) such or such a one is desirous to be marry'd to you, are you contented the should? Unto which if he replies yes (as they seldom do otherwise) then the match is made, and wants nothing but the priest's blessing.

VOL. IV.

Let us now take a view of the churches. SEPP. Each canton has a very handsome lofty built church and steeple, with four or five bells; one, and sometimes two organs, a high altar richly gilt, besides two or four side altars; a richly gilt pulpit, divers painted images, done by the *Indians*, and that tolerably well; eight, ten, and sometimes more silver candlesticks; three, four or five silver chalices; three or four pair of silver offering-vessels; three silver crosses, and a large silver *Giborium*. The chalices are not gilt here, but of the natural colour of silver, as they use them in *Spain*; all the *Antependia*, and other ornaments belonging both to the altar and the priest's vestments, are as rich and neatly kept as in *Europe*.

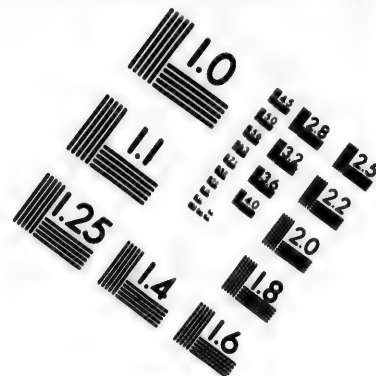
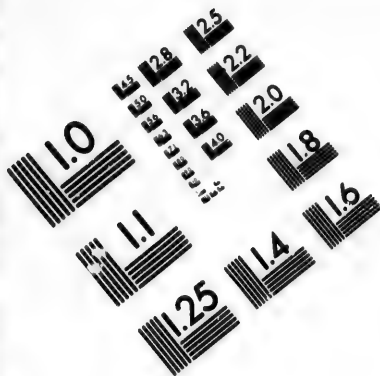
Every Saturday we sing the litany of our lady, and every Sunday a sermon, and high mass, when our musicians entertain the congregation with their music, which they begin to perform tolerably well.

I don't question but that several of our friends, such as father *Glete*, and my two brothers *Paul* and *Gabriel Sepp*, when they hear you read this passage will be apt to ask you, who is it that composes these psalms, litanies, hymns and masses; who is it that has taught the *Indians* to sing, who to play on the organs, and to sound the trumpets and hautboys? Unto which I answer, that the same missionaries, who taught these poor wretches the rudiments of the christian religion, to say Our Father, to bake bread, to paint, cast bells, organs and trumpets, and to make clock-works; the same, I say, have instructed them in music; which was first introduced here by some *Netherland* fathers, who with incredible labour taught these indocible people to sing, and composed certain pieces, not according to art, but such as their natural inclination led them to: The same was improved afterwards, by a certain *Spanish* missionary, but after the old way, without a base, without measure; of double or triple notes, they know not the least; nay even not the *Spaniards* themselves to this day, as I observed whilst I was at *Cadix* and *Seville*. Thus I saw my self obliged to begin with them, quite after another and new method, and to teach old grey-hair'd fellows, the *Ut*, *Re*, *Mi*, *Sol*, *La* again. By which means I have (tho' with incredible labour) instructed six trumpets (of whom each canton has four) four organists, three theorbists, thirty hautboys, and fifty voices (besides other instruments) to play and sing most of my compositions; which has got me such a reputation with the other missionaries, that they send continually to me some of their flocks, with presents of honey, preserves, and fruit, to court my friendship, and to have them instructed in music; and, to speak with-

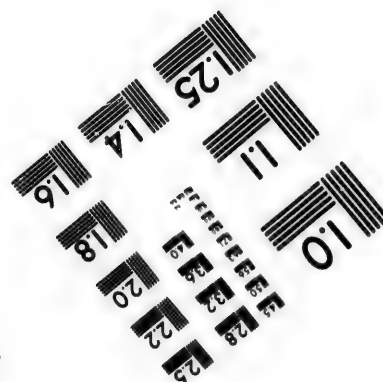
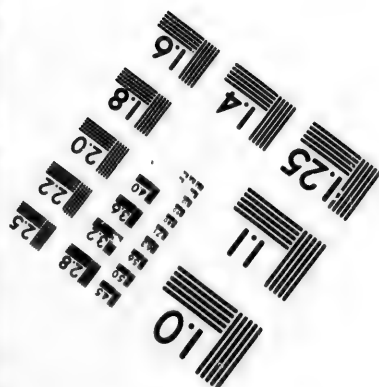
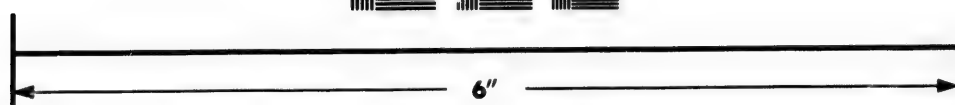
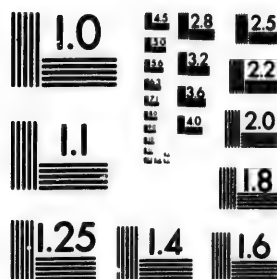
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SEPP. out vanity, has purchased me the singular  
1691. esteem of the *Indians*.

Upon this occasion I can't but intreat you, dear fathers *Ignatius* and *Paul*, and other friends who have been formerly my school-fellows, to have pity of a poor missionary at so vast a distance, and of so many musicians under my care; to send me over some mission pieces, which I desire should be no other than *Vesperæ*, *Missa*, *Breves*, *Breviores*, *Brevissima*, as also the *Litany* of the composition of Mr. *Melchior Glettle*, director of the mission in the cathedral of *Augsburg*; and these I don't desire to be new ones, but others, tho' half torn, will serve my purpose as well; for I intend to have them copy'd by the *Indians*, which they do very well, and with great exactness, all the books we send to the other cantons being transcrib'd by them.

In requital of this kindness, I will oblige my self and sixty missionaries besides, that we will pay sixty masses for him, who will be at the charge of buying them, and twenty more for him who will take the trouble to send them; tho' as to the refunding of the money there is no great difficulty; for whatever is laid out upon this account is therein fully repaid by our father *Procurator* here to the father *Procurator* at *Munich*; which had I known it before I left *Germany*, I would have provided my self with several things in *Germany* for my and the other missionaries use, which will stand us in great stead now in *Paraguaria*, and would not have amounted to above ten or fifteen crowns there; a slender addition to the sum of eighty thousand crowns bestowed upon that mission, whereof I was an unworthy member. I must confess that my father *Procurator* here, has given me several reprimands upon this account, which however is not so much to be imputed to my neglect, as want of knowledge in the state of affairs here. As for the direction, you need send them only to *Genoa* or *Rome*, but best of all to the father *Procurator* in *Rome*, who will take care to send it to the *Procurator* of *Paraguaria*, or the father *Procurator* of the *Indies*; but if any of our society in *Germany* should come this way as missionaries, it were so much the better, and they might bring divers other useful things along with them.

But I have dwelt too long among the musicians, it is time to return to the description of our *Canton*.

The 2d of June 1691, as I told you, I arrived at *Japegu*, after a voyage of a month from *Buenos Ayres*, upon the river *Uruguay*, being no less than two hundred leagues. *Japegu* is the first of the twenty six converted *Cantons*, seated at 29 degrees upon an ascent of a hill near the river *Uruguay*;

a place which seems by nature chosen, for its situation, for the delight of the inhabitants: To the east it has the before-mentioned pleasant *Uruguay*, the waters whereof excel for clearness and wholesomeness all the rivers of *Europe*; being cleansed and purified by the roots of an incredible number of trees, which for four hundred leagues together stand on both sides, upon the very brink of its banks; as likewise by the vast quantity of gravel and pebble stones, over which it carries its silver stream; for which reason it is our constant table drink, and we use it in great quantity, even after the eating of melons, cucumbers, figs, peaches, and such like fruits, without any harm.

This river produces a vast store of fish, which the *Indians* catch sometimes with their hands only; and for want of fish-hooks (which are very dear here) they catch them with a large nail bent at the end. Among all the fish I ever saw here, I met but with one *European* kind call'd *Bocado* by the *Spaniards*, but they are larger here, dark, yellow and well tasted: As for *Carps*, *Pikes*, *Eels*, *Gudgeons*, *Flounders*, and such like *European* fishes, they are not to be seen in this river; but many very delicious fish of the *Indian* kind, among which the *King's Fish* is one of the choicest, tho' but small, and taken only in winter; it has no bones.

Abundance of most delightful islands are to be seen in this river; there lies one directly opposite to our *Canton*, infinitely pleasant for its woods and trees, which afford a most agreeable shade, and the ground produces the best kind of melons, it being not above a stone's cast from the shore; I often divert my self here with my disciples, to take the cool air, and with a set of musicians. The situation of this little isle is so extraordinary pleasant, that the best painter in *Europe* would have work enough to make an exact draught thereof.

On the other three sides, viz. to the south-west and north, this *Canton* is surrounded with the most fruitful pasture fields in the world, of a vast extent, and stor'd with an incredible number of cattle. Stables are things unknown here, as much as the mowing of grass, or making hay, because the cattle feed all the year round up to the knees in grass, without being watched; theft being either not understood, or at least not practis'd among these *Indians*. So that if I have occasion for milk, I have no more to do than to send my boy into the fields, who milks one of the cows, and brings me as much milk: as I desire in a hollow'd pompion; as the cooks in the kitchen use scollop shells instead of ladles.

The worst is, that these fields are infested with vast numbers of *Tygers*, which come sometimes in whole troops,  
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and devour the calves, but seldom the ox-  
en and cows, because they will often make  
their party good with them, and their flesh  
is not so tender; but if the *Tyger* happen  
to catch an ox alone, he leaps upon his  
back, and points him in the first joint of  
the neck, and afterwards tears it open with  
his claws; when he has a mind to a calf,  
he watches it, as it lies upon the ground,  
and advancing softly, bites off the head at  
once, and sucks out the blood through the  
neck.

The *Tygers* are not only very hurtful to  
the cattle, but also very dreadful to the in-  
habitant, who know of no other enemy  
but this; they seldom are far from their  
own *Canton*, except when they travel with  
the missionaries; upon which occasion they  
defend themselves against the fury of the  
*Tyger*, by making a wood fire all round the  
place where they rest either by day or  
night, by which means they keep off the  
*Tyger*, who dreads nothing more than fire.  
But if they happen to fall asleep, and the  
fire goes out, the *Tyger* will be sure to  
watch his opportunity, and lay hold of him  
that comes next to him, as it happen'd to  
a poor *Indian*, who among the rest conduct-  
ed me hither from *Buenos Ayres*; and a  
boy belonging to father *Anthony Behme* had  
likewise not long ago the misfortune to be  
seiz'd upon by a *Tyger* (though not many  
paces from his hut) who tore his flesh to  
that degree, that his life was despair'd of,  
but by the singular care of father *Behme*,  
he escap'd with life.

The *Tygers* will sometimes come over  
the very fences of the gardens, and thence  
into the houses; I remember that one time  
a *Tyger* got into one of the *Indian* huts,  
where there were only some very young  
children playing together, the father and  
mother being abroad in the field; the in-  
nocent babes taking it for a great dog,  
laid their hands upon the *Tyger's* head, and  
courted him as they would have done a  
dog, at which the *Tyger*, wagging his tail,  
went away without doing the least harm to  
the children, making the best of his way  
over the fence, and crossing the field, for fear  
of meeting with some of the old *Indians*,  
who are dexterous, beyond what can be im-  
agined, in killing even the fiercest *Tygers*,  
which these creatures being sensible of, sel-  
dom attack any of them, unless it be by  
surprize, and from behind.

A brother of our society walking one  
day in my garden with nothing but a stick  
in his hand, a *Tyger*, which got near the  
fence, attack'd him, and as these creatures  
are very nimble, leap'd sometimes behind,  
endeavouring to lay hold of him with his  
paws, but the brother defended himself so

well with his stick, that the *Tyger*, begin-  
ning to despair of the victory, thought fit  
to make off again over the fence. Such  
like accidents are frequent here, and it is  
very remarkable, that it was never known  
that either a father missionary, or a bro-  
ther, was hurt here either by a *Tyger*, or a  
ny kind of serpents, of which there are  
many here.

Venison we have also in great plenty,  
such as deer, harts, wild boars, goats and  
gembs; but the *Indians* seldom eat the  
flesh, and catch them only for their skins  
fame. Among the wild fowl we abound  
especially in partridges and wild pigeons;  
the first are so numerous and tame that you  
may knock them down with a stick, so  
that my boys bring them home sometimes  
by dozens: and the pigeons are easily  
catch'd by snares, which I have shewn the  
*Indians* how to lay, they being naturally  
too simple to think upon any thing of that  
nature, but used to be contented to shoot  
at them with their arrows: these they catch  
as often as they please; so that if another  
missionary comes this way, I can soon ac-  
commodate him with a pigeon roasted or  
boiled, with a fallet dress'd with honey in-  
stead of oil and vinegar (both which we  
want here) and a bottle of our most deli-  
cious river water; this was the entertain-  
ment I gave lately to our friend father  
*Anthony Behme*, as he pass'd this way in his  
journey to his mission.

Oxen, cows, calves and horses are here  
in such prodigious quantities, that in some  
places the fields are covered with them, as  
far as your eye-sight will reach; and that  
of the best kind, which having no proprie-  
tor, are dog-cheap here, as wanting only to  
be fetch'd, in which the *Indians* are very  
expert; and when they have brought a  
cow to the missionary ready kill'd, he  
gives each his share twice a day: For a  
little inconsiderable knife you may buy or  
exchange a very good horse, a bridle (if  
the bit be of iron) being valu'd here be-  
yond three horses, they don't shoo their  
horses here, partly by reason of the softness  
of the ground without gravel, being all o-  
ver covered with grass, partly by reason of  
the scarcity of *Iron*, a good *European*  
horse-shoo being worth six horses here.

Some of our *Canton* did not long ago tra-  
vel two days journey deep into the country,  
to fetch provisions for the use of our *Can-  
ton* for this year; within less than two  
months they brought together fifty thou-  
sand cows, and might have brought one  
hundred thousand, if we had wanted so  
many; what I have said of this *Canton* is  
to be understood of all the rest, being twen-  
ty six in all; all the trouble is in keeping  
to

SEPP.  
1691.

SEPP. so vast a number of cattle together, whist they are bringing of them hither, in which these *Indians* are also very well versed.

Hence the reader may judge of the immense quantities of cattle in the fields of *Paraguaria*: the three ships, wherewith we came from *Spain*, carried back, at their return, no less than thirty thousand ox-hides, which stood them in no more than the charge of killing, each piece of which they sell again in *Spain* for six crowns; and among all these there was not one cow's skin. Thus the *Spaniards* have also their gold mines in these parts, though gold and silver is a thing unknown here, all their dealing being by way of exchange, and the bargain soon made; for our *Indian* will tell your merchants, for so many yards of linen cloth I will procure you so many oxen and cows; for your knife you shall have my horse.

These parts of the *Indies* are not destitute of silver mines, viz. in the mountains of *Potosi*, but they are 600 leagues deeper into the country; notwithstanding which, what silver is brought from thence, is valued below the rate of iron, woollen and linen cloth, hats, stockings, needles, knives, fish-hooks, bras and tin vessels, &c. all which are brought to *Buenos Ayres* from *Spain*, but sometimes not above once in eight years. Formerly they used also to bring tiles; but since we have begun to make some of our own, I have no less than fix long fleets in my *Canton*, the huts whereof are covered with tiles.

A missionary in these parts must submit to all functions, the *Indians* being so stupid, that they are not capable of undertaking the most frivolous thing, without a plain direction. Whence it came, that it was a question among the first missionaries sent hither, whether these people were capable of receiving the sacrament or not.

But as stupid as they are at inventing, so happy they are in imitating, provided you give them a model; thus if you show one of the *Indian* women a piece of bone-lace, she will unrip some part of it with a needle, and will make another after it, with so much exactness, that you shall not know one from the other. We have two organs, one brought from *Europe*, the other made here so exactly after the first, that I myself could scarce discern the difference. I have a *Missal* printed at *Antwerp*, which is imitated in writing by an *Indian*, with that nicety, that they are scarce distinguishable. We have trumpets and watches made here, not inferior to those of *Nuremberg* and *Augsburg*, and some pictures, excellently well copy'd. In short, they will imitate any thing very nicely, provided they have the model constant-

ly before their eyes, without which they cannot advance one step, their intellects being so stupid, that they can't form to themselves in the least any idea of a thing, unless it be before them.

But we must return to the fruitfulness of this country. They abound likewise in cocks and hens, pigs, lambs, goats and sheep; the *Canton* of *St. Thomas* had a few years ago, no less than forty thousand sheep; and there is scarce a *Canton* but what has three or four thousand horses. The mules are here prefer'd before horses; for a horse, if dear, you may purchase for the value of a crown in tobacco, needles, knives, fish-hooks, &c. But they will not let the *Spaniards* at *Buenos Ayres* and *Sancta Fe*, have a good mule under fourteen crown pieces, though among themselves they dispose of them at half the value. One sheep, lamb, or kid is worth three oxen or cows here, by reason of their wool; they have also whole fields full of cotton, but no hemp or flax, which makes an ell of linen here to be sold at three, four, and more crowns. The *Albe* which I officiate in at *Esater*, being of *Cambrick*, edged with bone-lace, stands me at *Buenos Ayres* in above one hundred and twenty crowns. Hats used also to be excessive dear here, before one of our missionaries shew'd the way of making them to these *Indians*.

The grounds are very fertile here, and produce a hundred-fold crop, though they are miserably manured, and scarce ever dunged. They sow nothing but *Turkey* wheat, which they pound to meal in a mortar (mills being not known here) this they either boil with their meat in water (but without salt) or else they make certain cakes of them, which they toast upon the coals, they having no baking ovens. If I happen to give a piece of our white bread to an *Indian*, they rejoice at it beyond what can be imagined, and they will give two or three horses for such a loaf; which they might have cheap enough, were it not for their own laziness; for *America* being bigger than all the other three parts of the world, and no propriety here in land, they might have as much of it as they please; whereas now they will not cultivate but a few rods each, for their own use, and this they are scarce brought to without blows.

Their plow is not of iron (which is too scarce here) but only of wood, which does not reach above three inches deep into the ground, which is sufficient to bring forth a plentiful crop; the missionary of a *canton* has commonly above forty or fifty acres sow'd with wheat, whereof he gives now and then two or three measures to some of the *Indians* for seed, but they commonly put it in their belly instead of the ground.

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It may be truly said of these *Indians*, that they follow our Saviour's rule, *not to be concern'd for the next day*; for, if I happen to allot a cow to a family, enough to serve 'em three or four days, they will often eat her in one, and come the next morning for more, so that we are forced to give to the father, mother, son, and daughter, and to the young children, to each his piece of flesh of five, six, seven, nay, eight pound, and that twice a day; for if they had it at once, they would eat it all at noon, and want more by night; for they are so voracious, that the mother will snatch the meat from her child, and eat all that comes in sight of 'em; for which reason each missionary has a great barn, into which he forces them to lay up a certain proportion of corn, which he gives 'em back at seed-time: notwithstanding which, they sometimes deceive the missionary, or rather themselves. 'Tis to be observ'd that their seed-time is in *June* or *July*, when the missionary allots each *Indian* two or three oxen to plough withal. One of these *Indians*, after a quarter of an hour's ploughing, began to grow weary of the sport, and finding himself and his wife very hungry, they agreed to kill one of the oxen, which they did accordingly; and having quarter'd the ox (as they usually do) they put 'em on a wooden spit, and (for want of other fuel) made a good fire with the plough, throwing into it some of the fuel to encrease the flame, and to dispatch the work, roasted and eat them. The missionary perceiving the smoke in the field, began shrewdly to suspect the truth, and making the best of his way to the field, he soon saw by the bones that he had not been mistaken in his guess: he fell a chiding the *Indian*, who gave no other answer, but that he, being both tired and hungry, had made bold with the ox, begging the good father to give him another; which he was glad to do, unless he would see him and his family want bread all the year after. Suchlike things often happen to the missionaries, these *Indians* being naturally so lazy, that often (unless compel'd thereunto by blows) they'll not carry in their *Turky* wheat after 'tis ripe.

You wonder perhaps which way they can be compel'd by blows; this is done in the same manner as we do our children, only that, instead of birch, we make use of a scourge: this is perform'd by some *Indian* or other, who gives the delinquent twenty-four or more strokes, according to the missionary's order. This correction they take very patiently, without any curling or swearing, nay, without making the least noise; and, if they happen to make any exclamations, 'tis by the name of *Jesu Maria*.

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The correction being over, they kiss the missionary's hand, and return him thanks into the bargain; their love and respect being such towards their missionaries, that they take every thing without the least regret at their hands; which being imprinted in them from their tender age, they can never shake off afterwards.

Perhaps you may be curious to know in what dress the missionaries appear here. Their leather shoes are fasten'd with a leather bottom, without heels; and their stockings are likewise made of black sheep-leather. Our cassock is black, and made after the same fashion as we wear in *Germany*, except that it is not open before, but has a seam down to the bottom, without lining, pockets, or border; made out of black linnen cloth. The gown (which we use likewise in the house) is chequer brown, with long hanging-sleeves reaching to the ground. The novices wear altogether brown cloaths, with a leathern girdle about the waist: we don't carry our beads on the girdle, but hanging down from about them, in the same manner as all the *Indians* of both sexes wear it. Our shirts are of callico; for the rest, the same as in *Germany*. Upon the head we wear a kind of bonnet, as you have seen 'em represented in the plays for the high-priests of *China*. We keep our heads and beards shav'd, and the priestly coronet (which the *Indians* make for me after a certain model) is something bigger than ours. Whenever I go abroad to visit the sick, or to administer baptism or the holy sacrament in the huts of the *Indians*, I carry a cross instead of a cane, which for that purpose stands always ready at the door of my apartment, wherewith I have kill'd many a serpent, and other vermin, without receiving the least detriment. Before I conclude, I'll give you likewise a short account of our daily transactions, which are so troublesome, that what is perform'd here, by one or two missionaries, would be sufficient to employ seven or eight in another place, there being seven or eight thousand souls to be provided for by his care, both in spiritual and temporal matters, the eldest of 'em being as ignorant as children in matters relating to the providing for their families, which is the perpetual care of a missionary.

Every morning, an hour before break of day, one of my boys awakens me, and sets up a candle, we having no oil for lamps, the *Venerable* in the church being supply'd with tallow. After I have dress'd my self, I salute the blessed sacrament, and perform my private devotions at church; then I go to confession, if there be two missionaries in one place, and the bell rings to the  *Ave Mary* and the holy mass: this done, I pray

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SEPP. a quarter of an hour in private, and afterwards sit to hear confession every day : then I instruct the children in the catechism, visit the sick, and, if occasion requires, hear their confession, administer them the holy communion and extreme unction, and, if it be not too late, proper medicines ; and as scarce a day passes but that one or other dies, I have daily burials. After the sick, I visit the several offices ; first the school, where boys are instructed in reading and writing, and the girls in spinning and needle-work : I also visit my musicians, the fencers, trumpets, hautboys, &c. Some days I instruct certain young *Indians* in dancing, who are made use of at certain feasts, where they are richly attir'd, and dance in the church, as 'tis practis'd in *Spain*, the simple *Indians* being extremely taken with these ornaments in our religion, which raise in them an high esteem and affection. After these, I go among the workmen of divers sorts, to the brick and tile-makers, the bakers, smiths, joiners, carpenters, painters, but above all, the butchers, who kill betwixt fifteen and twenty oxen every day.

If I have any spare time, I take a turn in the garden : about half an hour before ten a-clock, I take care that the sick have their dish with milk and white bread, and perhaps some meat, to be carried to 'em by their nurses. About half an hour before eleven the boy rings the bell to the *Examen Conscientiæ*, when I lock my self into my room for a quarter of an hour, and afterwards go to dinner.

One of the best-taught of my boys reads a chapter in *Latin* out of the bible, and a passage out of the saints *Legend* in *Spanish* ; another reads to me the *Martyrologium* appointed for each day, whilst six others attend, bring and carry what's desir'd, and are ready at a wink : after dinner I give each of 'em a piece of white bread, and upon holidays perhaps some cake, or a piece of patty, which they receive with a great deal of thankfulness. If there happen to be two missionaries in one canton,

they spend an hour after dinner in discourse. Half an hour after twelve the *Litany* of *All-saints* is said in the church, and what spare-time is left after that, till two, I bestow in what I please, such as making of images, composing some musick-pieces, &c. About two a-clock the bell rings, to summon every body to his usual employment ; then I again visit the sick, and supply 'em with what they stand in need of : at four a-clock we have prayers, and afterwards say the *Litany* ; then we bury the dead, which happens daily : about seven a-clock I go to supper, and spend an hour after to divert my self ; after which I come again to the *Examen Conscientiæ*, and, having prepar'd my self for the next day's meditation, go to rest, which is however frequently interrupted by the urgent necessity of the sick, unto whom I must administer the sacrament.

Every *Sunday* and *Friday* there's a sermon, and high-mass said ; on every holiday *Prima Vespera* ; every *Sunday*, at three a-clock, I baptize infants ; of these I have christen'd several hundreds in a little time, some of which are dead, others alive. Every *Monday* I marry such of the *Indians* as desire it, and this very day I have married no less than eight couple. Each first day of the month we say mass for the deceas'd *Indians*, and remember the saints placed in that month. The number of penitents is so great here, and of the fathers confessors so small, that we hear confession, and give absolution all the month. But the paper beginning to fail, I'll recommend my self and my flock to the most fervent prayers of my dearest friends and countrymen. The whole preceding treatise being a faithful abstract of such letters as my brother *Anthony Sepp*, of the society of *Jesús*, has transmitted to me from *Paraguay* into *Germany*, I thought fit to publish, for the glory of *God*, and the general benefit of mankind, promising, that whatever hereafter shall be sent to me from thence, thought worthy the publick view, shall be communicated by the press.

### Advertisement concerning the fragment of the discovery of the islands of Salomon.

LITTLE can be said relating to this fragment of the discovery of the islands of *Salomon*, the thing being so short, that the reader may soon satisfy himself in viewing the whole. I don't find any account who the author was ; and tho' doubtless the relation must be taken from some of the discoverers, yet the methodiser of it was

certainly none of them, because he all along speaks in the third person, as one no way concern'd. If we may be allow'd to guess, 'tis likely the account was given, or left behind, by one *Quiros*, whom at the latter end he brings in making interest to the viceroy of *Peru*, to be furnish'd with ships and necessaries to continue that enterprize, and

shew-

dinner in discourse.  
live the *Litany* of  
church, and what  
at, till two, I be-  
such as making of  
musick-pieces, &c.  
bell rings, to sum-  
tual employment;  
, and supply 'em  
need of: at four  
, and afterwards  
e bury the dead,  
about seven a-clock  
and an hour after to  
which I come again  
e, and, having pre-  
at day's meditation,  
never frequently in-  
necessity of the sick,  
minister the sacra-

Friday there's a fer-  
rid; on every holi-  
every Sunday, at three  
ts; of these I have  
eds in a little time,  
others alive. Even-  
n of the *Indians* as  
day I have married  
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ants for the decess'd  
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ber of penitents is  
ne fathers confessors  
confession, and give  
th. But the paper  
recommmend my self  
st fervent prayers of  
countrymen. The  
e being a faithful  
as my brother *An-  
of Jesus*, has trans-  
aquaria into *Germa-  
nism*, for the glory  
al benefit of man-  
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y of the islands

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at enterprise, and  
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shewing reasons that induce him to it. The time of making this discovery was in the year 1595; for the relation tells us that the arrival at *Manila* was in February 96, without naming the century, which we know could not be the 17th: besides that, it speaks of an *Indian* they found, who had been pilot to Sir *Thomas Candish*, who was in the south sea not long before. The description is of some few islands in the south sea, small in compass, but well inhabited,

whereof yet they had not any perfect know-ledge, as having only touch'd at some of 'em, and seen others at a distance. Then follow some particulars of the islands call'd *De los Ladrones*, and the *Indians* inhabiting them: the rest is only their sufferings and distress till they arriv'd at *Manila*. And, lastly, some reasons given by one *Quiros*, for going again upon the same discovery. For more particulars I must refer the reader to the fragment it self.

Discovery of the island of Salomon.

Immer-  
sation.

— making as if they would throw them; others cast stones with slings; one of these wounded a soldier after it had hit the side of the ship: our men would have fired their musquets, but the powder would not take, because it had rain'd. 'Twas worth observing with what noise and cries the *Indians* came on, and how, when they saw aim taken at 'em, some hung by the canoes, others slunk behind their companions. The desperate old fellow was shot with a bullet in the forehead, and dropp'd down dead, and eight or nine with him, and some being wounded, the rest began to stand, the ships continuing still under sail. Three *Indians* came out hollowing in a canoe; one of 'em had a green bough and something white in his hand, which was look'd upon as a signal of peace. 'Twas thought they would have had 'em go to their harbour, but they did not, and they went away leaving some cocons.

Descrip-  
on of four  
islands.

This island seems to be about ten leagues in compass: that part they saw of it is clear and open, high and mountainous along the shore. The port is on the south side; 'tis in the latitude of 10 degrees, and a thousand leagues distant from *Lima*: 'tis very populous, for, besides those that came out in the canoes, the shore and rocks were throng'd. *Mindana* knew it not, and being convinc'd of it, said, those were none of the islands he came to find out, but a new discovery. A small distance from this they saw three more; the first of 'em the *Adelantado* call'd *St. Peter*: 'tis about ten leagues north and by west off the *Magdalen*; they knew not whether inhabited or not, because they did not approach it: the extent of it about four leagues, very woody, level, and not high. Another was discover'd, which they call'd *La Dominica*: it lies north-west of that of *St. Peter*, is about fifteen leagues in compass, about five distant from the other, and lies north-east and south-west. It appear'd pleasant, having fine plains and hills, on which appear'd tokens of much wood: it seem'd to be well peopled. The other, which was call'd

*St. Christina*, lies south of *La Dominica*, and, to appearance, was nine leagues in extent: 'tis but a little above a league from *La Dominica*, the chanel clean and soundable. The *Adelantado* call'd all the islands together *Las Marquesas*, or the *Marchionesses*, in honour of the *marquis de Canete*, and as an acknowledgment of the many favours receiv'd of him in the dispatch of his business. They sail'd backwards and forwards, seeking a port in the island *Dominica*. Several canoes with *Indians* came out, some darker colour'd than others, and by their cries seem'd to desire the same the others had done: among them was a comely old man, who had a green bough, and something white in one hand: he was calling just as they tack'd about, and believing the ships were going off, he began to cry out the louder: he made signs even with his hair, pointing to the land with them, and with his finger. The *Adelantado* was inclinable to go thither, but it could not be done, because 'twas east, and the wind blew fresh from that point; besides that there was no safe harbour to come to an anchor in, th' the frigate sought it close to the land. Here, he said, there was abundance more people, whom they had seen from the ship; and added, that an *Indian* came Their aboard, who with much ease lifted up a strength: calf by the ear. Four handsome *Indians* were got aboard the commodore, and having been there a while, one of 'em snatch'd up a curious bitch, and giving a shout, they all boldly leap'd into the sea, and swam away with her to their canoes. The next They dis- day, being the feast of *St. James the Apo-* cover- stle, the general again sent the colonel with twenty men in the long-boat to fetch water, or find out a harbour, in the island of *St. Christina*. He went, and being come to an anchor in a port, landed with his men in good order, and drum beating. He went round a town, the *Indians* never offering to stir: then he halted, and call'd to them, and about three hundred came to him. Our men drew a line on the ground, making signs to them that they must not come over



over it; and asking water of 'em, they brought it in cocos, with some fruit. The *Indian* women came out, and the soldiers affirm'd that many of 'em were extraordinary beautiful, and made no difficulty of sitting down by them. The colonel bid the *Indians* go fill some jars of water, they made signs for our men to carry 'em, but at the same time fled with four of 'em, for which reason they were cannonaded. On the 28th of July the *Adelantado* came to an anchor in a port the colonel had found, and landing, carried his wife, and most of the men, to hear the first mass said by the vicar, at which the *Indians* present were kneeling, very silent and attentive, quietly doing all they saw the *Christians* do. A beautiful *Indian* woman sat down near the lady *Elizabeth* to fan her, and she seeing her hair so very fair, endeavour'd to have some of it cut off, but seeing she avoided it, they forbore, for fear of angering her. The general, in his majesty's name, took possession of all four islands, view'd the town, sow'd *Indian* wheat before the natives, and having convers'd with them amicably, went aboard, leaving the colonel ashore with all the soldiers. No sooner was *Mindana* gone, but they fell together by the ears; such are the consequences of ill government. The *Indians* threw abundance of stones and darts, which hurt one soldier in the foot, but did no more harm; that done, they fled to the woods with their wives and children: our men pursued firing at 'em till they got into the shelter of the trees. They went up to the tops of three high hills, where they entrenched. Morning and evening they all at once made a regular harmonious noise, which echoed in the dales: then they hollow'd to one another, shew'd an inclination to do mischief, throwing darts and stones, but to no purpose. The colonel placed guards upon three several avenues, to secure the town and shore, where the women were diverting themselves, and the men taking in wood and water for the ships. The *Indians* perceiving how little harm their weapons did, and the great loss they sustain'd from the fire-arms, endeavour'd to come to an accommodation. This they made appear, because when the soldiers went over their lands, they came out lovingly to meet 'em, offering 'em clusters of plantans, and other sorts of fruit. They seem'd to miss the conveniency of their houses, for by signs they enquir'd when they would be gone. Some of 'em came to the guards, bringing such as they had to eat, which they gave freely, especially one good likely *Indian*, with whom the chaplain contracted great friendship, and they call'd one another comrades: he taught him to bless himself, and say *Jesus, Mary*.

Amity  
with the  
*Indians*.

They fall  
at variance

Reconcil'd  
again.

In the same manner the others convers'd with their new friends: every one had one, whom he fought out when he came, and would sit down with him. They ask'd of one another by signs how they call'd the heaven, earth, sea, sun, moon, and stars, and other things they saw, and they seem'd to be pleas'd in their answers. The last words they said at parting were, *Friends, friends, comrades*. The *Indian* we said was friend to the chaplain came to the guard, and was carried aboard, that the general might see him: he went merrily along, saying, *Friends*. The *Adelantado* receiv'd him with much kindness and affection, offer'd him sweet-meats and wine, but he neither eat nor drank. He began to take notice of the cattle, and to appearance gave them names; observ'd the ship, rigging, masts and sails, went down under deck, and noted all things with more curiosity than could be expected from an *Indian*. They desired him to say *Jesus*, which he did, and seem'd well pleas'd. Then he press'd to be set ashore, and he was so friendly, that when he understood the ships were about departing, he express'd sorrow, and would have gone away with them. The island *St. Christina* is well peopled, somewhat high, has vales and hollows, where the *Indians* dwell: the port they call'd *De la Madre de Dios* is, of the *Mother of God*. 'Tis on the coast in 9 degrees and a half of latitude, shelter'd from all winds: the shape of it is like a horse-shoe, the neck or entrance very narrow; at the mouth there's thirty fathom water clear of sands, twenty-four in the middle of the harbour, and twelve close to the shore: a rock on the south side upright next the sea, serves for a land-mark to it; at the top of all is a sharp cliff, besides others there are, and on the north side a hollow. There appear out at sea five several groves facing the harbour, and a ridge of hills, which divides two strands, with a spring of excellent water, which falls from the height of a man and a half, as thick as one's wrist, and by it a brook as good as that, running close to a little town of the *Indians*, so that the spring, brook, and town are together on the shore, at the foot of the hill on the north side: on the south side there are some houses among trees, and on the east some rocks and cliffs, whence the brook flows. Most of the *Indians* in this island did not seem to be so white as those in the island call'd the *Magdalen*; they use the same language, the same sort of weapons and canoes, which serve them near at hand. Their town is like two sides of a square, the one north and south, the other east and west, with the avenues well pav'd; the rest like an open place encompass'd with thick trees; they are

*Indian*  
boat

Fruit of  
several  
sorts.

are built like double galleries, the floor higher than the street; abundance of people seem'd to lie in each of 'em, because there were many beds: some had low doors, others had all the front open: they are made of timber interwoven with great canes, whose hollow is as big as a man's arm, and they're above an ell long in the joint. They affirm, the women have most beautiful faces, delicate hands, a good shape and slender waist, many of 'em far exceeding the most accomplish'd women at Lima. They were white enough, from the breast downwards clad with a sort of tunicks curiously wove of delicate fine palm-tree leaves. At a distance from the town was an oracle, or place of worship, palisadoed about; and the entrance on the west side, almost in the middle of it, a house with the door to the north, in which were some misshapen wooden figures, and some eatable things offer'd there; among the rest a hog, which the soldiers took down, and being about to take away other things, the Indians hinder'd 'em, making signs that they should not touch 'em, and shewing that they had a respect for that house and figures.

Indian boats.

Without the town they had some *Piraguas*, a sort of boats, long, and handsomely wrought out of one piece of wood, with a sort of keel, head and stern, rais'd with boards fast bound with ropes they make 'of the cocos; each of 'em will carry betwixt thirty and forty men to row. Being ask'd by signs what use they put them to, they gave to understand they went in them to other parts. They work 'em with little hatchets they make of fish-bones and nails, or rather fish-shells, and sharpen 'em on great stones for the purpose. The constitution, health, strength, and corpulency of those people shews the goodness of the air they live in: clothes could be well born with day or night, the sun was not very troublesome, some great rains fell; there was never any dew, but a dry air, inasmuch that whatsoever they left wet over-night on the ground was dry in the morning, without being hung and laid out, but it is not known whether 'twere so all the year. There were swine and hens like those in Spain. The trees we mention'd were in the square, bore a sort of fruit as big as a boy's head; its colour when ripe is a light green, and a very deep green when four: the shell is mark'd with cross streaks like a pineapple; its shape is not altogether round, but is somewhat sharper at t'other end than at the stalk: from the end there runs in as 'twere a plug or core, and from that there spread several webs: it has neither stone nor kernel, nor any thing to throw away, but only the shell, and that is thin; the rest is a solid mass, with little juice in it

Fruit of several sorts.

when ripe, and less when green: abundance of 'em were eaten ripe and green, and they are so delicious, that the men call'd 'em white meat, a dainty *Spanish* dish made of the brawn of fowls; 'twas look'd upon as wholesome, and very nourishing. The leaves the tree bears are very large, and sharp-pointed, like the *Papayas*. There is another sort of fruit enclos'd in prickles like chefnuts, but its kernel is as big as six *Spanish* chefnuts, and tastes much like them; they are shaped like a plain heart. There are walnuts about the bigness of ours, and much like 'em in taste; their shell is very hard, and all of a piece, without any joyning; the kernel is not interwoven with the shell, but so loose that, when crack'd, it drops out whole: they eat and carried away a great many, and at last found it was oily. On the shore they saw *Spanish* pompions sow'd, and among them some flowers, beautiful to the eye, but without any scent. Nothing can be said of the inland, because no body went up it; but, by what they saw, the soldiers affirm'd all the groves were of fruit-trees. Whilst the general was in the island, he had the galliot refitted, because one day before it came to an anchor 'twas foul of the commodore's bolt-sprit, and in great danger. He order'd wood and water to be taken in, the ships to be made ready, and the men to come aboard. Before they set sail, he erected three crosses in several places, and carried another on a tree, with the day and year when 'twas done. On the 5th of *August* they weigh'd, and sail'd away in quest of the islands they were to discover. They held their course west and by south, the wind at south, and veering to east-south-east, running, by their reckoning, four hundred leagues east and by south, and west and by north. After three or four days sail, the *Adelantado* said, they should that day see the land they sought. All the men were pleas'd with this news, but tho' they look'd out, they saw none in many days after; which discourag'd the soldiers, for the longer they were out, the shorter their water and provisions grew, having been extravagant upon hearing the land was nigh. Irresolution and despair began to prevail, and few were untainted; nor is it to be admir'd, for such undertakings require men inur'd to sufferings, and patient in 'em.

The discovery of several islands.

On Sunday the 20th of *August*, after running four hundred leagues, at break of day the ships found themselves near four little low islands, the shores sandy, and cover'd with abundance of palm and other trees. The extent of 'em all four seem'd to be eight leagues, little more or less. They stand almost square, close to one another:

Discover four islands.

on the east side of them lie certain banks of sand, south-west and north-east, for which reason there's no coming at 'em on that side. In the channel that runs to the south-west there appears a cape. The general call'd them *St. Bernard's* islands, because discover'd on his day. They would have endeavour'd to find a harbour, but at the request of a vicar it was not done. It was not known whether they were inhabited, though those in the galliot said they had seen two canoes, but it was only a fancy. They are in the latitude of 10 deg. and 20 min. south, their longitude 1400 leagues from *Lima*.

Hold on  
their  
course.

Having left these islands the wind held always at south-east, and sometimes there fell short but heavy showers of rain. The clouds were thick and of several colours, appearing in various shapes, and many hours were spent in observing them. Sometimes they were settled so, that it was a whole day before they dispers'd, which made them jealous they were near land, being towards that part that was unknown. They held on their course westward, that is, west-north-west, and west-south-west, always keeping in such latitude as the *Adelantado* directed, which was never to exceed twelve deg. nor be under eight, so that they kept bewixt ten and eleven. On *Tuesday* the 29th of *August*, they saw a little low island, quite round full of trees, and hemm'd in along the shore with ridges of rocks above the water. Its compass was about a league, the latitude 10 deg. 40 min. the distance from *Lima* 1535 leagues. It was call'd the *Solitary* island, because it stood alone. The *Adelantado* order'd the two small vessels to seek some harbour, to take in wood and water, the vice-admiral being in great want. They came to an anchor in ten fathom water, and hail'd the admiral to stand to sea, because all the shoar was full of great rocks, which were to be seen. Sailing over them and sounding as they went, sometimes they found ten fathom water, and sometimes found no ground with one hundred. It was frightful to see the ship over so many rocks. All diligence was us'd to get out to open sea, as they did.

The admiral bore patiently with all the men's muttering and despair, endeavouring what he could to prevent any publick, or private sins, he study'd the peace of all persons, giving a good example, with his beads in his hand at all times. Every day he cauled the *Salve Regina* to be said before an image of our blessed lady of solitude. He had even-song sung solemnly, and kept holy-days, putting out the colours and sounding warlike instruments, reproving those that swore, charg'd the sol-

diers to exercise their arms, and every afternoon review'd them, to put his hand to every thing that was to be done aboard the ship, though it were the most laborious work. On the 7th of *September* they sail'd before the wind, which was a stiff gale at south-east, under a topsail reefed, due west. The sky appear'd very thick ahead, for which reason the master pilot sent out the galliot and frigate ahead, one in sight of the other and of the galeon. He order'd 'em, if they discover'd land, or shoals, or any thing else to give notice of, they should make a signal with two lights, and he would answer in the same manner, but fear prevailing they fell astern. Thus they sail'd in dread, under such apprehensions as that night suggest'd. About nine the vice-admiral came up, and about eleven, on the larboard-side, they discover'd a great thick cloud, covering all the horizon on that side. They that were upon the watch doubted whether it was land, but were soon undeceiv'd by a heavy shower of rain that fell presently after. As soon as it was over they plainly discover'd land, from which the admiral was not above a league. Being assur'd it was land, they proclaim'd it with the usual joy, and all came out to see it. The galeon took in her sails, and lying athwart the land, made signs to the other ships, only two answer'd, the other was not seen. Day appear'd and discover'd towards the south-west, a point of land, plain, large and black, being cover'd with trees, and looking about they could not find the vice-admiral, which was a great trouble to all the men. Day-light also discover'd a high hill like a sugar-loaf, all smooth; and another little hill towards the south-east, which appear'd to be three leagues in compass, and is eight from the island. It has no harbour, nor any other place to land, being all rocky and bare without trees, or any thing green, but a dry colour'd earth and stones. There are some clefts in it, particularly two on the west side, out of which and the very top of the hill, there gushes out much fire and sparkles, with a great noise. It had a very handsome head, which, a few days after the ships got into harbour, broke off and flew with so terrible an earthquake, that though the anchoring place was ten leagues off, it was heard, to the great terror of the men, and made the ship shake. From that time forwards there were great thunder-claps within it every now and then, and for the most part when it gulch'd out fire, after which there came out such quantities of thick smoke, as seem'd to ascend up to the heavens, and then follow'd a rumbling noise. The admiral order'd the frigate to sail round the fiery mountain, to see whether

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Land dis-  
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A burning  
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point of land, plain,  
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Other  
Indians  
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weapons.

ther the vice-admiral, happening to fall to the other side of it, lay there under shelter, ordering him to come away to the island they had discover'd. Being pretty near it there came out a small boat with a sail, and after it a squadron of fifty more. The people in them hallow'd and made signs with their hands, as if they hail'd the ship, who did the same, but not without apprehension. When the vessels came close, it appear'd to the men in them were coal black, and some a little clearer, all of them with curl'd hair, some white, some fair, and of other colours, it being certainly dy'd; half the head shorn, and with other distinctions, their teeth colour'd red. They were all naked save their privities, which were cover'd with a sort of soft stuffs. Most of them were stain'd with a dye blacker than themselves, and others with other colours. There were streaks to be seen on their faces and bodies, their arms were several times wound about with black withes, and about their necks many strings of small beads of bone, ebony and fishes teeth. About several parts of them hung abundance of some little and some big plates or flat pieces of mother of pearl. The canoes were small, and some of them link'd two and two together. Their weapons were bows and arrows with sharp points of burnt wood. Others were pointed with bearded bones, and some with feathers; the points seem'd to be infected with the juice of some herb, but not very hurtful. They had also stones, *Macanas*, which are their swords made of a heavy sort of wood, darts of hard wood with three rows of beards, and the spear part above a span in length. A-crofs them like shoulder belts, hung budgets of palm-tree-leaves well made, full of biscuit, which they made of roots, all of them were eating of it as they came, and freely gave part. As soon as the *Adelantado* saw the colour of their skins, he concluded they were the people he look'd for, saying, *This is such an island, or such a land.* He spoke to them in the language he learnt the first voyage, but they neither understood him, nor he them. They stop'd to view the vessels, and went about them as if they had been chattering. No persuasions could prevail with them to come aboard, but having talk'd to one another they stood all to their arms, a tall, old, lean *Indian* who was fore-most, seeming to persuade them so to do. They presently bent their bows to let fly, the old man talk'd to them, and they clap'd themselves down again; they gave the word about, and could not resolve what they were to do. At length they concluded, and giving a shout let fly many arrows, which stuck in the sails,

and other parts of the ships, but did no harm. Upon this the soldiers who were in a readiness, had orders to fire upon them. One was kill'd, many wounded, and the rest fled in great consternation. They cruiz'd up and down seeking a harbour, which they all were impatient for, having suffer'd much, and believed they should be eas'd of all their troubles, if they could but land. The Vice-admiral return'd without finding the vice-admiral, which increas'd their sorrow and apprehensions. The three ships came to an anchor at the mouth of a bay, under the shelter of certain flats. The anchors were a-peak, and the water flowing about ten at night, the galeon drag'd hers with very great danger of being a-ground on the sands. The admiral ran out to encourage his men, who were in great disorder and confusion, the danger being at hand, and the night making it more dreadful. At last the anchors were weigh'd, and letting fly the sails, the ship with much difficulty got out to sea. At break of day the *Adelantado* went aboard the galliot to seek out a port. The master pilot found one, tho' small, lying north-west of the burning mountain, shelter'd from the south-west wind, with twelve fathom water, a town, river, ballast, wood and a good airy place. It being then late, they came to an anchor at one of the points that jetted into the sea, a sergeant with twelve musketers went ashore to secure the port. The *Indians* belonging to a town that was hard by, came out and play'd them so violently with their arrows, that they were forced to take shelter in a single house they found. The ship fir'd two guns, which put them to flight, the boat going off to fetch the men. All that night they ply'd it out at sea, and the next day, the *Adelantado* found a still harbour, shelter'd against all winds. There they came to an anchor in fifteen fathom water, the bottom owfy near to the land, where was a river and towns, which sound-ed all night with the noise of dancing and musick after their manner, beating sticks one against another, and tabors. Abundance of *Indians* came to see the ships and men. Most of them had red flowers on their *Indians* heads and in their noses. With much per-  
suasion some of them came aboard the admiral, leaving their arms in the canoes. Among the rest came aboard a handsome body'd man, and of a good aspect, a brown complexion, lean and somewhat grey-hair'd. He seem'd to be about sixty years of age, on his head he had some blue, yellow, and red feathers, in his hands a bow and arrows pointed with bone curiously wrought. On his sides were two *Indians* of better quality than the rest. This they found was some person of note among them,

A burning  
island.

*Indians*  
come a-  
board.

them, as well by the difference of his garb, as by the respect the rest paid him. He enquir'd by signs, who was chief of the new comers. The *Adelantado* receiv'd him with great demonstrations of affection, and taking him by the hand, signify'd that he was commander. The *Indian* said his name was *Malope*, the *Adelantado* answer'd his was *Mindana*: *Malope* understood it, and answer'd, applying the name he had heard to himself, that he would be call'd *Mindana*, and the general should take the name of *Malope*. Having made this exchange he seem'd very well pleas'd, and when they call'd him *Malope*, would signify it must not be so, but *Mindana*, and pointed to the *Adelantado*, saying he was *Malope*. He also said he was call'd *Taurique*, this name seeming to import as much as *Cacique*, or commander. *Alvaro de Mindana* put a shirt on him, and gave him some other things of small value. The soldiers gave the other *Indians* feathers, little bells, glass-beads, bits of silk and cotton, and cards, all which they hung about their necks. They taught them to say *Friends*, *Friends*, crossing their hands and embracing one another in token of peace. They presently learnt, and practis'd it often. They shew'd them looking-glasses, shav'd their heads and beards, and par'd the nails of their hands and feet, at which they were much pleas'd, earnestly begging the razors and cut-throats. They also endeavour'd to see what was under the cloaths, and being satisfis'd, did the same monkey tricks, like those in the first islands. This lasted four days, they going backwards and forwards, and giving such as they had to eat. One day *Malope* came, as he did very frequently, expressing the most friendship of any, his town being near to the place where the ships lay at anchor. Fifty canoes joyn'd him, all of them with their arms hid in them, expecting their *Malope*, who was a-

An *Indian* changes names with the *Spanish* commander.

The *Indians* fall out with the *Spaniards*.

board the admiral; and because a soldier took up a musket, he went away to his boats, no persuasions being of force to prevail with him to stay, but got him to shoar, follow'd by all his people. There was another number of people on the shoar, by whom he was receiv'd with great demonstrations of joy, and they seem'd to consult together: that same afternoon the *Indians* remov'd all they had into some houses near the shoar, to *Malope's* town. At night they made great fires on the other side the bay, which lasted almost till morning. It was look'd upon as a signal of war, which was confirm'd by the jealousy the canoes had caus'd that day, running hastily from one town to another, as it were to make ready, or carry advice of some matter.

Next morning the galliot sent its boat ashoar for water, which was at hand, and as they were supping it, some *Indians* who lay in ambush fell upon the men, shooting and shooting their arrows, following them to the boat, where the musketeers firing on them they halted. The wounded men were taken care of, and the general immediately ordered the colonel to land and do them all the harm he could with fire and sword. The *Indians* made a stand, and five being kill'd, the rest fled. The *Spaniards* went off without loss, having cut down some palm-trees, and burnt houses and canoes.

This same day the *Adelantado* sent captain *Laurence* in the frigate with twenty sailors and soldiers, in quest of the vice-admiral: He had orders to sail about that part of the island they had not yet seen, till he was at the place, where night came upon them, when they discover'd the land, and that when he was there he should sail away from west to north-west, which was the course the vice-admiral could stand, to miss that the admiral took, and to observe what he could discover in his way. He also order'd the colonel to be ready with forty men, to go in the morning early, as he did, to certain huts that were near a hill, to take revenge on the *Indians*, for shooting at his men, and to endeavour by the harm he did to them to prevent greater mischief. He came to the place without being discover'd by the natives, secur'd the avenues, beset their houses, and set fire to them, attacking even that were in them. They seeing themselves hard set by the fire and enemy, made as brave a defence as they could, but being overpower'd ran desperately upon the *Spaniards* weapons, without valuing their lives. Six were kill'd, and the seventh made his escape much wounded. The colonel went off with his men, among whom seven were wounded with arrows.

The *Spaniards* burn and spoil.

After noon *Malope* came down to the shoar, for the towns and canoes that had been burnt were his, and with a loud voice call'd the *Adelantado* by the name of *Malope*, and striking his breast, call'd himself *Mindana*. Then he embrac'd himself, and complain'd, pointing to the harm they had done him, making signs that they were not his men, but the *Indians* on the other side of the bay that had shot our men, and bending their bow, gave to understand, that they should all joyn in taking revenge, and he would be aiding to it. The *Adelantado* call'd him, being desirous to appease him, but he came not till next day, when much friendship was express'd on both sides.

On *S. Matthew's* day they set sail from their harbour to another larger and more con-



shot sent its boat a-<sup>A skiff</sup> shore  
was at hand, and <sup>was the</sup> some <sup>Indians</sup> Indians who  
the men, shouting  
was, following them  
musketeers firing on  
wounded men were  
general immediately  
land and do them  
with fire and sword,  
and, and five being  
the Spaniards went off  
at down some palm-  
and canoes.

*Adelantado* sent cap-  
tains with twenty fa-  
cets of the vice-ad-  
miral's to sail about that  
y had not yet seen,  
where night came  
discover'd the land,  
ere he should sail  
th-west, which was  
miral could find, to  
look, and to observe  
in his way. He al-<sup>The spe-</sup>  
to be ready with for-<sup>ward</sup>  
morning early, as he  
that were near a hill,  
<sup>burn and</sup>  
<sup>signal,</sup> Indians, for shoot-  
to endeavour by the  
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came down to the <sup>Indians</sup>  
and canoes that had <sup>due to the</sup>  
and with a loud voice <sup>recon-</sup>  
by the name of *Malope*,  
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ay they set sail from  
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convenient, which they found half a league  
higher within the same bay. As they were  
sailing towards it, captain *Laurence* return'd,  
and brought an account, that as he sail'd a-  
bout the island according to his orders, he  
found in the same line north and south as  
the bay lay, another not inferior to it, bet-  
ter peopled, and more full of canoes. He  
also said, he had seen beyond that two o-  
ther little islands near the great one, both  
of them very well peopled; and that eight  
leagues to the south-west they discover'd  
another island, that seem'd to be no less than  
30 many leagues in compass, and that nine  
or ten leagues west north-west of the place,  
where night overtook them; when they dis-  
cover'd land, he had found three islands inha-  
bitated by *Mulattoes* of a clearer sort of com-  
plexion, and full of palm-trees, with abun-  
dant ridges of rocks, running west north-  
west, and channels betwixt them, which they  
did not see the end of; and to conclude, that  
they met with no footsteps of the ship they  
sought after. The ships came to an anchor  
in the second port, the *Indians* thereabouts  
making great outcries all the night long,  
as if they had sported or scoffed, very of-  
ten plainly repeating the word *Amigos*, that  
is, friends. In the morning about five hun-  
dred *Indians* came to the nearest shore,  
showing abundance of arrows, and casting  
darts and stones at the vessels, but perceiv-  
ing they fell short, many of them ran into  
the water breast high, and others swam,  
coming up to close, still shooting, that hav-  
ing got hold of the buoys they were mak-  
ing to land with them.

The *Adelantado* perceiving their boldness,  
commanded captain *Laurence* to go out  
with fifteen men in the boat to engage them.  
Those that carry'd bucklers cover'd them  
that fir'd and row'd; yet they shot two,  
and had hurt more but for that defence,  
some of the bucklers being struck through.  
The *Indians* fought scatter'd and running,  
but with such resolution, as made it appear  
the *Spaniards* had met with men that would  
defend what they had. This lasted as long  
as they were not sensible of the harm our  
fire-arms did, but being unobserv'd by the  
death of two or three, and the wounding  
of others, they left the shore, carrying  
away their dead and wounded men.

Next day the colonel being a-shore he  
propos'd to his men to unwood a place near  
a great spring, in order to build a town  
there. All of them did not like the place,  
believing it would be unhealthy. There-  
fore some of those that were marry'd went  
aboard to acquaint the admiral with the co-  
lonel's design, and desire him to go ashore  
and give orders that they might settle in  
one of the towns belonging to the *Indians*,  
for that the houses being built, and the

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ground about it beaten, it must be fitter  
than the place pitch'd upon. The *Adelan-*  
*tado* landed, held a council, and most of  
the soldiers being

Here it  
breaks off  
abruptly,  
and to be  
given again

miraculously. *Indians* came off from the  
islands in their boats, some with sails, and  
some without. Not being able to get over  
the rocks, they got out upon them, and from  
thence made signs with their hands to  
come to them. In the afternoon one *Indi-*  
*an* alone in a small canoe came out at the  
end of the flats, made to the windward,  
keeping at a great distance, and therefore  
it could not be discern'd whether he had any  
beard, the islands of the bearded men be-  
ing thereabouts. He seem'd to be a well  
shaped man, naked, and had long hair  
hanging loose. He pointed to the place  
from whence he came, and pulling a white  
thing he brought in pieces, eat it, then  
turn'd up coco-shells as if he drank. They  
call'd him, but he would not come. This  
island is in six large degrees of north lati-  
tude, is almost round, about thirty leagues  
in compass, and not very high, it is well  
wooded, and on the sides of the hills there  
are abundance of roses, and much till'd  
land. Three leagues almost west of it are  
four bare islands, and a great many more  
close to it, all of them hemm'd in with  
rocks. This seem'd to be clearer on the  
south side.

They held on their course north north-  
west, and on Monday the 1st of January  
found themselves in fourteen degrees of la-  
titude. They steer'd away due west. The  
wind was large and blew fresh, and on  
Wednesday the 3d of the same month at break  
of day, they had sight of two of the islands <sup>The i-</sup>  
<sup>lands De</sup> *de los Ladrones*, which they fought after. <sup>los La-</sup>  
One of them was *Guam*, and the other <sup>drones.</sup> *Serpana*. They sail'd along between them,  
lying north-east and south-west, thro' a chan-  
nel ten leagues in length, which lies close to  
*Guam*. Here a man fell overboard as he  
was trimming the top-sail; there was but one  
sitting line in all the ship, and some body  
had put it over just where the man happen-  
ed to fall, he laid hold of it, and was sav'd,  
giving thanks to God for so great a delive-  
rance. It will be an excuse for giving some  
lines in this book to things of small moment,  
to say as the ancients did, that little things  
have, I know not what that is divine, which  
tho' all men perceive, yet none can com-  
prehend. Therefore it is, they often draw  
the attention of those who see or hear them  
in such manner that they take a liking to  
them without any other recommendation

7 X

or

or encomium. Such a one is the description of countries, habits and manners of the natives, tho' he that is curious, when he meets with it, may reckon it among the most material of that sort, as well on account of the pleasure its variety produces, as for the instruction and benefit reap'd by it.

*Guam one of those islands.*

The ship being in sight of *Guam*, abundance of canoes began to come off to it. These are small boats, made of a certain wood as light as cork; only one *Indian* goes in one of 'em; and tho' it has a mast, sail, yard, tackles, halliards, and helm, he steers with one hand, and with 'other hoists, lowers, and trims his sail, having one of the tacks fasten'd to each foot, and so veers out, or hauls to, as occasion serves. Both ends are heads, and as soon as the sail is split round, they make way without bringing about the vessel. They are very swift, and when a wave breaks, and fills it full of water, the man casts himself into the water like a fish, overturns the boat, and so clears it of all the water: the boat being clear, he gets in at one side. Being come to shore, he takes his vessel on his back, and leans it against a tree, on which he has his habitation, like a bird, living upon the fish he takes: thus he lives, tho' barbarously, yet happy in being a stranger to the fall of court favourites, and to the favours of the world, such as wealth, honour, and preferences, imaginary blessings and chimerical delights. Many of those boats came to the ship's side with such fruit as the country produced, as cocos, plantanes, comboys, and sweet canes, besides several sorts of sea-fish, which they catch with their hands among the cliffs of the rocks, without any other tackling, inasmuch that no fish is safe from their nimbleness, but the *Cayman* or crocodile, the shark and *Caella*: these they worship as deities, and, on account of the harm they do them, and the dread they have of 'em, they offer to them part of the product of the earth in the nature of tithes. They lay the offering in a canoe, turning it to sea under sail without any body in it, by which means it soon oversets and sinks. The people of these islands are of a dark complexion; neither men nor women wear any clothes, but they are mighty hairy, large limb'd, very strong, and their skin so hard that they run naked and bare-leg'd thro' thorns and briars, and over rocks and stones as swift as stags. They use no sort of money, despise gold and silver, for which reason strangers could not deal with them, but by bartering for iron, which they value since they have known the *Spaniards*, seeing it cut down trees, and hew timber. They chiefly covet axes and knives, because those they used before were made of pebbles and

*Superstitions of those islands.*

flints, wherewith they made their boats and other things. Several times, when seamen and soldiers went ashore upon these islands for fresh water, they found, as has been said, houses of these *Indians* built upon trees: there were also some huts upon the shore, and sailors, thro' covetousness, having often search'd both of 'em, found nothing but oziers across 'em, on which many leg-bones and skulls of men were strung: these are bones of their fore-fathers, which such brutal people worship as gods, because they know no other, except the sun, moon, alligators, and sharks, in whom they suppose the souls of the departed to be. In order to give dead bodies honourable burial, they flea 'em, and, burning the flesh, put the ashes of it into a jar of *Tuba* (a sort of wine they make of the coco-tree) and shaking it about, drink it off among 'em: they only save the bones for the kindred to hang about their houses, and keep their friends always near 'em: as long as they live they lament their dead upon certain days and nights, at hours appointed; to this purpose there are abundance of mourners to be hired, but they mourn for one another either for interest, or out of friendship. He that has lamented for his neighbour is to be pay'd when he has occasion, either by coming in person to mourn, or hiring one to do it. They observe these obsequies, which are pleasant enough, for they eat and drink plentifully; they last about a week at a time, the business of the day being drunkenness, and weeping of the night: every one mourns an hour in his turn, and amidst his tears relates the life and brave actions of him or them he bewails: he relates his infant behaviour, and so on as he grew up, describing particularly his stature, shape, good qualities, valour, and all that may be for the honour of the dead person: if any thing in his relation be comical, he bursts out a laughing as heartily as he wept before, all that are present laughing out so loud that they cannot hear one another. When the laughing fit is over, after talking and drinking awhile, for this they never omit, the lamentation begins again: on the other side, when they hint at any sorrowful passage, all the standers-by shriek as loud as they can, and there uses to be two hundred of 'em together.

In the year 1668, two companies going over to the *Philippine Islands*, one of them commanded by *John Lopez de Aguirre*, and the other by *Laurence Chacon*; it happen'd that some men going ashore upon this island of *Guam* for fresh water and some fruit, a *Spaniard* of about twenty years of age went up from the shore to seek some fruit, and entering into a grove, found a little savage about

The discoverers in different parts, put into the bay of Santo

made their boats and  
times, when seamen  
upon these islands  
found, as has been  
*Indians* built upon  
some huts upon the  
' covetousness, ha-  
of 'em, found no-  
men were strung  
fore-fathers, which  
friendship as gods, be-  
er, except the sun,  
arks, in whom they  
departed to be. In  
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jar of *Tuba* (a sort  
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l as they can, and  
hundred of 'em to-

two companies going A notable  
lands, one of them accident,  
*Lopez de Aguirre*, and  
*Chacon* ; it happen'd  
shore upon this island  
er and some fruit, a  
ty years of age went  
seek some fruit, and  
found a little savage  
about

about fourteen years of age : the stranger  
seeing such a boy naked, and without any  
weapon, was not afraid tho' he was unarm'd  
himself, not desiring to go far from his  
companions. The islander drew near, and  
embracing the foldier, fawn'd upon, and  
seem'd to shew friendship, as if he were  
very glad to see him : then he shew'd him  
where there were plantains, and so they  
continued some time without any jealousy  
on the *Spaniard's* side. When they were a  
good distance from the guard, the savage  
again embraced the foldier, and was carry-  
ing him away with much ease under his  
arm into the thick of the wood, holding so  
fast that he could not break loose, neither  
durst he call out to his companions, for fear  
the savage should make the more haste, and  
because he carried him away laughing, and  
as 'twere in jest. As they kept along in  
the same path among the trees, there hap-  
pen'd to come towards 'em four *Spaniards*,  
who had gone up the wood to find some-  
thing to shoot ; they all stood, hearing the  
noise the barbarian made among the bushes,  
and presenting their pieces that way they  
heard the noise, as supposing 'twas some  
deer or buffalo. They were much surpriz'd  
to see the two men, and that their country-  
man struggled to get loose. The savage  
seeing them, let him go, and run and hid  
himself in the wood, the prisoner remain-  
ing among his friends, by whom and his  
captain he was reprov'd, for going away  
from the rest alone, and without arms.  
Five years after this accident, *D. Martin*  
*Enriquez*, viceroy of Mexico, order'd *John*  
*Lopez de Aguirre*, as he pass'd by these  
islands, to carry away with him one or  
more savage boys, to be instructed in the  
faith, and learn *Spanish*, that when they  
return'd to their native country they might  
serve as interpreters, and teach the natives  
the faith and language. The captain used  
all his endeavours, and could get only one  
savage youth, whom he carried with him to  
*Manila*, where he was baptiz'd ; it happen'd  
by good luck to be the same we spoke of  
above ; and he talking one day with the  
same foldier, they remember'd one another,  
and were afterwards great friends. After  
repeating the whole passage, he own'd his  
design was, when he had got him to his  
cottage, to suck his brains, drink up his  
flesh reduced to ashes, and adorn his house  
with his bones.

The discov-  
erers in  
diretly,  
put into  
cape *Spiri-*  
tu Santo.

The ship holding on its course towards  
the *Philippine* islands, left the islands of *los*  
*Ladrones* astern, without touching at them,  
tho' it had need enough, having no tackle  
to launch the boat, or ship it again. She  
sail'd on due west till upon *Friday* the 12th  
of *January*, when they found 13 degrees  
of north latitude. The master or pilot ha-

ving never been in those parts, sail'd upon  
information, without any certain rule, seek-  
ing cape *Spiritu Santo*, or of the *Holy Ghost*,  
which is the first part of the *Philippine*  
islands. On *Sunday*, at break of day, they  
discover'd the top of a high hill ; they all  
rejoic'd, as if they were already arriv'd at  
a place of certain rest : most of the men  
were so spent they could hardly stand upon  
their legs, and so thin that they look'd like  
death it self, so that it was become a say-  
ing among 'em, that they would carry off  
nothing but the bare skeletons well propp'd up.  
Abundance of rocks, and other frightful  
discoveries, every moment interrupted their  
joy, being hourly in imminent danger of  
their lives, they lost sight of the hill by rea-  
son of the fog, their sorrow encreas'd, and  
they began again to mutter against the  
master or pilot, whose fair speeches avail'd  
him little, no more than his skill. They  
discover'd the land again where it made a  
cape : it being somewhat to windward, they  
put a bonnet upon the sail, and lay as close  
to the wind as possibly they could, intend-  
ing to run along the shore, founding all the  
way, and ready to drop anchor when they  
found conveniency, and do as they thought  
most expedient. They hoisted the main-  
yard, but the halliards giving way, it came  
by the board, and the men, who were be-  
fore out of heart, so entirely despair'd that  
they would not look to save themselves :  
at last good words, and certain flats they  
discover'd to leeward, prevailing, the yard  
was hoisted and fix'd to the mast, with  
ropes to stay it. The ropes broke, and  
the yard came by the board again : good  
words were of as much use as hands to hoist  
it again. The sea had run high that night,  
and did so still, and the ship sailing hard  
upon the wind, it rack'd her so much that  
almost all the tackling gave way, but espe-  
cially that belonging to the fore-mast, inso-  
much that it had only one of the ropes of  
the shrouds left on each side, and look'd so  
naked, as if it would have spent it self the  
very next time the ship beat, but it was  
good and strong. The ship and men were  
much in the same condition, and it pleas'd  
God to look down upon them in his merc-  
cy, and to order it so, that as they were  
standing in for a bay, the wind came about  
large, so that they got into it thro' a chan-  
nel inclos'd with rocks at the mouth of the  
same bay. By this time three *Indians* came  
in a boat to view the ship, and took their  
post to windward, without speaking one  
word. Aboard the ship there was a fol-  
dier that spoke the language of the *Philip-  
pine* islands, tho' pretending to know some-  
thing of the voyage, he had like to have  
been the ruin of all the crew. He spoke  
to them in that language, and the *Indians*  
being

being satisfied the ship belong'd to christians, drew near and went aboard, to shew the anchoring-place they were looking after. They came to an anchor in the midst of the bay, in fourteen fathom water. One of these *Indians* spoke several languages, and another of 'em, as he said, was the same Sir *Thomas Candish* carried away with him when he sail'd that way, to shew him the channels amidst those islands. Being ask'd what land that was, they said 'twas cape *Espiritu Santo*, or of the *Holy Ghost*; and, that the port and bay was call'd of *Cobas*. This account gave new life to those who an hour before look'd upon themselves as dead men, which made many express their inward joy with outward tears. The *Indians* went away to their town, and others came in their place, one of them carrying a long rod of justice, which, together with a cross they saw on the shore, convinc'd the men they were christians and friends. They brought fowls, swine, palm-tree-wine, abundance of cocos, plantanes, sweet canes, papayas, roots, water in pipes, wood, and all such relief as people in that distress stood in need of. All was bought for rials, knives, glass beads, which they value above silver, so that for three nights and three days the fire in the cookroom was never out; nor did they cease cooking and baking, minding nothing but eating. This excess was very prejudicial to the sick, for being us'd to eat very little, and now using no moderation, three or four of 'em died of it. In this bay, which lies in 12 degr. and 35 min. of north latitude, they continued a fortnight; at length, after much debate about sailing, without refitting the ship, they set forward on the 29th of *January*: at five in the afternoon the island of *St. Bernardine* was far astern of 'em. Night overtaking them near another call'd *Capul*, they met with furious eddies and currents which brought the ship quite about, and had she not answer'd the helm well, must have run ashore. Next day some *Indians* came out in boats they call *Barakays*, from a port call'd *Nibalon*, in the island *Luzon*, bringing abundance of fowl, swine, and fruit, but little was purchas'd, because there was little left to give for it. They sail'd on, keeping the island in view amidst many others, at night by guess, and passing thro' several places, in which afterwards skilful pilots admir'd they had not been all lost, there being abundance of flats that way, but they never saw any, so that it was *God's* providence preserv'd them. On *Thursday* the 1st of *February*, being come to the place they call *Galban*, the governers sent her two brothers, with seven men more in the boat, on pretence they were going ashore for provisions: they

They put  
to sea  
again for  
*Manila*.

waited its return all day, but it came not, being gone to *Manila*, fifteen leagues distant from that place, over a narrow neck of land the island makes there, to give advice of the ship's coming. Next morning, about break of day, the ship appear'd enclos'd amidst islands, seeing no way to get out, without its boat, and very bare of provisions, what they got at the last port being spent. They saw a great many *Indian* boats, but they all fled from the ship, tho' they made signs to 'em, because that not being the season when the ships use to go from *New Spain*, they took that to be an *English* ship. The trouble hunger caus'd was increas'd by seeing no way for the ship to get out. Thus they mov'd every way as much as the calm would permit, and at last discover'd a narrow chanel, about a stone's throw over: the wind freshening astern, they struck into it, and running between the island they call *Cajá* and that of *Luzon*, close under a point call'd *Azufrá*, or *Sulphur*, they got out into more searoom, being a large bay call'd *Bomben*. By this time they discover'd two *Caracoas*, which are large *Indian* boats; forty *Indians* row'd in each of 'em, twenty on a side, with long scoops: they made a sign to the headmost of them with a small flag; it stood off, and would not stay: they stood right upon the other, which, fearing to be foul, came to, and drew aboard with a rope they threw over to it. They ask'd the master whence he came, and whither he was bound; he answer'd, from *Manila*, which was twenty leagues from that place, and was bound for *Cebu*, the first town the *Spaniards* built in those parts, and is a hundred leagues distant from *Manila*. They ask'd for an *Indian* pilot, the ship being that night to pass over the flats they call of *Tulei*; 'twas agreed he should have three pieces of eight for his pains. The night was spent very watchfully, and in the morning they discover'd the mouth of the bay, drawing near to it close under the land of the island of *Fortune*. The wind was not fair, the mouth of it lying west, and the breeze coming from the north-east. At the mouth of the bay is an island call'd port, but *Marivelez*, where there's usually a *Spaniard* stands sentinel, with some *Indians* to row, and swift boats, to go see what ships come in, and carry quick advice to the governor of *Manila*. There's also a small mount or rock lying north and south with *Marivelez*, which they call *El Frayle*, or, the *Friar*. These two islands make three small channels, and they began to tack, to get in at that which lies between *Marivelez* and *el Frayle*. The ship having none but the two mainsails, and the men being spent with labour, they advanc'd little or nothing, and sometimes

Get an *Indian*  
pilot.

See the  
port, but  
arc kept  
off by the  
wind.

Great  
fires.

A boat  
comes to  
them fr  
shore.

ut it came not,  
in leagues distant  
narrow neck of  
t, to give advice  
morning, about  
appear'd enclos'd  
way to get out,  
bare of provi-  
e last port being  
at many *Indian* Get an *In-*  
om the ship, tho' *dian* pilot:  
because that not  
ships use to go  
ook that to be an  
le hunger caused  
way for the ship  
mov'd every way  
ld permit, and at  
channel, about a  
wind freshening  
and running be-  
*Cafu* and that of  
int call'd *Azufe*,  
t into more sea-  
call'd *Bonbon*. By  
d two *Caracas*,  
ats; forty *Indians*  
twenty on a side,  
made a sign to the  
a small flag; it  
stay: they stood  
rich, fearing to be  
board with a rope  
They ask'd the  
p, and whither he  
id, from *Manila*,  
s from that place,  
the first town the  
arts, and is a hun-  
n *Manila*. They  
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should have three  
pains. The night  
y, and in the mor-  
mouth of the bay,  
under the land of  
The wind was not  
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e north-east. At See the  
is an island call'd port, but  
usually a *Spaniard* arc kept  
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yle, or, the *Friar*,  
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to get in at that  
velez and el *Frayle*.  
but the two main-  
spent with labour,  
othing, and some-  
times

Great di-  
flects,

A boat  
comes to  
them from  
shore,

times fell off considerably. Thus they spent three days tired to death, and in despair, to see that for want of fetching up that island, they were depriv'd of the satisfaction of coming to rest at *Manila*. They were still in pain, expecting every tide, reckoning when 'twould be flood to carry 'em in, but that being irregular, the hour never came. The sailors bid the master or pilot run the ship aground, for they had labour'd sufficiently; perhaps 'twas because they saw land on both sides, and the smoak of *Manila*. They did the work of the ship as if it had been rather a compliment than a duty; all their aim was to run aground, alledging, that since they were so near a christian country, 'twas better the ship should be lost alone, than so many men in her. The water and provisions were now quite spent, and all they had too much of was, the brisk contrary gale: this made the master express more concern to the seamen, and therefore he bid them take notice that all the coast was inaccessible, and the sea ran high; besides that they had no boat, nor provisions, but many sick men, that, in the weak condition they were in, 'twas impossible they could hold out many hours, much less days: he said, 'twas a shame it should be said of them, that they had endeavour'd to save themselves, because they were strongest, and could swim. He encourag'd them, saying, they had brought that ship from such remote parts, through seas never cut by ship, and therefore they that had so bravely endured the most, ought not now to boggle at the least. He declared it was not to be borne, that they should lose the honour of so strange a voyage at the very entrance of the port, from whence they were observ'd. He added, that had they brought the ship well-condition'd, full of provisions, the men in health and well paid, they had deserved very little commendations; but all things being quite otherwise, they now merited the greatest praise. By this time they discover'd a *Barangay* making all possible speed towards the ship: when near, they discover'd four *Spaniards* in it, and eight *Indians* that row'd: one of them was the sentinel at *Marivelez*, whose name was *Alonso Albarran*; he came with the governor's master of the household, sent by him with two soldiers, to condole with the lady *Elizabeth* for her misfortune, bringing a letter containing many honourable offers. The sight of the four *Spaniards* raised the hearts of those disconsolate men, as may well be imagin'd considering their circumstances: they were handed up, and most lovingly receiv'd. They went about carefully viewing all the men, and seeing so many sick, so many with sores, so ragged,

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poor, and distressed, only said, *God* be prais'd, *God* be prais'd. *Albarran* went down betwixt decks to see the hospital, and when the sick women saw him, they cry'd out, *What do you bring us to eat, for we are ready to run mad with hunger and thirst?* He comforted them with hopes of fresh provisions that were a coming, and so went out upon deck astonish'd at what he had seen. At length *God* sent 'em all blessings together, that tack the ship made up with *Marivelez*, whence the lady *Elizabeth* sent a soldier with her answer to the letter she receiv'd from the governor, and he went away in the *Barangay*. Soon after they discover'd another, in which came the chief *Acaide* of that coast, with the governor's brothers, bringing a great deal of new bread, wine, and fruit, given them in *Manila*. As 'twas dividing, the greatest persons did some actions unbecoming them, but, who can forbear in a time of so much want? Next day there came a good large boat loaden with fowl, calves, hogs, bread, wine, and greens: 'twas brought by *James Diaz Marmolejo*, by the governor's order; 'twas divided bountifully among all the people.

They get  
into the  
harbour.

The ship drew nearer to the harbour still upon the tack: one *Pinao*, mate to one of the king's ships, came to help with a boat full of seamen, all clad in silks of several colours; the captain of the port was on the shore with his colours flying, and all the feasting-men drawn up at their arms. As soon as the anchor was dropt, they saluted the royal standard with all the cannon and small arms; the ship answer'd the best it could, and came to an anchor on the 11th of *February*, 1696, in their desired port of *Cabite*, two leagues south-west of the city *Manila*, the capital of the *Philippine* islands, in 14 degrees and a half of north latitude, with fifty persons less than they brought from *Santa Cruz*, who all died by the way. The ship being at an anchor, other persons came aboard, who charitably brought so much bread and flesh, that now there was to spare. Next day, in the morning, a colonel came from the governor *D. Luy's Perez de las Marinas*, a rigid or alderman from the common-council of the town, and a clergyman from the chapter of the great church, to receive the lady *Elizabeth*. They presently carried her off to the king's house at the port, saluting her again as she landed; after dinner, they carried her to the city, where she made her entrance by night, and was receiv'd with flambeaux. The sick people being taken out of the ship, were convey'd to the hospital, the widows to the houses of persons of note, and all of them afterwards married to their satisfaction: those that were recovering,

7 Y

and



the rest of the soldiers, were quarter'd in private houses, and those that were married went to house-keeping; so that they were all of 'em lovingly receiv'd and entertain'd by the charitable inhabitants of *Manila*. Soon after ten died, and four betook themselves to religious orders. The frigate never came home; there was an account that it had been found with all its sails abroad, the people dead, the vessel rotten and run ashore. The galliot arriv'd at an island call'd *Mindanao*, in 10 degrees of latitude.

What became of the galliot.

As they sail'd without knowing what way to take among those islands, they were reduced to such want, that they went ashore upon a small island call'd *Camanguin*, where they kill'd and eat a dog they found. They accidentally met some *Indians*, who directed 'em to the harbour, where there were fathers of the society of *Jesús*, and they sent 'em to the corregidor or governor of those parts: he sent five of 'em prisoners to *Manila*, the captain having made his complaint to him that they had mutiny'd, with a letter to Dr. *Anthony de Morga*, lieutenant-general of that government, in which were these words: *Here arriv'd a galliot, whose captain was as impertinent as his discourse: I ask'd him whence he came, and he told me, that he had been with the Adelantado Alvaro de Mindana, who sail'd with four ships from Peru, to make the islands of Salomon. This one arriv'd here, and bearing his majesty's colours, I receiv'd it, as was proper. If the others happen to go thither, you will have a better account of this affair.* The soldiers were not prosecuted, as was said, only because the captain with his galliot forsook the great ship.

This was the end of that prodigious voyage; if I have been too tedious in giving an account of it, the strangeness of it may be my excuse, since neither that of *Ulysses*, nor that of *Gama*, were equal to it, and yet both of 'em deserv'd poems compos'd by those two most noble poets the *Greek* and the *Portuguese*: but because it might seem superfluous to have said so much of an undertaking to appearance unfortunate, 'twill be fit to give an account of the benefit accruing from it, and shew what future advantage heaven was pleas'd should be the consequence of the present loss, to the greater honour and glory of God and of the viceroy, his instrument.

One of the discoverers returns to Peru. *Quiros*, after waiting upon the lady *Elizabeth* from *Manila* to *Mexico*, where he stay'd at that time, went away to *Lima*, where he made interest with *D. Luis de Velasco*, the marquis's successor in the government of *Peru*, to be furnish'd by him with ships, men, and other necessaries to continue the discovery they had begun, and, as he said, to plough up the waters of the

unknown sea, and seek out the undiscover'd lands under the *Antarctic* pole, the center of that horizon. He presented two memorials, containing the motives that inclined him to this undertaking, expressing himself much to this effect:

That part of the moon which is darkened when she's eclips'd, being the part of a circle, proves that the body of earth and water which causes it, is round: about this body is an imaginary line, long, without breadth or depth, which encompasses and divides it into two equal parts, one whereof is call'd the *north*, t'other the *south*: at this equinoctial line commence the degrees, reckoning from 1 to 90, which is the furthest extent of latitude towards either of the poles. Towards the north all is already discover'd to 70 degrees; the remainder from thence to 90, tho' 'twere discover'd, seems uninhabitable, because of the extrem cold, the inequality of the day and night, and other inconveniences. 'Tis well known, that in several parts already sufficiently discover'd the people live in caves, and use much art to support life against the hardships of the weather. Towards the south there are discoveries, as far as 55 degrees beyond the strait of *Magellan*, and to 35, the latitude of the *Cape of Good-hope*, or somewhat above 40, which ships make to weather it. These two points of land, with their coasts and the coasts opposite to them, are already fully known; it now remains to discover the remaining part parallel with this, and in less latitude westwards, up to 90 degrees, to know whether 'tis land or water, or what quantity of each. The *Adelantado, Alvaro de Mindana*, as he was sailing in the year 1695, towards the islands of *Salomon*, which he sail'd lay between 7 and 12 degrees of south latitude, and fifteen hundred leagues from the city of *De los Reyes*, found four small islands together, inhabited by so good a sort of people, that none of those yet discover'd can equal them, but are, for the most part, ill-look'd *Indians*, indifferently shap'd, and dark complexion'd, such as we see in *Peru*, the *Firm-land*, *New Spain*, *Nicaragua*, the *Philippine* islands, and other parts. These islands are between 9 and 10 degrees of latitude, a thousand leagues distant from the city *De los Reyes*, six hundred and fifty from the nearest coast of *New Spain*, and a thousand from *New Guinea*. The usual breezes there are easterly, for which reason to return from them to *Peru*, or *New Spain*, a ship must run upon a bowling, north or south, to meet without the tropicks those they call general winds; and to this purpose 'tis requisite to have proper instruments for navigation, and substantial vessels, two things besides many others very necessary, which those people are destitute

tute of. These, and many other reasons that may be alledg'd, make it appear that they could never have any commerce with those two provinces above-mention'd, nor much less with *New Guinea*, or the *Philippine* islands, because there's no sailing from those parts to the said islands, by reason the wind is west, and quite contrary to them. From the four islands no other land was discover'd. The vessels the inhabitants use are for short voyages, and therefore 'twas consider'd which way 'twas possible for them to get to far-distant parts; and the most likely way is, that when they sail from a place whence no other land can be discover'd, they make their observations, and take aim by that land they leave behind, till by degrees they lose sight of it; and when they have lost that, then they have a view of the other part they are bound to; for whensoever sight is lost both of the land they come from, and that they go to, there is then an absolute necessity of understanding at least the sea-compass, which they have not. I will say nothing of contrary winds, currents, and other things, which may put them from their course: this appears more plain, in that the most experienced pilots, furnish'd with all those necessities these people want, when they have been three or four days out of sight of land, cannot positively assign where they are: therefore, generally speaking, it must be said, those *Indians* instruments of navigation are no other but their eyes, or their guess, at small distances. As to what might be objected, that they take aim by the sun, moon, and stars; the answer is, that the sun cannot be seen at night; the mutability of the moon is well known, and, in

short, neither sun, moon, nor stars are always visible, nor are they fix'd in one same place, or free from clouds: yet tho' all these things were as they are not, their voyages must still be but short, as has been said. And tho' it be true, that the most ignorant may in their vessels go from a small island to a large continent, so it be near at hand, since if they miss of one part, they will hit upon another, yet it is not therefore to be granted that they can without art seek small and far-distant islands from large or lesser countries. Among those *Indians* there were some that drew towards *Mulattoes*, which difference in colour argues some commerce with other people: besides, those four islands being but small, 'tis to be observ'd, that great ones are scarce able to contain men who are always looking out for another, where they may live more at ease; and they leave 'em, either because they cannot agree, or because they will not be subject to their rulers, or else because they would rule themselves. It may therefore be rationally believ'd, that towards the south-east, south, and south-west, quite away westward, there are other islands one after another, or a continent running along till it joins with *New Guinea*, or comes near the *Philippine* islands, or the south coast of the strait of *Magellan*, for otherwise we know of no parts whence people could go to inhabit those islands, unless 'twere miraculously. Whether it run the one, or the other, or both ways, 'tis likely there are abundance of islands, or a large continent, being the *Antipodes* to the best part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, where, between the latitudes of 20 and 60 degrees, God made men so useful.

THE

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PROVINCES  
OF

*Paraguay, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata,  
Parana, Guaira and Urvaica.*

And something of the

Kingdom of Chili,

In South *America.*

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Written in *Latin* by *F. Nicholas del Techo*, Priest of the Society  
of J E S U S.

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# THE P R E F A C E.

THE author having design'd this for a history of his order; has fill'd a considerable part of it with the lives, particular actions, preaching and teaching of his brethren the Jesuits, and inserted abundance of miracles and other pious matter, which is not the subject of this present work, nor likely to be at all acceptable to the reader; who in a book of travels, will expect to meet with nothing but what is propbane history, description, strange manners, customs and superstitions, surprizing accidents, discoveries, conquests, and such things as are usual in books of this nature. Such care has been therefore taken, that his expectation may be answer'd according to the nature of the work, and therefore those religious narrations are either quite left out, or, if any thing be said of them, it is so concise as may be no way tedious, but rather afford something of variety, and serve to make a connection, lest breaking off too abruptly in some places, we should altogether lose the order and method of the author. But he having dispos'd things so as that the delivery of the affairs of his society, may appear to be the principal part of his undertaking, has not therefore digested the others to the best advantage for a reader that looks only for travels, who therefore may think all things are not so regularly recited as might have been; which is here endeavour'd in some measure to be rectified, by joining some accounts, which in him lie far sever'd, that so all confusion might be avoided. And lest any one should object here is too much mention made of the Jesuits and their actions, it is to be observ'd they are the main subject of the history; and that with good reason. For whereas in all other discoveries, we see the whole relation lies upon commanders and soldiers, who conquer'd those nations found out by force of arms: here, on the contrary, and which is very well worth our curious observation, we see vast provinces converted to christianity, and only brought under the dominion of the kings of Spain by a few religious men, arm'd only with the sword of the gospel; and yet these same preachers are brought in here no more than necessity absolutely requires, they being the great discoverers of those far extended countries we treat of, and founders of towns; so that these things cannot possibly be deliver'd without mentioning those who were the prime actors: but the thing will justify it self. As for the truth of the relation, I see little reason to call it in question, since the author could have no inducement to forge any part of it, as being a religion: man, who valu'd his reputation, and could propose to himself no benefit or advantage by falsehood. Nor could he easily be impos'd upon, having liv'd twenty five years in those countries, during which time he must have seen much, and learnt more from persons of credit and authors above blemish. Now to give a more particular account of what is done, as to the translation, several matters as was hinted before, which in the original lie far asunder, are here for the better understanding of them brought together. The first twenty one sections run exactly with the author, neither adding nor diminishing, because so far he proceeds upon the account of those countries, not interrupting it with any spiritual matter. At chapter twenty two he begins to enter upon the subject of the Jesuits coming into those parts, where we reduce many chapters into a few lines each, till some matters altogether spiritual occurring; there are chapters quite left out, till we meet with more temporal affairs. This same method is continued throughout the whole work, sometimes delivering whole chapters, oftner reducing them into less compass, by leaving out those things which are not historical, and sometimes wholly omitting chapters, which contain nothing but the particular lives of some of those fathers, or miracles, and such things from the purpose. The original is divided into chapters and books, which method is not follow'd here for the reasons already set down. In fine, the whole work is diverting, full of variety and new, for of those parts we have had but very imperfect accounts before, and such peaceable conquests as are here found we do not meet with in any other travels.

## The History of Paraguay, Tucuman, and the adajcent Provinces in South America.

TECHO.  
The intro-  
duction.

**A**MERICA is divided into the northern and the southern. South America is shut in between two seas, has a considerable part of its shoars inhabited by the *Peruvians* and *Brasilians*, neither of them stretching far into the inland, unless where the desire of gold or silver, or the goodness of the soil has drawn the *Spaniards* on the one side, and the *Portuguese* on the other. All the land between *Brasil* and *Peru*, and consequently between the *Atlantick* and *Pacifick* oceans, being a vast extent down to the straits of *Magellan*, as for the most part comprehended under the names of *Chili*, *Tucuman*, *Paraguay*, and some other provinces included in them. This new world divid'd like the old into two vast peninsulas, and only knit together by a small isthmus, was in the last age but one brought under a foreign dominion to its own unspeakable advantage; for upon this occasion, through the special goodness of God, and great care and expence of the catholic kings, wherever the *Spanish* dominion extends, the christian faith is propagated. For if there be any nations that have not yet own'd Christ, the king of *Spain* is no way to be blam'd for it, but all the fault is to be imputed either to the obstinacy of those *Barbarians*, or, as is usual in all parts, to the ill behaviour of some private persons. Others will speak of what relates to the rest of *America*, but I being commanded by my superiors, to write the affairs of the society in those vast southern regions of *Paraguay*, *Tucuman* and *Chili*, which in the year 1607 were made one province of the said society, will first give an account of the first coming of the *Spaniards* into those countries; of the towns founded by them; of the first preaching of christianity; and afterwards proceed to such other actions, as happen'd in process of time upon further discovery of those parts, chiefly as to temporal affairs, yet not so as altogether to forget the spiritual. Th' I shall endeavour to perform with that truth and sincerity, that becomes a religious man. And thou, my God, the author of all good, without invoking whom a religious person ought not to enter upon any work, assist me in this undertaking, as thou hast done so

many heroes of our society in propagating the faith, whose steps I have follow'd in that great work, tho' not so worthily, for the space of twenty five years. Do thou, fountain of eternal wisdom, correct my stile, which so many years use of a barbarous language has corrupted; and guide me, that I may make the best choice of the vast mass of matter that lies before me, and worthily deliver that to posterity, which shall be to thy greater honour and glory.

*Pizarro* having carry'd the war into south America, and the *Spaniards* under his command, gaping after the vast wealth of the *Incas*, kings of those parts, having possess'd themselves of a large tract of land along the *Pacifick* ocean, commonly call'd the south sea: several persons persuad'd themselves there might be a shorter and less dangerous way found along the coasts of the *Atlantick* or north sea, to *Peru*, which was then reported to abound in gold and silver. The first I can find, that propos'd the discovery of this way, was *Martin de Sousa*, who govern'd *Brasil* for king *John II.* of *Portugal*, and divided it into provinces, and was ambitious to vie with the *Spaniards* in discovering new countries that might increase his master's dominions. To this purpose he sent *Alexius Garcia* a man of undaunted resolution, with his son, and three *Portuguese*, and a considerable attendance of *Indians*, from the southern part of *Brasil*, to pierce as far as possibly he could into the inland of *America*. He having travell'd three hundred leagues by land, and coming into the country about the river *Paraguay*, being well vers'd in the language of the *Indians*, and knowing how to deal with them, prevail'd with about two hundred of the people of *Paraguay* to follow him as their captain; with whom, in martial manner he made his way to the borders of *Peru*, whilst the *Inga* was still living, and there by plundering gather'd a vast quantity of wrought and unwrought silver. Being loaded with this booty, he sent away two of his *Portuguese* companions to *Brasil* for succours, and returning to *Paraguay*, was cruelly murder'd by the *Barbarians*, who spar'd his son because of his tender years. The father's memory will

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merica, travelling unknown ways, where no  
European had been before, and through  
fier: and warlike nations, shewing that no-  
thing is impracticable to those, who prefer  
fame and the benefit of posterity before  
their own lives. His companions returning  
to Brazil, and besides the account they gave  
of the friendship contracted with the peo-  
ple of Paraguay, and the wealth of the  
Inga, producing pieces of gold and silver,  
as undoubted proofs of the truth of their  
assertions. All the Portuguese were over-  
joyc'd, and eager upon repeating that ex-  
pedition. Hereupon sixty Portuguese, and  
a good number of Brasilians under the com-  
mand of George Sedenio, were sent to the  
assistance of Alexius Garcia, whom they  
thought to be still alive. When they were  
come near the river Paraguay, the Indians  
who were guilty of the murder of Garcia,  
fearing revenge, refus'd them provisions,  
and soon after fell upon them, killing their  
commander and putting the rest to flight.  
Those that escap'd were by the Paranesian  
Indians taken into their boats, which  
were rotten and worm-eaten, and being in  
the middle of the river, the Indians pull'd  
off the clay they use instead of pitch, by  
which means the boats sunk, drowning all  
the Portuguese, the Paranesians, who were  
naked and good swimmers, getting safe to  
shoar. This the expectation of the Portu-  
guese was disappointed, either thro' the  
rashness of Sedenio or treachery of the Bar-  
barians, God reserving Paraguay and the  
adjacent countries for the king of Spain.

3. Not long after, Sebastian Gavot a  
man skilful in navigation, who had disco-  
ver'd Virginia for the king of England, of-  
fer'd his service to the emperor Charles V.  
promising to find a short way to Peru south  
of Brasil, or else to discover the inland of  
south America. The proposal was pleasing  
to the emperor, then fill'd with the expecta-  
tion of subduing vast dominions, and seek-  
ing all means to secure the best provinces of  
that new world. He therefore order'd four  
ships to be immediately fitted out with three  
hundred men aboard, and gave the com-  
mand of them to Gavot, who, in the year  
1530, crossing the Atlantick ocean, put into  
the mouth of Rio de la Plata, or the river of  
Plate (the mouth and coasts whereof had  
been discover'd fifteen years before by John  
de Solis a Spaniard, and four years after re-  
view'd by Magellan) and sail'd up it, till  
he came to an anchor, where the river Ur-  
vaica falls into that of Plate. Thence he  
sent Alvaro Ronon to discover up the river  
Urvaica, who, the third day after he left him,  
lost his ship upon the sands, and was him-  
self slain with most of his men. Gavot hav-

ing built the fort of the Holy Gbo? at the TCHO.  
mouth of the river Carcaranna, which falls  
into that of Plate, sail'd a hundred and fifty  
leagues up this last river, till he came to the  
place where Paraguay joins it with a mighty  
stream, and advancing forty leagues up it,  
after conquering the Indians that oppos'd  
him, came to that place, where he said  
Alexius Garcia the Portuguese was robb'd  
and kill'd by the people of Paraguay.  
There, as he pry'd into all things, finding  
many utensils of plate in the huts of the  
Indians, and not knowing any thing of  
Garcia's travels and death, thinking them  
to be natural riches of the country, he ha-  
stily bought all up of the Indians, and, as  
if he had now done the business he came  
about, having fortify'd the fort of the Holy  
Gbo?, or Espiritu Santo, and leaving Nuno  
de Lara in it with one hundred and twenty  
men, he hastied back into Spain.

After Gavot was gone, Nuno de Lara The Indi-  
contracting friendship with the neighbour- ans con-  
ing people, made a shift to maintain him- spire to  
self, till Mangora, chief of the Timbushians, destroy the  
reforting often to the Spanish fort on account  
of trade, fell in love with a beautiful wo-  
man, Lucy de Miranda, that was the wo-  
man's name, and Sebastian Hurtado her  
husband, both born at Ezija in Andalusia,  
were not ignorant of the Barbarians wicked  
design, and therefore the modestly confining  
her self before her husband, receiv'd the In-  
dians presents after such a manner, as suf-  
ficiently evinc'd he did not design them as  
an earnest of any base affection. However  
Mangora try'd all ways to enjoy her, and  
therefore pretending much kindness, earn-  
estly invited Sebastian Hurtado to go into  
his lands to divert him with his wife, where  
he should be respected and presented by his  
people. But Hurtado valuing his wife's ho-  
nour above all he could hope to gain, ex-  
cus'd himself to the Barbarian, pleading the  
rigour of military discipline, which forbid  
such liberty, and directed much watchful-  
ness to be observ'd among strangers. Man-  
gora inrag'd at this disappointment, drew  
his brother Siripus to his party, and re-  
solv'd to destroy all the Spaniards, that he  
might debauch one woman. Nor was it  
long before an opportunity offer'd, for un-  
derstanding that Nuno de Lara, governor of  
the port, had sent Ruiz Masquera and Se-  
bastian Garcia husband to Lucy de Miranda,  
with forty men into the neighbouring is-  
lands, to bring in provisions, Mangora  
hastily drew together four thousand arm'd  
Indians, and laid them in ambush to wait  
his orders in the morasses near the Spanish  
fort. This done he conducts thirty young  
men loaded with provisions into the fort,  
as he had done at other times, and bestow-  
ing what he brought with great dissimula-  
tion, feasted among the Spaniards till late at  
night.

Great  
was the  
fishion of  
the river  
of Plate  
in Para-  
guay, for  
the king  
of Spain.

THE  
Espiritu-  
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built.

**T**HENO. night. Then most of them being asleep, having order'd his men what every one was to do, he fir'd the magazines, slew the centinels, threw down the gates, and letting in his men, fell upon the *Spaniards* either asleep or in a consternation. Many of them were struck through with darts, before they knew of any design against them; others, as ignorant of the treachery, were butcher'd as they ran to put out the fire; some few, forcing their way through the *Barbarians* into the parade of the fort, made a mighty slaughter of them. Among them *Nuno de Lara*, tho' he had receiv'd many wounds, seeing *Mangora* the contriver of the mischief proud of his success, made his way, and being incens'd at his treachery, run him through, so often repeating his strokes as he lay, till he was assur'd of his being dead, and not so satisfi'd slew several others of the chief men; but being surrounded by many he fell down dead upon *Mangora*, all his men oppress'd by the multitude undergoing the same fate. *Lucy de Miranda*, the cause of this misfortune, with four *Spanish* women and as many boys, whom their age or sex reserv'd for greater sufferings, surviv'd the slaughter. Which being over, *Siripus*, who had inherited his brother's lusts, allowing his men all the other booty and prisoners, taking none but *Lucy de Miranda* to himself, and left no means unessay'd to overcome her constancy, calling her sovereign lady of a numerous people, and wife of a powerful lord, whereas he had lost a husband that was destitute of all things. But nothing so much perplex'd the worthy lady, as being belov'd by the *Barbarian*, and she blam'd her sex for having sav'd her life, and her beauty, which had made her belov'd above the rest, so that she could not so much as afford her new master a good look. After some days spent between the *Indian* courting, and *Lucy* refusing, some parties that were abroad, brought in *Sebastian Hurtado* her husband. He returning from the islands and perceiving the destruction of the fort and slaughter of his country-men, guessing at the occasion of it, deliver'd himself up to the *Timbucian* guards, to be conducted to his wife. As soon as *Siripus* saw him, being enrag'd with jealousy, he order'd him to be taken away and shot to death, which had been accordingly done, but that his wife interceded for him, and the *Barbarian* granted her his life upon the condition that they should for the future abstain from the marriage bed, otherwise both should die. Having accepted of the condition, for some time they only allow'd their eyes the liberty of enjoyment, tho' they liv'd together; till at last *Siripus* surpriz'd them in conjugal embraces, his old wife being the informer.

A faithful couple murder'd.

Then being intrag'd above measure, he order'd *Lucy* to be burnt, who being dragged from her husband's arms to the pile, having recommended her self to God, perisht in the flames. Her husband *Sebastian*, like the faint of his name, being bound to a tree, was shot to death with arrows. 'Tis to be hop'd the two faithful comforts, having purg'd all guilty guilt, were receiv'd into the mansions.

The forty *Spaniards*, whom we menti-<sup>40 Spaniards</sup> on'd before to have gone out under the command of *Mosquera*, to get provisions, having bewail'd the misfortune of their companions and fort, and burying the bodies, not knowing how better to bestow themselves, sail'd over to the next part of *Brasil*, where they built a strong little fort, in 25 deg. of south latitude. Having made friendship with the natives they sow'd the land, and one *Edward Perez* a *Portuguese*, being by his king banish'd to *Brasil* with a numerous family, had encreas'd their number, when *Martin Alfonso de Sousa*, governor of the southern coast of *Brasil*, sent a messenger to order *Perez* to retire to that part of *Brasil* to which he was banish'd; and to require *Mosquera* and his men, if they design'd to live peaceably there, to take the oath of allegiance to the king of *Portugal*, in whose dominions they were settled. *Mosquera* answer'd, that there was still a controversy depending between their kings, about the division of the *Indies*, which did not belong to them to decide, but that he and his companion's intention, was to keep that part they had possess'd themselves of, for their sovereign *Charles V.* Soon after a *French* ship accidentally putting into the island *Cananea*, opposite to the port where *Mosquera* had settled, put the *Spaniards* in the mind of getting some arms, and supplying their wants. Having therefore taken two hundred *Indians* to their assistance, they went out in the dead of the night in canoes, and surprizing the *French*, brought them ashore, after taking their ship and arms from them. This done, understanding that the *Portuguese* were marching against them, they carried four pieces of cannon from the ship to their little fort, and preparing all things for their defence, laid an ambush in a little wood that was between them and the shore, keeping the rest of the men close in the fort. The *Portuguese*, to the number of eighty, follow'd by a multitude of *Indians*, suspecting nothing of the ambush, nor thinking of the cannon; but despising the small number of the *Spaniards*, march'd very disorderly as if they went to punish a parcel of thieves. But as soon as they had pass'd the ambush, and came up to the trench, the *Spaniards* fir'd with guns, and at the same time those that lay in the <sup>Rout the</sup> *Portu-* wood, <sup>gun</sup> *gave*.

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wood, attack'd them in the rear, which  
putting them into confusion, those in the  
fort fall'd out, and having drove them in-  
to a close place, slew them at pleasure. Af-  
ter the slaughter, going aboard their vessels  
with the *Indians* their confederates, they  
fall'd to the *Portuguese* town of *S. Vincent*,  
which they plunder'd, and return'd immedi-  
ately to their own little town loaded with  
booty, in which expedition some *Portuguese*  
of their own accord sided with the *Spani-*  
ards. This was the first fight I know of that  
happen'd between the catholic *Europeans*  
in *America*. Not long after *Mosquera* and  
his companions, no ways able to cope with  
the forces of *Brasil*, and fearing revenge,  
went away to the island of *S. Catharine*,  
lying in 28 deg. of south latitude, to inha-  
bit there, till being afterwards recruited,  
they might return to the river of *Plate*.

In the mean while *Sebastian Gavot* return-  
ed into *Spain*, and spread abroad the fame  
of what he had found, saying, the coun-  
tries about the river *Paraguay* were not  
scorch'd with the violent heat of the sun  
like *Brasil*, nor subject to violent cold like  
those parts more southward, but enjoy'd a  
temperate air: That the vast coasts of *Pa-*  
*rana* were inhabited by vast numbers of peo-  
ple fit for service: That there was much  
more variety of fish and wild beasts, than  
in any part of *Europe*: And then shewing  
the pieces of gold and silver, and many u-  
tensils made of those metals, which he had  
purchas'd of the people of *Paraguay* that  
murder'd *Alexius Garcia*, and fallily believ-  
ed to be the natural wealth of that river;  
he by these means made so powerful an im-  
pression in the minds of the *Spaniards*, that  
many made interest to be sent into that  
country. From that time the river *Parana*,  
on account of *Gavot's* silver, or the hope  
of much silver to be found there, was call-  
ed, the river of *Plate*, a name rather spe-  
cious than true. *Gavot* having made the  
same report to *Charles V.* it was decreed  
in council, that a numerous colony should be  
sent into that part of *America*. Two thou-  
sand two hundred men were rais'd, besides  
sailors, and shipp'd under the command of  
*Peter Mendoza*, a man of the first quality,  
the emperor's sewer, and now made gover-  
nor of the rivers of *Plate* and *Paraguay*.  
The chief men among them, whom cove-  
tousness had mov'd to undertake this expe-  
dition, where *James Mendoza*, the gover-  
nor's brother, *Francis Mendoza*, once stew-  
ard to *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*,  
*Charles Dubrin* foster-brother to the empe-  
ror *Charles* the fifth, *John Ojorio* comman-  
der of the fleet, nobly born, and renown'd  
in the wars of *Italy*, *Luis Perez*, brother to  
*S. Teresa*, *Bernard* a *Genoese* captain, for-  
merly in great esteem with *Doria*, *James*

VOL. IV.

*Ramua*, a *Flemming*, not to mention the *Techo-*  
*Guzmans*, *Riberas*, *Rocas*, *Bracamontes*,  
*Manriques*, *Aguillars*, *Lucanes*, *Ayolas*,  
*Iralas*, and other noble persons, so very  
numerous, that there were thirty two heirs  
of noble families and estates, reckon'd a-  
board that fleet. All these sailing from  
*Cadiz* in the year 1535, when they had cut  
the line, were parted and drove to several  
places, *James Mendoza*, the governor's  
brother, after the tempest was over, arriv'd  
safe in the river of *Plate* with a few ships.  
The governor with the rest put into the port  
of *Rio de Janeiro* in *Brasil*, where whilst he  
lay for a wind, he caus'd *John Ojorio* his  
lieutenant, a man much envy'd for his bra-  
very and courtely, to be stabb'd, without  
any tryal, being wrongfully accus'd of am-  
bitious practices, for that he was reported  
to have insinuated that in a short time he  
should command in chief; which action  
was so resented, that many stay'd behind  
in *Brasil* and others conspir'd to desert their  
governor. But before the conspiracy could  
come to a head, he left *Brasil*, and joy'n'd  
his brother *James Mendoza*, who was then  
in the river of *Plate*, buikling flat bottom-  
ed vessels to cross the rivers, and hearing of  
the murder of *Ojorio*, is reported to have  
said, he was afraid, lest the whole fleet  
should incur some judgment for his bro-  
ther's wicked action.

The governor having thus got all his *Buenos*  
strength together, order'd the fleet to make  
over to the other side of the river, where  
landing *Sancho del Campo* his kinsman, be-  
gan to encourage the men to settle, com-  
mending the goodness of the air, which  
gave occasion to call the town there built  
*Buenos Ayres*, it being 50 leagues from the  
mouth of the river, almost in 35 degrees  
of south latitude, directly opposite to the  
*Cape of Good Hope*, and put under the pro-  
tection of the virgin *Mary*. As they were  
carrying on their work, the natives fell up-  
on them, slew some they had drawn into an  
ambush, and kept the rest within their fort.  
This mov'd the governor to send his bro-  
ther *James Mendoza* with as many men, as  
he thought fit, to check those inhospitable  
people. He taking three hundred foot,  
and some horse of the prime nobility, the  
day after he set out, came to a place,  
where out of a vast lake there ran a brook,  
on the further bank whereof about three  
thousand *Indians* were drawn up in order of  
battle. A council of war being held, most  
were of opinion, that they ought to expect  
the enemy, whom they might easily des-  
troy in the passage of the water. But  
*James Mendoza* was for attacking them im-  
mediately, and commanded the foot to  
pass the ford, on whom the *Indians* fell  
with such fury, that they had neither lei-  
sure

8 A

**W**hen the Indians fired their muskets which had taken wet, nor to put themselves into any order. However there was a great slaughter made of the *Indians*, till *Baribulomew Bracamont*, and *Paraferna Ribera* commanders of the foot, being overpower'd by the multitude, were kill'd. Then many of the foot being slain, some few horses that durst fall upon the *Indians*, were contemn'd by them; for the horses being weak after the voyage, and under no command, as having not been back'd a long time, expos'd the riders to the enemies darts, who were thereupon easily struck down, or put to flight. *John Manrique* a noble horseman fighting among the foremost, was kill'd, and *James Mendoza* going to revenge his death, though well seconded by *Ramiro de Guzman*, was knock'd down with a stone, and slain by the enemy. The commander being slain, the rest fled, and the *Barbarians*, according to their custom, cut off the heads of those they had kill'd carrying and tossing them about by the hair, in an insolent boasting manner. Two hundred and fifty *Spaniards* were lost in the action and pursuit; a great number, considering how few they were in all. *Lucano* a horseman, who had receiv'd many wounds, falling down dead on the bank of an inconsiderable river, left his name to it, which continues to this day. It is reported, that many of the contrivers of the murder of *Olorio* dy'd in that fight, to shew what fate they are to expect who follow violent counsels. The news of the slaughter being brought to the governor, it is not easy to express how much he was troubled at the loss of his brother, and to many men of note. His grief was increas'd by the death of *Medrane* a noble horseman, murdered as was suspected in revenge for the death of *Olorio* in the fort, and the murderer never known.

**T**errible famine at Buenos Ayres. After these disasters, the provisions they brought being spent, there follow'd such a terrible famine, that many fed upon man's flesh, and other things not to be nam'd; nay there were those that eat their dead brother's bowels, and gnaw'd carcases on the gibbets to the bones; for the cruelty of the barbarous people, the fear of wild beasts, and severity of the commanders suffer'd none to go out of the works. Yet there was a woman, who weighing the misery of famine, chose rather to expose herself to the inhumanity of the *Indians* and wild beasts, than suffer the torture of hunger; and therefore stealing out, she wander'd a long time about the fields, till at night she went into a cave, where finding a lioness ready to whelp, she renew'd the ancient example, and had the boldness to play the midwife, much to her own advantage,

for the lioness laying aside her fierceness, fairly divided her prey among her young ones, and her midwife, till she fell into the hands of the *Barbarians*, and being after many accidents redeem'd by the *Spaniards*, was brought again to the fort. But being there condemn'd for her rashness, and disobedience, she was expos'd without the works, to be devour'd by wild beasts, where she must have perish'd, had not God in his providence so order'd it, that the lioness she help'd to whelp, came up to her first, and defended her innocent midwife against the rest. This being observ'd, lest men should seem more savage than wild beasts, she was let loose and pardoned, and liv'd many years after, an unquestion'd witness of these wonderful accidents. Her name was *Maldoneda*. Who this severe judge was, the governor having been a short time absent, is not known. Certain it is, there was such rigour us'd, that a soldier lost his ears for stealing a lettuce, and another was publicly disgraced for a cabbage. For when the integrity of discipline and justice exercis'd in *Europe*, was still in force among the new planters; and would to God it had continu'd in their posterity, to punish heinous crimes daily committed on account there is no fear of punishment to deter them. The governor quite discourag'd with his ill success, having every where made inquiry after *Garcos*' silver, the nature of the adjacent countries, and the hopes of building cities, and finding all things far short of expectation, repenting him of his expedition built the fort of *Corpus Christi* in the territory of the *Tymbusians*, brought *Mosquera* and his companions from the island where we left them near *Brasil*, and caus'd a ship to be fitted out with expedition, which done, having appointed *Francis Ruiz* governor of *Buenos Ayres*, and *John de Oyola* of *Guipuscoa* his own lieutenant, or deputy governor, he set sail for *Europe*. But this voyage proving tedious, and the small provision he had, being spent, he was reduced to eat all filthy things, and at last dy'd miserably with several of his companions, who all ran mad after eating of a bitch that was big with puppies. It is reported that many of those *Mendoza* carry'd with him to this expedition, had serv'd under *Bourbon* at the siege of *Rome*, whence returning through shame of that scandalous service, they went away to this part of *America*, where God's judgments follow'd them.

In the mean while *John Oyola* the deputy governor, running up into *Paraguay* with some ships, the same way, that *Garcos* had gone before, and being inform'd there was to the south-west, a country abounding in gold and silver, which might be

A woman kept by a lioness.

Slaughter of Spaniards.

Terrible famine at Buenos Ayres.

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Two lances rally near a island

John de Oyola goes away by land to Peru

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gone to, partly by land and partly by wa-  
ter, resolv'd to go thither. Ad his depar-  
ture, he order'd *Dominick Irala*, whom he  
left as his lieutenant, to expect his return  
in six months in the upper part of *Para-  
guay*, and if he return'd not in that time,  
to be at his own disposal. During *Oyola's*  
absence, *Salazar* and *Gonzalo Mendoza* sail-  
ing from *Buenos Ayres* to *Paraguay* for pro-  
visions, contracted friendship with the peo-  
ple call'd *Guaranians*; and found a fit  
place to erect a fort, whereupon they two  
parting, *Mendoza* built the fort call'd by  
the name of the *Assumption*, in the same  
place where it still continues, being the  
metropolis of the province of *Paraguay*,  
*Salazar* going at the same time to bring a-  
way the wretched soldiers almost starv'd to  
death, from the port of *Buenos Ayres*.  
Whilst they sail'd backwards and forwards,  
the barbarous *Indians* of *Caracara*, who  
hated the *Spaniards*, dissembling their ma-  
lice, fraudulently desir'd *Avarado* governor  
of the fort of *Corpus Christi*, to assist them  
against another barbarous people. *Ava-  
rado* suspecting no design, readily sent them  
fifty *Spaniards* commanded by *Alonso de*  
*Figueras*, who being come into a little  
wood adjoining to the town of *Caracara*,  
were enclos'd on all sides; and every man  
kill'd. In this heat the *Barbarians* haste away  
in great numbers to the fort of *Corpus*  
*Christi*, then much weaken'd with the los-  
of that part of the garrison, and made se-  
veral attempts to break in. It must cer-  
tainly have been lost, had not God in his  
providence order'd that *Ramua*, a *Mem-  
ning*, who had the command as to mar-  
tial affairs, should touch upon that coast,  
and guessing how the matter went, fir'd  
from two ships, which oblig'd the *Indians*  
after losing many of their men, to quit  
their enterprise. The *Indians* that were  
taken said, that during the fight they saw  
the likeness of a man over the fort of *Cor-  
pus Christi*, clad in white, dazzling their  
eyes with his brightness, and threatening  
with a sword, which made many of their  
men drop down with fright. This hap-  
pening on St. Blas's day, the *Spaniards*  
concluded it to be he that appear'd, and  
therefore the planters of *Paraguay* reckon  
him as one of their patrons. About the  
same time *Dominick Irala* sailing on the  
river *Paraguay*, had like to have perish'd  
by the treachery of the *Paraguans*, for a-  
bout four hundred of them appearing on  
the shoar opposite to him, and tending to  
desire there might be an interview and trade  
between them, upon condition both sides  
should come unarm'd; *Irala* accepting of  
the condition, order'd his men to lay aside  
their weapons, whereupon the *Barbarians*  
suddenly attack'd them, and they must

have perish'd had not the *Spaniards* run to  
their arms, and stood upon their guard.  
Whilst they fought a-shoar, the ships were  
beset by other *Indians*, and the fight con-  
tinu'd doubtful for a considerable time,  
both by land and water, till the cannon  
firing from the ships sunk the small vessels  
of the natives, and gave the victory to the  
*Spaniards*, both in the ships and a-shoar.  
Of the *Spaniards* forty were wounded, and  
two kill'd, besides *Caravajal* a brave man,  
who dy'd within three days of his wounds.  
Of the enemies many were kill'd, with their  
commander, the rest fled, where a vast  
multitude expected them. Eight months  
were now pass'd, since *Irala* had been wait-  
ing for *Oyola's* return, and he began to  
consider, whether he should yet stay long-  
er, or go off to avoid the danger that  
threaten'd, from famine and from the ene-  
mies. Whilst he was thus divided with  
himself, on a sudden he heard the voice of an  
*Indian* on the opposite shoar, who ask'd to  
be carry'd aboard, which being done, the  
tears flowing from his eyes show'd he  
brought dismal news, and being order'd  
to declare the cause of his sorrow, fetch-  
ing a deep sigh, he said he had been an  
eye-witness of the death of *Oyola*. *Irala*  
inquiring after the particulars, he deliver'd  
himself to this effect. *John Oyola*, said he,  
with whom I went of my own accord,  
leaving *Paraguay*, travers'd all that vast  
tract of land that lies between this place and  
the borders of *Peru*, and gather'd a great  
mass of gold and silver among the *Samo-  
cocians* and *Sivococians*, who dwell near the  
mountains of *Peru*, which he brought back  
into *Paraguay*, but in his return the *Paia-  
guans*, the worst of men, and counterfeit-  
ing a readiness to do any service, at first  
freely offer'd him their assistance and pro-  
visions, till they thought he and his com-  
pany might be cut off with safety. Having  
therefore observ'd what guards the *Spani-  
ards* kept at night, the chief of the nation  
appointed several to cut off every one, and  
in the dead of night they all at once set  
upon and butcher'd them. *Oyola* alone, I  
know not by what Accident, fled, and hid  
himself among the reeds in a neighbouring  
marsh, whence being dragg'd out, he pay'd  
for delaying his death by the cruelty of it,  
being inhumanly murder'd in the market-  
place of the town, amidst the clamours of  
the bloody *Paiguans*. Thus not one *Spani-  
ard* escap'd. Being an *Indian* I sav'd my  
life, for by that means I was deliver'd from  
their hands, and escap'd to bring you the  
news of so great a slaughter. These mis-  
fortunes taught the *Spaniards* how little  
confidence was to be repos'd in the *Indians*,  
for the most stupid people have a sort of  
craft, which is the more dangerous, becaus-  
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The  
daughter  
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**TECHO** least suspected. The marsh to which *Oyola* fled for safety, retains his name to this day. *Irala* chosen governor, being left at his own disposal, after the death of *Oyola*, sail'd down the river with his company to the new fort of the *Assumption*; and the *Spaniards* met in council there from all parts, having read the emperor *Charles* the Vth's commission, newly brought out of *Spain*, with some recruits, and a few priests, by *Antony Cabrera*, by which the inhabitants of the river of *Plate* and *Paraguay*, were authorized to choose their governor, in case the former dying had appointed none; they all unanimously pitch'd upon *Dominick Irala* for their governor. Nor was he unfit for the employment; for besides his birth, he had many good civil and military qualities to recommend him; inasmuch that he had the principal honour of having brought under that new province. Before the assembly for the election broke up, the new governor put it to them, whether they did not think fit for a while to abandon the fort of *Buenos Ayres*, then infested with famine and plague, and to build a new town on the shoar of the river *Paraguay*, where they then were, to contain all the *Spaniards*, that their forces being united they might be the stronger. Some of the members were of opinion, that not only the fort of *Buenos Ayres* ought to be maintain'd, but several other colonies to be sent out, that the *Spanish* dominion might be spread abroad; saying, it was below them to confine so many brave men in a nook, when they had such a vast country before them, and that they did not doubt, that was the emperor's design, in order to cut off all other nations any passage to *Peru*, whither they would easily make their way, unless the shoars of those vast rivers were beset with many towns; and that the small number of the *Spaniards* was no objection, they being enough to curb the multitude of *Barbarians*. This was in general the opinion of those, who aiming at commands, desir'd there should be many governments. But the wiser fort, preferring the publick good before their own advancement, alledg'd, that though experience shew'd the *Spaniards* wanted neither for courage nor conduct, yet the *Indians* were not without craft and resolution, as was sufficiently evinced by the fresh dismal examples of *Ramon, Lara, Mendoza, Figueroa* and *Oyola*, which ought to weigh more than the opinions of a few, who would have the men disperfed, only to make the more governments. The governor being a prudent man, discourf'd concerning both opinions, as if he had been inclinable to each. For he said, it were to be wish'd, they could hem in those

vast countries with many garrisons, but that considering the present posture of affairs it did not seem so convenient. Nor would the emperor think otherwise, if he were present, and therefore, that the building of many towns was put off for a while, not absolutely rejected. That in erecting a new common-wealth, the head was to be secur'd before the other members. Therefore he thought fit the fort of *Buenos Ayres* should be abandon'd for a time, and a town built on the banks of the river *Paraguay*, where they then were; which being once well settled, it would be no difficult matter to send out colonies, and secure them against the attempts of the natives and foreigners. The resolution of building a town prevailing, *James de Alvea* was sent with three ships to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, to bring the men thence, whose number he found increas'd by the arrival of a *Genoese* ship, which having in vain attempted to pass the streight of *Magellan*, put in there by chance, the men choosing rather to joyn themselves to the colony on the river of *Plate*, than to hazard themselves again in an unknown sea. Thus both sailors and landmen joyning with the garrison of *Buenos Ayres*, sail'd up to *Paraguay*, whence it came that the families of the *Trochi, Aquinates*, and *Rezi*, were propagated in this part of *America*. Having gather'd all his people, *Irala* the governor, muster'd them, and what is wonderful in so short a time, of so many *Europeans* there were scarce six hundred men left, the rest being all miserably consum'd by war, famine, plague, and the cruelty of the *Indians*. To shew us the great mischiefs that attend the search after wealth, which is the incentive of all evil.

After the muster, all things began to proceed regularly, the ground near the fort was mark'd out for building of houses and churches, and publick structures erected, magistrates appointed; to be short, in the year 1538. the city of the *Assumption*, afterwards the metropolis of the province, was begun to be built, in 25 degrees of south latitude, two hundred and forty leagues from the sea, and forty from the mouth of the river *Paraguay*; it was as the time would permit well secur'd against any attempts of the enemy, and still continues to this day. The river *Paraguay*, on whose banks the new city was seated, is reckon'd among the chiefest of that new world. It runs three hundred leagues from its source, receiving several other great rivers, and carrying a channel fit for great ships, before it falls into the *Parana*, by which it is swallow'd up two hundred leagues from the sea, and both together make the river of *Plate*. There is one thing very remarkable in their

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conjunction, which is, that tho' they run down the same channel, yet for several miles each preserves its own natural colour, as if *Parana* scorn'd to mix its crystalline waters with the troubled stream of *Paraguay*; or as if *Paraguay* resented the loss of its kingly name; for *Paraguay* signifies the crown'd river, so call'd because the natives on each side of it wear coronets made of the feathers of birds, of wonderful fine colours, which that country abounds in. Nor is there more variety in the feathers of the birds, than in the languages and manners of the people that live scatter'd in the woods and plains about *Paraguay*. Among them all the *Guaranians* were the most rational, and aptest to be civiliz'd, and easily submitted to the *Spaniards*, being first persuad- ed to be friends, then to be hir'd as servants, and lastly to own the sovereignty of the catholic king.

About the end of lent, in the year 1539. the governor thought fit to make a procession in honour of the passion of our Saviour, inviting the inhabitants of all the villages far and near to it, that they might begin to have some notion or opinion of our religion. The *Indians*, already provoked by the unusual service they perform'd, looking upon this otherwise than it was design'd, conspir- ed together to destroy the *Spaniards* upon the procession day, and, to take away all jealousy of any rebellion, brought no arms but their bows and arrows, thinking the *Spaniards*, who were unarm'd, naked, and ready to discipline themselves, would be easily slaughter'd by their multitude. It is reported there were eight thousand conspir- ators in the town, and the *Spaniards* sus- pecting no treason, were taking their disci- pline or scourges to lash themselves. The images to be carry'd were brought out, when an *Indian* woman, who knew of the design, being mov'd to compassion, pri- vately went to her master *Salazer*, and said to him, master I pity you, because you are this day design'd for slaughter. *Salazer* was surpriz'd at these words of his servant, and having by fair means got the whole man- ner of the contrivance from her, went a- way to the governor and acquainted him with it. He having no leisure to consult, or take any other method, gave out he had receiv'd intelligence that the *Japirons*, late- ly revolted from the *Spaniards*, were in arms, and almost at the gates. The alarm was given, and the *Spaniards* laying aside their scourges, took up their swords and fire-arms; then the governor, as if he would have made use of the conspirators against the common enemy, sends for the heads of them to his house, where they were all put into fetters and parted; then hav-

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ing forced them to a concession, hangs up the chief of them. The rest, as if they had been thunder-struck, were quite dispirited, and so far from daring to attempt what they had design'd, that they humbly sued for pardon, promising fidelity for the future. The governor having taken off the heads of the conspiracy, spared the multitude, which so gain'd the hearts of those *Indians*, that from that time, as the *European* wo- men fail'd, they willingly gave their filters and daughters to the *Spaniards*; on which wives they got such a numerous offspring, that some fresh supplies coming out of *Spain*, in a few years they were able to send out new colonies, dividing that vast pro- vince into several territories, all of them subject to *Paraguay*.

In the mean while the emperor *Charles Alvar* the fifth, having receiv'd the news of the death of *James Mendoza*, and the ill success of affairs at the river of *Plate*, and being of a spirit that ever struggled against adver- sity, he resolv'd to send thither another go- vernor, with a supply of planters. Several aspiring to the command, *Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca* carried it, on account of the great merits of his ancestors. For his grand-father *Peter de Vera*, had subdu'd the *Canary* islands for king *Ferdinand*, and govern'd them; in which employment he behav'd himself with such integrity, that having spent his own estate, he was reduc- ed to such distress, that he gave his two sons in pawn to a *Moor*, for a sum of money to support his dignity and maintain his govern- ment, and the king afterwards redeem'd them. One of these was father to this *Al- var* we now speak of; who being in his youth educated in his father's and grand- father's virtues, going over into *Florida* under *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, to be the king's trea- surer there, was shipwreck'd on the coast of *America*, and fell into the hands of the *Indians*; and authors of the first rank tell us, he was so virtuous, that during his ten years captivity among the people of *Mexi- co*, he wrought several miracles invoking the blessed trinity. This man being ap- pointed governor, embark'd seven hun- dred men besides women and children up- on five ships, and sailing from *Cadiz* with a fair wind, when he came to 28 degrees of south latitude, landed in that part of *America* with five hundred men, and send- ing the women and children with the rest by sea, travell'd himself by land, almost the same way *Alexius Garcia* had gone be- fore, for 300 leagues, discovering the coun- try, and in the year 1541, happily arriv'd at the city of the *Assumption*, and what is most remarkable, he lost not one soul in all that voyage and journey by sea and land.

8 B

TECHO. land. As soon as he had taken possession of his command, he sent *Dominick Irala*, the late governor, with three hundred chosen men, ordering him to run up the river *Paraguay* as far as possibly he could towards the west, having agreed in *Spain* with *Vaca de Castro*, governor of *Peru*, that they would use all their endeavours to make that way easy, and fit to be frequented, that *Peru* and *Paraguay* might supply and support one another. *Dominick Irala* pursuing his orders, ran two hundred and fifty leagues up the river in his vessels, and returning, acquainted the governor, that he was of opinion *Peru* might be gone to that way. This affair being laid aside for a while, the governor sent messengers to the barbarous people living upon the banks of the river *Ipana*, to desire them to restore the son of *Alexius Garcia*. The *Ipanensians* having murder'd all the messengers but one, sent the governor word again, that they would never have any peace with him, but if he would revenge the death of his messengers, they were ready for war. The governor, provok'd by this answer, appointed *Alonso Riquelme*, his nephew, to go with three hundred *Spaniards* and a thousand *Indian* confederates, to reduce those inhospitable barbarians: a battle was fought, in which four thousand of the *Ipanensians* were slain, and three thousand taken; of the *Spaniards* four, of the confederate *Indians* a hundred and fifty were kill'd. This victory, obtain'd on the eve of the feast of *S. James* the apostle, patron of *Spain*, induced other people to submit themselves to the *Spaniards*.

After the expedition against the *Ipanensians*, the governor resolving to open the way to *Peru* in person, and at the same time observe what places were proper to plant colonies, and find out the mines of rich metals, took aboard his ships four hundred *Spaniards*, attracted by the hopes of enriching themselves, and extending their dominion. By the way he punish'd the murderers of *Oyola*; and having sail'd two hundred and fifty leagues up the river, came to an island wonderful for the delightfulness and fruitfulness of the soil, its length thirty miles, the breadth, except just at the point, nine. How much this island charm'd the first discoverers, appears by their calling it *Paradise*. It enjoys an equal temperature of weather all the year, and would incline to be hot, did there not daily, at a certain hour, rise a fine westerly breeze, and were not the natural heat of the *Torrid* zone moderated by the moisture of the river, and many springs gushing out, and forming considerable brooks. There is vast plenty of fruit growing wild, yet so various and excellently well tasted, that tho'

wild, they are scarce inferior to the produce of the best gardens in *Europe*. The natives, call'd *Aurecones* because their ears are bored, observe no seasons for sowing; they use a drink made of honey. For game there's such plenty, they rather take it as it comes in their way than seek after it: and for fish, there's greater store than of wild beasts. The people unacquainted with war, and likewise with fraud, and loving to strangers, far exceed all the others lately discover'd in goodness of temper, inasmuch that they seem to have deriv'd their goodness and affability from the very nature of the place. The fleet continued there a long time, which was of ill consequence; for the old soldiers, allur'd by the deliciousness of the place, began to fall at variance with their commander. What is it, said they, we seek amidst so many dangers, and in these barbarous countries? we have now been toils'd about these ten years, without seeing any thing but deep morasses, uncouth mountains, fierce nations, new diseases, and the death of our companions; let us at last grow wise upon our own and other mens experience, and ceasing to seek after uncertainties, make use of what we have: let young men seek after gold, let us rest our ancient bodies in this place, where there's plenty of servants and provisions. This was chiefly urg'd by the old soldiers; the young ones, tho' they had not parted with their desire of gold, yet were of opinion that a colony ought to be settled in that island, whence there would be an easier and safer passage to *Peru*, than from the city of the *Assumption*. Hereupon they all together repair to the governor, desiring he would grant their request, and order the foundations of a town to be laid in that place. The governor, nothing shaken in his resolution, spoke to them thus: *What's the meaning, fellow soldiers, that like children you are taken with apples, desiring, or not understanding, the value of gold? How come you to be so infatuated, as to prefer a little honey before the present hope of wealth? Did we come thro' the vast ocean to seek land or gold? Who would forsake the pleasures of Spain, his dear friends, and native country, and run so many hazards, to come and eat his fill of fish, fruit, and venison among a barbarous people? But these are your private concerns. 'Tis my duty, who am governor, and yours, who are soldiers, to grow old in the service of the publick, having engaged our lives and fortunes to serve our king and country. I will not disband my self, nor do I think it becomes Spaniards so to do: we must seek for gold. Having spoke these words, he gave order for all to be in a readiness; and the ships to make over to the continent, where leaving a guard with the ships, he travel'd*

away

Discovery  
up Para-  
guay.

*Ipanensians*  
sub-  
dued.

The go-  
vernor goes  
to discover  
the way to  
*Peru*.

A delici-  
ous island.

The  
verno  
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Span-  
iards  
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rior to the produce of *Europe*. The natives, because their ears are for sowing; they have money. For game they rather take it as than seek after it: water store than of the unacquainted with fraud, and loving all the others late of temper, info have deriv'd their from the very nature the fleet continued which was of ill confederations, allur'd by the force, began to fall at command. What is amidst so many dangerous countries? we about these ten years, but deep morasses, fierce nations, new of our companions; upon our own and, and ceasing to seek like life of what we seek after gold, let bodies in this place, of servants and provi-ly urg'd by the old ones, tho' they had desire of gold, yet a colony ought to be whence there would passage to *Peru*, than *Assumption*. Hereupon pair to the governor, ant their request, and of a town to be laid governor, nothing that spoke to them thus: *Yellow soldiers, that like with apples, despising, the value of gold? How staid, as to prefer a present hope of wealth? vast ocean to seek land? forsake the pleasures of, and native country, eds, to come and eat his pension among a barbarians are your private content who am governor, and, to grow old in this serving engaged our lives our king and country. self, nor do I think it do: we must seek for these words, he gave in a readiness; and the to the continent, where the ships, he travel'd away*

A monster.

The governor sent a Spaniard and clear'd there,

away by land to the northward. As they march'd along in good order, many of those inland nations came voluntarily to offer peace and provisions. Some small dispute there was with a few of 'em. When they were come near to the borders of *Peru*, the fore-runners gave advice, that a vast multitude of people was flocking out of a great town, and seem'd to be about five thousand men. The governor had scarce drawn up his, before the *Indians* appear'd, who being frighted at the strange presence of the *Europeans*, and noise of the musquets, betook themselves speedily to flight without engaging, leaving the *Spaniards* an empty town of eight thousand houses. The houses of this town differ'd not from the rest of the country, but in the middle of a great market-place or square there was a round tower made of vast pieces of timber, the top of it being pyramidal, and cover'd with palm-tree bark: within it was a serpent of an extraordinary bulk, kept upon a religious, or rather superstitious account, and fed with the bodies of men slain in war. The Devil was reported to give answers by this monster, like the ancient oracles: 'twas twenty-five foot long, and as thick about as an ox; the eyes were very little and sparkling, tho' in a very thick short head; two rows of teeth stuck out of the jaws like sickles; the tail was smooth; the rest of the body cover'd with scales like large platters. The soldiers were astonish'd at the sight of the monster, especially when, being enrag'd with the bullets, it made a hideous roaring, and shook the place with beating its tail. The monster being kill'd, discord, which is worse than any monster, arose between the governor and the king's receivers, because he would not consent that the fifth part of the booty taken by the soldiers should be paid into the treasury, alledging, that it was not customary, nor becoming the king, to receive a part of such inconsiderable things, gain'd with so much peril: but they still insisting upon it, and requiring every fifth deer or fish taken to be deliver'd them for the king, tho' the governor offer'd to make good, out of his own pay, what it should amount to, in case the matter were decided for the king; yet the contention ran so high that, much against his will, they were all forced to return to the city of the *Assumption*, without compassing what they went about: there, at the instigation of the king's receivers, who pretended misgovernment, he was in a tumultuous manner seiz'd by about two hundred of the townsmen, who had conspir'd together, and sent prisoner to *Spain*, with the chief of his accusers: but the emperor having heard both parties, not only clear'd,

but gave him a pension of two thousand crowns a year, and he liv'd with honour to a good old age in the council at *Seville*. His accusers fared otherwise; for, being cast into irons by the emperor, and order'd to clear themselves, they died miserably before judgment was given, one of 'em for fear, and another mad, the supreme judge preventing the emperor's sentence.

The emperor keeping *Alvar Nunez* in *Isla go Spain*, made *John de Sanabria* governor of *Paraguay*, who dying before he set sail, his son was order'd to go in the same post, with a supply of four hundred *Spaniards*; but he being kept in *Spain* by other business, at last the government was by the emperor again confer'd on *Dominick Irala*: he being abroad upon discovery, *Francis Mendoza* being convicted of having used unlawful means to make himself governor, was condemn'd to lose his head; and confess'd on the scaffold that he had formerly murder'd his chaplain and wife in *Spain*, upon very groundless jealousies, upon that very day he was then himself to suffer. Thus, giving glory to God, he shew'd there's no avoiding divine vengeance by flying from one country to another. *Irala's* successors were *Francis Vergara* and *John Ortiz Sarate*, who, in the year 1572, brought five hundred *Spaniards* to *Paraguay*, and under whom the race of the *Spaniards* being grown up, many colonies were planted in the province. I'll describe the situation of 'em, as far as concerns the work I have in hand, without observing the order of their foundation.

The province of *Paraguay* was so call'd from the river of that name, and, before 'twas divided into two governments, by taking *Tucuman* from it, contain'd all that track of land which, lying between *Brasil* and *Peru*, runs beyond the mouth of the river *Plata*, a vast extent along the *Atlantic* ocean. 'Tis easie to guess at the largeness by the two rivers *Paraguay* and *Parana*, running almost three hundred leagues each thro' mighty provinces, and receiving into them many other rivers, before they mix their waters; but where they meet two hundred leagues from the sea, they make the river of *Plata*, which falls into the sea thro' a mouth eighty leagues in breadth. The city of *Buenos Ayres* is built fifty leagues above the mouth of the river, in the same place where we gave an account *Peter Mendoza* erected the fort of the same name. The city of *S. Fe*, or *S. Faith*, built almost eighty leagues higher, near the same shore, is very commodious to those that sail backwards and forwards. Much about the same distance is another small town call'd *Corrientes*, built upon the conflux of the *Paraguay* and *Parana*, but far

Corrientes.

**TECHO.** inferior to the dignity of those two rivers. Then running up the *Parana* above a hundred leagues, after passing over a vast precipice, is *Guairana*, a province joining to *Brasil*, formerly famous for two little *Spanish* towns, call'd *Villarica* and *Guaira*. Upon the upper part of the *Paraguay* is *Xeres*, and another *Villarica*, small towns, built only to join *Paraguay* on that side to the further provinces. Lastly, the city of the *Conception*, built upon the marshes of the red river, which falls into *Parana*, was for a long time of great use to curb the neighbouring fierce nations. But as for the inhabitants of the city of *Assumption*, the metropolis of the province of *Paraguay*, and those of the other towns here mention'd, I would have them look'd upon as the race of most noble families, and seed of the best names in *Spain*; for perhaps no province in *America* had such a number of persons of birth and quality to plant in it; yet the nature of the place has much lessen'd that nobility, as affording no wealth to support the grandeur of those families: 'tis plain, no part of that new world did so much deceive the expectation of the *Europeans*; for *Paraguay* is quite a stranger to gold, silver, and jewels: nor do the natives dig any iron, wherein that country abounds; and as yet the *Spaniards*, except only the inhabitants of *Buenos Ayres* and *S. Fe*, by reason of their trade with *Peru*, know any thing of money, but live still by exchange of commodities, after the manner of antiquity. There are but few places where they make wine, or sow corn, the prime men seldom

feating bread, or drinking wine. They make bread and drink of *Indian* wheat: all other dainties they seek in fishing, hunting, and shooting, tho' at present their herds of black cattle being encreas'd, they are not sparing of them. For a long time sugar and cotton, both produced in small quantities, were their chiefest wealth, till the leaves of certain trees growing in marshy grounds, commonly call'd the herb of *Paraguay*, began to be in esteem: these leaves they dry at the fire and reduce to powder, then mixing it with warm water, the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, both men and women, drink of it several times a day, and vomiting it up with all they have eaten, they find it creates an appetite. Many things are reported concerning the virtue of this powder or herb; for, they say, if you cannot sleep, it will compose you to it; if you are lethargick, it drives away sleep; if you are hungry, it satisfies; if your meat does not digest, it causes an appetite; it refreshes after weariness, and drives away melancholy, and several diseases. Those who once use themselves to it cannot easily leave it, for they affirm their strength fails 'em when

they want it, and can't live long; and so great slaves are they to this slender diet, that they'll almost sell themselves rather than want wherewithal to purchase it. The wiser sort, tho' moderately used it strengthens and brings other advantages, will hardly ever make use of it; and if immoderately used, it causes drunkenness, and breeds distempers, as too much wine does; yet this vice has not only over-run *Paraguay*, but *Tucuman*, *Chili*, and *Pern*, and is near coming over into *Europe*, this herb of *Paraguay* being valued among the precious commodities of *America*. At first the *Spaniards* in *Paraguay* were well pleas'd with their cotton garments and liquor made of honey, but afterwards trade enhancing the value of this herb, covetousness and luxury encreas'd, to feed both which the *Indians* began to be more enslav'd to make this powder: labour made their numbers decrease, and that made the *Spaniards* poor again; to shew us, that very often the same methods we take to gather wealth serve to impoverish us. Thus much of the foundation of the colonies of *Paraguay* and the river of *Plata*.

The kingdom of *Chili* joining to *Peru*, <sup>Town and conquest of</sup> *Chili*, and running along on the same coast, lies between the *pacifick*, or south-sea, and a continual ridge of mountains parallel to it, from 28 to almost 44 degrees of south latitude, being but thirty leagues in breadth, and sometimes less. The first I know of that invaded this kingdom, was *James Almagro*, with four hundred *Spaniards*, and the son of the *Inga* of *Peru* that was slain, follow'd by a crowd of *Indians*. This was in the year 1536; and the success did not answer his expectation; for, having scarce discover'd the vale of *Coquimba*, he return'd before he had done any thing into *Peru*, to govern one part whereof he was appointed by the emperor *Charles* the fifth. Not long after, *Peter de Valdivia* breaking into that kingdom with some *Spanish* forces, subdued all the whole country, planting several colonies. He built the metropolis, call'd *Santiago*, or *S. James*, afterwards beautified with stately structures after the *European* manner, twenty-five leagues from the sea, in 34 degrees of south latitude. The city <sup>Santiago</sup> *Imperial* he seated in almost 38 degrees of south latitude; which place, *Lipsius* says, was so call'd because the *Spaniards* there found eagles with two heads carv'd, in several houses, and over the doors, as they are drawn in the imperial standards; whence he would infer, that this new world was perhaps formerly known to other nations; but, in my opinion, this is a groundless conjecture, for *Charles* the fifth's eagles had been carried about in *America* for several years before the city *Imperial* was built, which

Nobility of the planters,

Poverty of the country.

Herb of Paraguay,



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which the people of *Chili*, trading with  
 those of *Peru*, might have seen. *Valdivia*  
 founded a city of his own name in the lati-  
 tude of 40 degrees, and in a soil abounding  
 in pure gold, not far from the sea, as also  
*Villarica* up the inland. *Coquimbo*, or *Sere-  
 na*, in the valley of *Coquimbo*, and *Angol*,  
 between *Imperial* and the *Concepcion*, another  
 new town, were also built by him. The  
 kingdom of *Chili* being thus secur'd  
 by building of colonies, the natives of the  
 valleys of *Arauco* and *Puren*, much irritated  
 by being immoderately kept to dig gold,  
 conspir'd together, under the conduct of  
*Cautipica*, and made a miserable slaughter  
 of *Peter Valdivia* and a great number of  
*Spaniards*: and the *Spanish* historians relate  
 a cruel action of an *Indian*, who pour'd  
 melted gold into *Valdivia*'s mouth, bidding  
 him glut himself with gold, since he so  
 much thirsted after it. *Francis Villagra*,  
 successor to *Valdivia*, to revenge his coun-  
 trymen, waged war successfully a long while,  
 till his forces were at last overthrown by  
 the *Indians*. The consequence of *Villagra*'s  
 misfortune was, the abandoning of some  
 new colonies, the *Indians* refusing to under-  
 go such labour as they were unled to.  
 After *Villagra*, *D. Garcia Hurtado de Men-  
 doza*, son to the marquis de *Canete* viceroy  
 of *Peru*, went governor, into *Chili*, with  
 considerable *Spanish* forces, and several pic-  
 ces of cannon, which struck such a terror  
 into the *Indians*, that many of 'em submit-  
 ted themselves: those of *Arauco* and *Tuca-  
 pelan* holding out, were overthrown in bat-  
 tle, and *Cautipica*, the murderer of *Valdivia*,  
 kill'd. *Mendoza* restor'd the cities *Valdivia*  
 and *Imperial*, destroy'd by the *Indians*: he  
 built the town of *Ojorno*, in about 41 de-  
 grees of latitude, and gave it to the chief  
 of his men he had brought out of *Peru*,  
 dividing the country about it among 'em:  
 he also built by his lieutenant the city of  
 his own name, afterwards head of two other  
 towns in the province of *Cuico*, or *Chicuto*,  
 which is a limb of the kingdom of *Chili*  
 beyond the mountains. At length leaving  
 the government of the kingdom to *Roderick  
 Quiroga*, knight of the order of *Santiago*,  
 he return'd with great honour to *Peru*,  
 which he govern'd some time after as vice-  
 roy. *Roderick Quiroga* having govern'd  
 the kingdom with various success in contin-  
 ual troubles, left it to the management  
 of *Alphonso de Sotomayor*, in the year 1579:  
 he having built the fort of *St. Ildephonso*  
 in the vale of *Arauco*, in some measure  
 curb'd those people, us'd to rebel at plea-  
 sure, inasmuch that *Martin Loiola*, his suc-  
 cessor, receiv'd a kingdom to govern in  
 some measure peaceable and renown'd, for  
 twelve *Spanish* cities there were in it. What  
 actions the *Spaniards* perform'd in so many

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years war with a resolute nation, does not *Techo*.  
 belong to me to relate, 'tis enough for my  
 purpose to mention those things that con-  
 duce to the understanding of the history I  
 have in hand.

This I must add further, that nothing  
 can be more pleasant and delightful, or bet-  
 ter furnish'd with all that's requisite for a  
 luxurious life, than is the kingdom of *Chili*.  
 It abounds in all sorts of fruits, and produc-  
 es on its pleasant hills, banks of rivers,  
 charming plains, and sides of springs, most  
 of those that are dispers'd thro' *Europe* and  
*America*. There's such plenty of milk and  
 wool, as is possible for sheep and cows to  
 afford in plentiful pasture: it yields as much  
 honey, wheat, and generous wine, as serves  
 for his own use: the strawberries and apples  
 growing about wild are wonderful sweet:  
 the wholsomeness and delicacy of the drink-  
 ing-water, which runs thro' veins of gold,  
 is in great esteem among the frugal *Span-  
 iards*, tho' I cannot deny but the veins of  
 gold themselves are much more valuable to  
 most of the *Spaniards*. No thunder is heard  
 throughout the year; lightening, stormy  
 winds, and suchlike storms are not known.  
 The whole country produces no poisonous  
 creature, or hurtful wild beast; only sud-  
 den earthquakes sometimes terrific men  
 lull'd asleep with long intervals of undisturb'd  
 happiness; nor is there any thing  
 that so much awes the planters, whom the  
 deliciousness of the country, and plenty of  
 all things, for the most part rather inclines  
 to luxury than piety. Throughout all *West  
 America*, scarce any gold is more valued  
 than that of *Chili*, in digging whereof, if  
 the *Spaniards* had at first us'd justice and  
 moderation, and submitted their avarice to  
 the laws of the catholic kings, they might  
 have continued long happy; but when the  
 kingdom of *Chili* was brought under by  
 building colonies in all parts, private men,  
 in opposition to the catholic kings edicts,  
 began to oppress the natives, whence en-  
 sued continual wars, and the wars were fol-  
 low'd by so notable a depopulating of the  
 country, that there scarce remains any  
 thing of the splendor of that most happy  
 kingdom but the name.

*Tucuman* lying in the middle between *Tucuman*,  
*Paraguay* and *Chili*, on the east partly bor-  
 ders upon *Paraguay*, and partly upon the  
 river of *Plate* on the west; 'tis bounded by  
 the mountains of *Peru*; on the south it  
 borders on vast plains running as far as the  
 straits of *Magellan*, and on the north is  
 shut in by most fierce nations. 'Tis all  
 within the *Temperate* zone, except some  
 part that runs out into the *Torrid*; and,  
 what is most wonderful, that part is subject  
 to immoderate cold, as being full of high  
 mountains, and therefore nobly confutes all

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the

**TECHO.** the ancient notions of the *Torrid* zone ; but *Tucuman* being about three hundred leagues in length, but varying much in breadth, and ending somewhat like a cone, is, generally speaking, inhabited by four sorts of people. The most southern live in the plains, and on craggy mountains, without any habitation, feed upon what they kill, and carry about mats, to serve 'em instead of houses or tents : the northern people live in the marshes, and feed upon fish. Both nations are equally fierce, the southern are the tallest, the northern the more brutal. Bones of giants have been found there above four times as tall as other men, tho' now there are scarce any to be found that exceed eight foot. Others born to darkness, denying themselves the enjoyment of the air, bury themselves all their life-time in caves they make under-ground. The last sort live in small villages about the plains and mountains, after a more plentiful and polite manner, by reason of their nearness to, and trade with *Peru*. They're almost all alike given to sloth and idleness : they make little use of brags and silver, which are not wanting among 'em : I dare rather affirm they have no gold, than that the *Europeans* have neglected to search after it. These people make use of sheep to carry their burdens, which for shape may be compar'd to camels, colts, &c. they are of a great strength, but their wool much finer than ours, of which they make all sorts of garments, much resembling silk. There are also lions, like those of *Africa* in shape, but not so large or noble natur'd, for they are not bigger than a mastiff, scarce so strong or fierce, have no manes, and are terrible only for their roaring ; but the tygers are fiercer than in any other country. The chief rivers in *Tucuman* are two, the one call'd *Dulce*, or *sweet* ; the other *Salado*, or *salt*, from the taste of their waters : both of 'em, tho' many waters fall into them, are rather like brooks than rivers, and not capable of carrying little boats, but only at certain places. Next to these is *Carcarañal*, and some others of note, which having run a short course, as if they were ashamed of their littleness, are either swallow'd up by the earth, or lost in lakes. Some of these petrify sticks and bones, and cause great swellings under the skins of men and beasts like large bladders, which are dissolv'd by the waters of other rivers. The scarcity of rivers is sufficiently made amends for, by the multitude of springs gushing from the woods, and mountains, and lakes in the plains, which was the cause that most of *Tucuman* was formerly well peopled : 'tis very well known, some hundred thousands of natives were found by the first *Spanish* planters, in provinces of no

great extent. That part which lay next to *Peru* was subject to the *Incas* ; the rest, divided into little parties, were under several *Caciques*, less remarkable for their manners than for their variety of languages. 'Twas very rare that two or three of these small parties combin'd to repel their enemies, which was a great help to the *Spaniards* towards subduing them, for they scarce ever consulted the publick good.

The first I know of that discover'd *Tucuman*, was one *Cesar*, a soldier belonging to *Sebastian Gavot*, who in the year 1530 undertaking to find out the way from the river of *Plate* to *Peru*, attended by only three companies, travelling with wonderful courage and success over countries then unknown, and over vast rocks, and morasses, and traversing all *Tucuman*, the borders of the kingdom of *Chili*, and greatest part of *Peru*, at length arriv'd at the city of *Cusco*, at such time as *Francis Pizarro* having taken *Atabaliba* the *Inga* in the marshes of *Cacamarca*, kept him in chains in order to put him to death. In this journey he travel'd two thousand leagues : but because there are many fabulous accounts spread abroad concerning the countries discover'd by that soldier, which, tho' it be an age since, insatiate the minds of some people, who believe that in south *America* there's a country call'd of the *Cesars*, from this *Cesar*, not yet found out, but abounding in gold and silver, and remarkable for multitudes of men and political government ; I shall forbear speaking any more of him, being resolv'd not to tread in an uncertain by-path whilst I have a known sure road to go upon. The year after, whilst *Peter Mendoza* was building the castle of *Buenos Ayres* upon the banks of the river of *Plate*, two other soldiers with incredible boldness, travelling thro' *Tucuman* to *Peru*, fill'd their countrymen with the hopes of a vast empire : therefore, in the year 1540, after *James Amagra* the younger was defeated at *Chupas*, the viceroy *Vaca de Castro*, after pacifying *Peru*, giving new provinces as a reward to those that had serv'd well, *Tucuman* fell to the lot of *John Rojas*, who crossing the mountains of *Peru* with two hundred *Spaniards*, and coming to a battle with the *Indians*, was kill'd in the very borders of his province by a poison'd arrow. After his death, his men taking *Francis Mendoza* for their commander, march'd thro' *Tucuman* to the river of *Plate*, and arriv'd where *Gavot* had built a fort, at the mouth of the river *Carcarañal*. *Mendoza* designing to go thence up the river, to join the inhabitants of the town of *Assumption*, he was stabb'd by his own men, who mutiny'd, refusing to follow him, and return'd the same way they came. In the year 1549, after

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after Pizarro was defeated, John Nunez Prada, by the authority of Peter Gasca, the viceroy, seven of Mendez's soldiers or murderers advising and accompanying him, he gather'd, upon the hopes of mighty suc- cess, a company of brave Spaniards, and piercing into the heart of Tucuman, built the town of S. Michael on the banks of the river Escaua, which was first translated to the valley Calchaquima, then to another place, and soon after destroy'd. He also erected crosses in several places, ordering they should be a sanctuary to all that fled to 'em; whence it follow'd that the hea- thens set up crosses in their villages, and began to give 'em that respect which after- wards became a religious worship. He in- vited the Indians to embrace the catholic faith, and submit themselves to the king of Spain, by the means of Gaspar Caravi- gal and Alonso Trueno, Merzenarian Friars. Lastly, coming to a battle with Francis Villagra, who was leading recruits from Peru to Chili thro' Tucuman, upon a dispute about jurisdiction, he was taken by him, and was set at liberty and restor'd to his command, upon condition that Tucuman, for the future, should be subject to the go- vernor of Chili, and the governors to be appointed by him. Accordingly, in the year 1553, Francis de Aguirre was sent out of Chili with two hundred Spaniards, by Peter Valdivia, then governor there, de- stroying the town of S. Michael, built the city of Santiago, or S. James, afterwards the metropolis of Tucuman and a bishop's see, upon the banks of the river Dulce, or the sweet river, and in 28 degrees of south latitude. Roderick de Palos succeeded Francis de Aguirre, and did nothing remarkable. But in the year 1558, D. Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, son to the marquis de Canete, viceroy of Peru, and himself governor of Chili, gave the government of Tucuman to John Gomez Zarita, who building the city of London, curb'd the Calchaquines, and other barbarous Indians. He rebuilt the city of S. Michael, subdued the Diaguitas grown unruly, and the Indians opposite to Rio Roxo, or the red river, as also most of the inhabitants of the valleys of Famatina, Sanagasta, and Catamarca. By his com- mand Julian Sedeno built the fort of Cor- dova, which in some measure brought the Calchaquines under obedience: then he foun- ded the banks of the river Salado and others, spreading the terror of the Spanish name so, that in the territory of Santiago only there were eighty thousand subject Indians muste- red. In short, he was so successful against the Indians, that as a reward the viceroy of Peru gave him the absolute command of Tucuman, delivering it from any subjection to the kingdom of Chili. But about that

time, viz. in the year 1561, Gregory Casta- TENO. neda, sent by the governor of Peru with a body of men to govern Tucuman, having routed Zarita, sent him away to Peru; whence it follow'd that the town of Canete and castle of Cordova being destroy'd, most of the Indians revolted: which being known, the viceroy of Peru, in the year 1563, sent Francis de Aguirre with a considerable force into Tucuman, by whose valour and conduct many of the Indians were again brought under subjection, the town of Esteco built, and all things in some measure re-establish'd, till he embroiling himself in several affairs, was call'd back into Peru. Afterwards se- veral other colonies were founded or restor'd throughout Tucuman by the succeeding go- vernor's coming with fresh supplies out of Peru; whereof, the rest being destroy'd ei- ther by war or their ill situation, there now remain standing, besides Santiago the me- tropolis, Cordova, the city of S. Michael, Towns in Salta or Lerma, Xuxui or S. Salvador, Rioja, Tucuman. Esteco, or Nuestra Señora de Talavera, Lon- don, and a few small garrisons, to which the people of several nations divided into provinces are subject, being for the most part brought under the dominion of the catholics, by the valour and conduct of the Spaniards, not without the expence of blood.

When I come to speak of particular Concern- places, or of the propagating of the chri- ing the- stian faith in them by the society of Jesus, antiquity I shall then, as they occur, give an account of the be- by what sorts of people that vast tract of fore men- tion'd pro- land here spoken of is inhabited; of their vices, form, religion, manners, and language; of the soil, climate, and irrational creatures; as also of rarities, and secrets in nature: but 'twill not be to my purpose to enquire whe- ther that part of America was known to the ancients. Cicero, in his dream, dividing the globe of the earth into two habitable parts, places one in the north, and t'other in the south, which he calls *Antichora* from the opposite pole. Pomponius Mela calls the part of the earth opposite to the old world *Antichora*, and the inhabitants of it *Antichorones*. Besides, the words of Arius, the orator in Seneca are well known, who affirms there are fruitful lands in the ocean, and another world and other shores beyond the ocean. Clement, disciple to S. Peter, speaks of the ocean, and worlds beyond it; whence some will infer, that this part of the world had been formerly heard of and seen. But many enquire whence that new world was peopled, with more curiosity than cer- tainty. Lipsius, following Aristotle's con- jectures, thinks the Africans sail'd thither. Ferdinand Oviedo will have the islands Hesperides so call'd of Hesperus king of Spain, and, that they and the continent of America were

**TECHO.** were peopled by *Spaniards*. Others affirm, the *Americans* are the race of the *Jews* carried into captivity by *Salmanazar*, and placed in countries till then not inhabited, after a progress of eighteen months. Many believe they were carried thither by storm, being *Chinese*, sailing on the pacifick or south sea, or other more northern people: I'll not pretend to decide the controversy, but allowing the possibility of each opinion, own I am a stranger to the certainty of the fact. *Lipsius*, *Acosta*, *Pineda*, *Solorzano*, and other learned men, may be seen, who, after searching all the records of antiquity, shew much erudition, but nothing of certainty concerning the affairs of *America*. I know the memory of a deluge is preserv'd among these people, but whether 'tis to be understood of the universal flood, or of the inundation of some particular provinces, as of that of *Ogyges* in *Acbaia*, or *Deucalion's* in *Thessaly*, I leave to others to decide: I therefore leave it to others to discourse upon *Plato's Atlantis*, the reasons of the deluge, *Solomon's Ophir*, the transmigration of animals, and much more to that purpose; for I am willing to lay aside conjectures and fables, having enough of truth to treat of.

The care  
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*Peru*, and the southern provinces of *America*, seem to me like another *Ophir* to the emperor *Charles V.*, who, like *David*, fought the battles of our Lord; and his son king *Philip II.*, following the example of *Solomon*, built the noble temple of *S. Lawrence*, call'd the *Escorial*. But, to come to my business, the emperor *Charles V.*, the same year the metropolis of *Paraguay* was built, sent over some priests; and in the year 1553 the first bishop of *Paraguay*, furnishing him nobly with all things for the service of the church: afterwards bishopricks were erected, collegiate churches founded, and seminaries built in the kingdom of *Chili*, in *Tucuman*, and the port of *Buenos Ayres*, by the authority of the catholic kings, and at their expence. Besides, throughout their vast dominions, their generosity has maintain'd priests, founded religious houses, and the viceroys, governors of provinces and towns, and the courts and councils, have always been strictly charg'd, that, forbearing to oppress the *Indians*, they should make the conversion of those people their principal study. In this particular the society of *Jesuit* has spread the light of the gospel thro' *Chili*, *Tucuman*, and *Paraguay*, whereof I am to give an account.

The society  
call'd  
into *Tucuman*.

At first the condition of religion was miserable, there being only a few priests, ignorant of the *Indian* tongues, and consequently the bishops had but little help. Several *Spanish* towns having no body to

administer the sacraments, liv'd after a very dissolute manner; for tho' the *Spaniards* are naturally frugal, yet plenty and abundance of servants, and women, had so debauch'd 'em that they lamented their own misery, seeing many live and die without any spiritual assistance, besides the infinite numbers of *Indians* who were destitute of all instruction. At length the reverend *F. Francis Victoria*, bishop of *Tucuman*, of the order of *S. Dominick*, a man renowned for piety of life and conversation, thought of calling in the *Jesuits*, and, in order to it, writ to *F. Joseph Archieta*, provincial of them in *Brasil*, and to *F. John Atienza*, provincial of *Peru*, desiring they would send some priests to his assistance.

In compliance with his just request, the *Jesuits* at provincial of *Peru*, sent *F. Francis Angelo Salta* and *Alonso Barfena*, priests, and *John de Vel. Efteco*, *lagas*, a lay-brother, in the year 1586. These setting out from *Potosi*, and passing the mountains that part *Peru* from *Tucuman*, were receiv'd at *Salta*, a *Spanish* town built three years before, with incredible joy; for till then there was no priest in that town. The city *Efteco* is fifty leagues from *Salta*, whither they resorted to supply the want there was of priests. They both knew the language of *Quechua*, and *Burfena* had learnt somewhat of that of *Torocote*, by which means they began to instruct the *Indians*, till having spent a month in this last place, they were call'd away by the bishop of *Tucuman* to *Santiago*, the capital of the province.

The fathers we receiv'd out of the town, they re- and conducted to it by the governor and pair to all the people with the greatest pomp, *Santiago*. came at so good a time into the province of *Tucuman*, that there were then in it, besides the bishop, only five priests and a few religious men, who labour'd as much as in 'em lay, but few of 'em could speak the *Indian* language. The town of *Santiago* consisted of five hundred *Spanish* families, but in the territory about it there had been eighty thousand bow-men muster'd, besides women and children, whereof, tho' many were destroy'd by the common calamities of the *Indies*, a vast multitude still remain'd without any to instruct 'em till the fathers came. To work the more powerfully on the natives, they apply'd themselves in the first place to reform the lives of the *Spaniards*, wherein they had extraordinary success; and then applying themselves to the heathens, instructed some converts chosn out from the multitude, whom they employ'd to help teach the others, who came in mighty crowds to be catechis'd. How many thousands were baptis'd is not known, for no account was kept, but great numbers resorted to confession, and confined them-

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themselves to one wife, contrary to their former custom.

*F. Alonso Barfena* was sent by the bishop with the lay-brother, to the city of *Efteco*, to preach to the infidels dispers'd in fifty villages belonging to the territory of that town, where they spent nine months, undergoing vast labours and toils, during which time six thousand six hundred *Indians* were baptiz'd and instructed, and many thousands lawfully marry'd, which done by order of the bishop, they return'd to *Santiago*.

Immediately both the fathers without any respite, were sent to the territory of *Cordova*, one hundred leagues distant from *Santiago*, built sixteen years before. It was hard to instruct the *Indians* there, because of the great variety of languages; yet five hundred of those in the town were baptiz'd, and three hundred without in the space of a month, besides four hundred converts brought to lawful wedlock. This done, they return'd to meet others of the society that were coming from *Brasil*.

The provincial of *Brasil* having receiv'd the bishop of *Tucuman*'s letter, sent five fathers in the year 1587, who, after many dangers escap'd, arriv'd safe at *Cordova*, where two of them, dissatisfy'd that they had been fetch'd out of *Portuguese* province to a place where the *Spanish* fathers of *Peru* were before, return'd back to *Brasil*, the other three stay'd with the *Spaniards*, where they altogether labour'd in the conversion of souls incessantly, baptizing many thousands, and marrying no less number. But father *Barfena* who was to teach the *Brasil* fathers the language, falling sick, they went away to the city of the *Assumption* the capital of *Paraguay*, where having labour'd with the same success as they had before in *Tucuman*, two of them travell'd through into the province of *Guaira*, baptizing and instructing many thousands. It is here to be observ'd speaking of these several parts, that about *Cordova* the *Indians* live in caves they dig under ground, no roof appearing above it, for they are altogether in the earth, and distant from one another as rabbits in a warren.

Thirty leagues from the town of *Villari-*ca in the province of *Guaira*, are a people call'd *Irirabat*, being not above one thousand men, who liv'd dispers'd upon hunting, a fierce nation and hard to be reduced by force.

Thus far the translation has follow'd the original pretty close, but must here, as is observ'd in the preface, omit all things which only relate to the *Jesuits*, and therefore only a few words shall be added out

VOL. IV.

of the first book which have something *Tochte*. historical. Those, these and the last mention'd seem to come in some disorder.

*John Ramirez de Vilasco* governor of *Tucuman*, went out with *Spanish* and *Indian* forces to reduce the *Calchaguines* who had revolted. They being a fierce and warlike *Fierce In-* people, had possess'd themselves of the tops *doms sub-* and cliffs of the mountains, lying there ready to roul down vast stones upon the *Spaniards* as they march'd up the narrow paths to them. Father *Barfena*, ordering the *Spaniards* to halt, durst go up alone, and by the force of his eloquence, so far prevail'd with those obstinate people, that they submitted themselves to the *Spaniards*. In the year 1590, two other fathers came out of *Peru*, one of which with another of those that had been in *Tucuman* before, went to preach upon the *Rio Roxo*, or *Red River*. This river has its springs in the *Red river* mountains of *Peru*, and being come down into the plain, swells with the winter rains, overflows every year the country for eight leagues about, except where it finds hills, which it converts into islands, all which multitude of waters, gently flow into the river of *Plata*, a little below the great river *Paraguay*. Not far from it on the banks of a lake, thirty leagues from the river's mouth, the *Spaniards* built the town of the *Conception*, to the end an infinite multitude of *Indians* might by de-city.

grees be civiliz'd. This city is ninety leagues from *Santiago* the metropolis of *Tucuman*, all over a vast plain, without any water but what it receives from the clouds. The people about this city the *Spaniards* call *Frontones*, because they make the fore-*Frontones* parts of their heads bald to have high fore-*their man-* heads. At their girdle hangs a club, and quiver or bunch of arrows. They carry a staff set with the jaw-bones of fishes, with their teeth like saws, their bodies naked, and painted to look more terrible. Being full of factions, they are continually at war among themselves about the limits of their lands. They fix the bodies of the enemies they kill, in rows to the trunks of trees for a terror, that the borderers may not dare to go over the hunt in their liberties. Their houses being made of mats, are easily remov'd at pleasure. They do not apply themselves to tillage, but live upon what they shoot and fish, and have one good quality, which is, that they keep to one woman. Almost every faction has a several language, so that there are eight several tongues spoke on both sides of the red river.

The nation of the *Mataranians* is much *Matara-* more docible than any of its neighbours. *Alonso de Vera*, founder and governor of the town of the *Conception*, took them from

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living



**T**he living dispers'd after their barbarous manner, and brought them together into a town, causing many of them to be baptiz'd, but still they continu'd very ignorant of the principles of christianity. The place of their habitation was very wretched, for they had no water to drink, but what was muddy and stunk, being only the rain that fell gather'd in ditches cut for that purpose. All their food was *Indian* wheat and pumpions. Yet here the fathers preach'd and taught with such success, that in the whole town there was not one heathen left, nor any but liv'd as a christian to the best of his knowledge and capacity. In the year 1593, the *Jesuits* began to preach in *Cbili*; they that desire may see their actions in our author.

Revolt of  
*Cbili*.

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towns de-  
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Having given an account in number 17, of the towns built in *Cbili* by the *Spaniards*, and a description of that country in number 18, let us now look back to see many of those colonies destroy'd, and the *Spaniards* almost expell'd that country. They had, as has been said, built twelve towns at convenient distances, which seem'd to have secur'd the possession of that kingdom, where they found great quantities of the purest gold, and abusing the plenty and deliciousness of the country, liv'd in debauchery and lewdness. Vice produceth sloth and security, which gave occasion to the *Indians* to revolt, and in a great measure to compass their design of extirpating the *Spaniards*. This happen'd about the year 1598, when *Martin de Loiola* being governor of the kingdom, lying abroad in the fields in tents within no works, and attended by a very small guard, was set upon by the barbarous *Cbilenians*, and kill'd; which was no sooner done, but they drew all the rest of the country to join with them, and exercise all manner of cruelties upon their enemies. The *Indians* might easily have been quell'd at first, had any good advice been taken; but what could be expected where there was no head? Besides, the suddenness of the misfortune took away all time to consult, or prepare for war, the *Indians* every where falling upon and slaughtering them in confusion. The mischief began by the *Spanish* soldiers abandoning their town of *Millapoa* in a consternation; next follow'd *Angil* and *Cbilla*, two neighbouring towns, first plunder'd by the *Indians* and then burnt; only one hundred and fifty *Spaniards* with the women and children saved themselves from the fire and slaughter in the work cast up in haste, where they, with true *Spanish* bravery, several times repuls'd eight thousand natives that besieg'd them, till at length they got off with safety. The city *Imperial* was a whole year besieg'd, so that the inhabi-

tants having spent all their provisions, and being drove to eat unwholesome food not fit to be nam'd, it bred infections among them, which made such havoc, that many more dy'd of sickness than by the enemies weapons. In this distress they patch'd up a boat, in which they sent messengers to demand succours. Accordingly the governor came from the city of the *Conception*, with forces to rescue the inhabitants and carry them away in safety. But the city was left to be destroy'd by the natives, who fail'd not to exercise their fury on the houses, being disappointed of the people. The town of *Valdivia* far'd not so well, for it perish'd with all its inhabitants. When the *Indians* had glutted their rage with slaughter, they sav'd four hundred women and maids belonging to the town, to debauch and make slaves of; this turn of fortune making them servants to those very people they had before kept under. The gold of *Valdivia* is counted the best in *America*, and there the enemies most exerted their cruelty; that, where avarice had most predominated in seeking after gold, there the judgment might fall the heavier. The town of *Oforno* follow'd the same fate, but the inhabitants sav'd their lives in a work they had thrown up in haste, and some forces coming to their relief, were carry'd off in safety. It was here remarkable, that a nun of the order of the poor *Clares*, being taken by an *Indian* who would have deserv'd her, she us'd such powerful arguments to defend her virginity, that he kept her a whole year in his house among his other women, with the greatest respect imaginable, till he found an opportunity to convey her to the next *Spanish* garrison, and some time after fled himself to the *Spaniards*, among whom he became a christian, living many years in a very pious manner. The revolt ran through the whole kingdom; the enemy, after destroying the *Spanish* towns, being absolute masters for above an hundred leagues. The metropolis or city of *Santiago* was not out of danger, but had certainly fallen under the prevailing rage of the *Indians*, but that the magistrates, being inform'd of the conspiracy, prevented the execution among them, by the punishment of the conspirators. Thus a bloody war broke out between the two nations, which might have been more fatal to the *Spaniards*, had not the catholic king soon after sent over *Alfonso Ribera* famous for his good service in the low countries, who, entering upon the government, erected many forts after the manner of *Flanders* in the enemies territories, whence making excursions, he rescu'd several *Spaniards* who defended themselves in small works, and baffled the designs of the enemy. In

*Cordova  
city built.*

In the year 1573, *Jerome Cabrera*, a gentleman of *Cordova* in *Spain*, founded the city of *Cordova* in a plain, at the foot of vast mountains, a hundred and twenty leagues from the port of *Buenos Ayres*. It does not rain there in winter, but in summer there are thick mists and rains enough to make the land in some measure fruitful. When the city was first built, there were reckoned to be sixty thousand archers in its territory, of which number only eight thousand continu'd in subjection to the *Spaniards*. In the year 1600, the rest were either dead, or being fond of their liberty and ancient way of living, had revolted from the *Spaniards*. In this place the *Jesuits* were at first coldly receiv'd, but soon after all the town vy'd to serve and honour them, building them a church, and allowing them a monastery, which was afterwards the head of the province. Hence the fathers set out to preach to the people call'd *Diaguítas*, where whole towns were converted without any difficulty, only one considerable place objecting, that they would not cut off their long hair, as usually converts did, nor take the ornament of feathers they wore on their heads when they went into the church; but being inform'd their hair was no obstruction, provided they forbore superstitious practices, they all readily submitted themselves. Other places at the same time freely offer'd to part with their long hair, which was held in such an account among them, sending to invite the fathers to come to them, going out to meet them, and clearing the roads they were to come for three leagues in length. All the heathens were baptiz'd in these towns, and inquiry being made after their ancient worship, it appear'd that the whole nation ador'd the sun, and in honour of him sprinkled bunches of feathers stuck up in their houses with the blood of beasts. They believ'd the souls of their *Casiques* when they were dead became planets, and those of the common sort and beasts, lesser stars. A temple they had dedicated to the sun, which these people, at the command of the fathers, destroy'd, burning all that was in it; and crosses were erected wherefoever such temples had stood. In the midst of this success the deputy governor of *Tucuman*'s son, who was with the fathers, presuming upon their protection, order'd a number of servants to be gather'd out of the valley, which so exasperated that people, believing that religion only a cloak to enslave them, that the fathers were in great danger of being murder'd, and forc'd to haste away whilst they had time to save their lives.

*New go-  
vernor in  
Chili.*

Let us again look back into the kingdom of *Chili*, where we left *Alonso Ribera* pacifying that country, by building many

forts to curb the natives; and the success *Techo*, would doubtless have answer'd expectation, had he not been unreasonably put out of the government, when he had gain'd more reputation for his military exploits, than any governor before him. But, as he rais'd the reputation of the *Spaniards* among the *Chileans*, by his courage and conduct; so he lost himself by confiding too much in his own merits. For notwithstanding governors, by the laws of *Spain*, are forbid marrying wives of those provinces they have in charge, lest affinity should make them partial and corrupt; yet *Alonso Ribera* presum'd to marry a noble-woman in *Chili*.

Whereupon the king of *Spain* (tho' he was very serviceable) took away his government, lest the example might be of ill consequence, but so moderated his punishment, that by the next letters he was appointed governor of *Tucuman*, a post little inferior to that of *Chili*. After him *Alonso Garcia Ramon* obtain'd the government, who when he set out from *Lima*, took *F. Luis Valdivia* along with him, in hopes by his means to pacify the kingdom of *Chili*. After escaping fire and tempest at sea, they at length arriv'd at the port of the *Conception*, the residence of the *Conception* governors of *Chili*, small for number of build-  
city.

ings and inhabitants, and built along the shore of the *Pacifick* or south-sea. Its territory towards the metropolis of the kingdom extends it self largely, and grows straight on that side towards the revolted *Indians*, that space *Ribera* and other governors had secur'd by erecting forts at due distances, the garrisons whereof with much difficulty kept the *Indians* under. As soon as the new governour arriv'd, he caus'd the king's proclamation for a general pardon to be publish'd, inviting all that were in rebellion to return to their duty. That done, he set out to visit the forts and villages of *Indians* that continu'd in subjection to the *Spaniards*, either of their own free will or by force, yet the minds of them all were so alienated, that they might well be accounted enemies, and therefore tho' they had the name of friends, no man went among them but what carry'd a guard of soldiers, for there is little confidence to be repos'd in them whom only fear binds to you. The governor was attended by the king's troops; but *Luis Valdivia* was a better security than many arm'd men, because the *Indians* were inform'd, and found by experience, that *Valdivia* had always protected them from the insolencies of the soldiers, and being made slaves. For this reason, wherefoever he went, the prime men of the country flock'd about him, calling him their father, protector, and only safety of their bodies and souls; and *Valdivia*, laying hold of that favourable opportunity, gain'd all he cou'd to christianity,

**T**ENO anity, and the subjection of the catholic king. Twenty Caciques were met in the fort, they call'd *Levo*, where hearing *Valdivia* discourse of the immortality of the soul, and other mysteries of faith, they all desir'd to become christians. All the children were baptiz'd, the men put off till trial was made of the truth of their call. About forty Caciques of the *Tucapelán* faction liv'd about *Paica* a Spanish fort, of whom it was hard to judge whether they ought to be counted friends or enemies, nothing being friendly in them but the name. The governor, thinking open enemies less dangerous than false friends, threatened them with war; but *Valdivia* interpos'd, and prevail'd with the *Tucapeláns* to enter sincerely into unity with the *Spaniards*. War breaking out in other parts, he ventur'd

A Jesuit undertakes to make peace.

with five soldiers among those people, and was honourably receiv'd by the Caciques, where beginning to discourse of the end of good and bad men, one of the *Indians* interrupted him, asking, *Who taught him that doctrine?* *Valdivia* answering, *It was deliver'd by the Son of God?* Then said the heathen, *Your God had a wife, if he begot a Son.* This led him to make such a discourse on the mysteries of the blessed trinity and incarnation, that the infidels were much taken and surpriz'd. After this they ask'd, *How drunkenness could be a sin, since sleep was innocent, and that provok'd man to sleep?* Which being answer'd by telling them, *That drunkenness depriv'd man of his reason, and therefore was more prejudicial than if it took off a limb?* They next put the question, *Why it was forbid to have many wives?* To which *Valdivia* answer'd by asking, *Why women were not allow'd many husbands?* Then they alledging customs against the one and for the other, he shew'd them that custom neither made any thing lawful or unlawful, and with many other reasons and arguments satisfy'd their curiosity. Thus they spent the greatest part of the night in discourse, till about break of day twenty Caciques came from the remoter villages, whom *Valdivia* embracing and discoursing upon the king's pardon and former kindnesses pass'd between them, very much inclin'd to his party. Among the last comers, one *Avila* a Cacique had great authority, who understanding that *Valdivia* affirm'd the God of the christians was the only Creator of all things, in a great rage cry'd out, *He would*

*Pillán* the *Chilenian* God: never allow *Pillán* the God of the *Chilenians*, to be deny'd the power of creating. *Valdivia* inquiring concerning this imaginary deity, *Avila* told him, *That his God did, after death, translate the chief men of the nation, and soldiers of known bravery, to places where there was dancing and drinking, there to live happy for ever. That the blood of noble men slain in battle,*

*was placed about the sun, and chang'd into red clouds, which sometimes adorn the rising sun; but that the common sort and poor people receiv'd no reward from their God. What an unjust God is yours,* said *Valdivia*, *to be so kind to wicked men, and take so little notice of the innocent; for it is plain that many of your nobles and brave soldiers are guilty of much greater crimes than the common sort.* As they were discoursing, some of the *Spaniards* told him, *They suspected treachery design'd against them;* whereupon he withdrew, and slip'd away to the next Spanish garrison. This jealousy prov'd groundless, for those same Caciques came to *Valdivia*, assuring him, *Indians:* *The whole nation was much concern'd that he should suspect them, and promising, if he would go with them to the inland parts of the kingdom, they would be mediators of peace, and guard him.* *Valdivia* accepted of their offer, and travelling over uncouth mountains, bogs and other inaccessible places, at last came to the place where the enemies leaders were assembled to confer together. There the king of *Spain's* pardon, the manner of settling a lasting peace with the *Spaniards*, the propagating of christianity, and other points, were so handled, that it plainly appear'd those people would easily embrace the christian religion, and submit to the king, provided their grievances were redress'd. Three commanders of the *Indians*, not far from the place where this conference was held, engag'd to submit to the *Spaniards*, and several other *Indians* being reconcil'd, *Valdivia* return'd to his people.

At this time there happen'd an accident <sup>A notable accident,</sup> worth relating. After the southern towns of the kingdom of *Chili* were destroy'd, as has been mention'd, several Spanish families remain'd in slavery among the *Indians*, of which number was one *Heredia*, a man of some account, happy in this that he had with him his wife *Marcella* *Grajal* a worthy woman, and two sons grown up to man's estate, and his master was not unkind, as requiring nothing of them but a certain quantity of their made wine, which they carefully perform'd, for fear of being put upon worse labour. It happen'd that *Heredia* falling out with his master, as they were drinking, had very ill language given him, which he not being able to endure, kill'd his master upon the spot. This done he fled, and tho' pursu'd, made his escape, whereto the *Indians* were so inrag'd, that they fell upon his eldest son, and without giving ear to the mother's prayers, or minding her tears, burnt him alive. The mother, with her other son, terrify'd at this sight, fled as soon as it was evening; and to avoid being taken, travell'd by night, retiring to caves in the day, and feeding on such herbs as they found by the way.

A fleet of the *Juits*.

way. After three days they came into a wood, near a little village, almost spent, and expecting to perish by hunger, or at the hands of the *Indians*. A woman of the country going out for wood, found them both, and, mov'd by *Marcella's* tears, promis'd to assist them, provided they were not discover'd by the other women that came on the same account. To prevent such discovery she left them hid in a ditch cover'd with leaves, and returning to bring them some meat, at last fled with them her self, through by-ways, and after three days more, they all arriv'd safe at *Arauco*, a considerable garrison of the *Spaniards*, where the *Indian* woman embraced christianity, and was charitably provided for. *F. Valdivia* having labour'd incessantly to restore peace, and finding that the enslaving of the *Indians* was the cause of all the calamities that beset the country, and that he was not able to remedy that disorder, he apply'd himself to the viceroy of *Peru*, who finding his authority not sufficient to redress the evil, sent him into *Spain*, to the king to procure the abolition of that abuse.

We now come unto the third book of our author, which he begins with the first entering of the *Jesuits* into the kingdom of *Peru* 1568, who prosper'd so well that about the end of the fifteenth century, that province was grown too great to be manag'd by one provincial. Wherefore it was resolv'd to divide it, and in order to it *F. James Torres* was sent to *Rome* to the general, for him to settle that affair, who contrary to what they had contriv'd and design'd in *America*, united the provinces of *Tucuman*, *Paraguay* and *Chili*, into one province independent of *Peru*, and committed the care of it to the said *F. James Torres* as provincial, in the year 1607. This father in his journey through *Spain*, waiting upon the duke of *Lerma*, and being with him at a window, the duke told him that but a few days before it happen'd they threw a whelp, or young puppy, out of that window into the yard below, which was beset with cages, where lions were kept and let out to walk and feed. As soon as the puppy fell it fawn'd upon and wagg'd its tail to one of the fiercest lions, which was taken with it, and carry'd it to his den, cherishing, feeding and protecting it from the other lions, as long as it kept close to the said lion, as if it had been his own whelp, till some time after the puppy venturing out into the yard along, was torn in pieces by the other lions, which as soon as he that had protected it perceiv'd, he leap'd out of his den, and in revenge tore to pieces those that had kill'd the whelp. Then one lion coming out after another, they never gave over fighting till they were

all destroy'd. This remarkable passage I *Tacno* thought worth inserting, tho' it may seem from our present purpose. *F. James Torres* being come into *Peru*, had fifteen companions, most of them men of note, assign'd him for the erecting of his new province, twelve of which were priests, and had all their charges thither defray'd at the expence of his catholic majesty, one half travelling all the way by land, the rest going by sea into *Chili*. The new provincial and his company were every where receiv'd with great honour and affection, every town inviting them to continue and settle there. He visited all the province of *Tucuman*, and from the city of *Cordova* set out to hold a chapter or congregation at *Santiago*, the metropolis of *Chili*. The way thither is a vast cross a plain an hundred leagues in breadth, after which follow the mountains, which rising first in the isthmus of *Panama*, divide the kingdoms of *New-Granada* and *Quito*, and running along the length of *Peru* and *Chili*, to the straits of *Magellan*, like the *Apennine* mountains, divide them from the rest of *America*, and are so high, that the very birds with difficulty fly over them. Some passes there are to go out of *Tucuman* and *Paraguay* to *Peru*, not immediately high, and easy enough; but out of *Tucuman* into *Chili*, there is only one way, and that never passable but in summer, being impassable the rest of the year, because of the intolerable cold, deep snows, and rapid streams of water. *Tapu*, the *Hannibal* of that new world, and second of the *Incas*, leading an army out of *Peru* into *Chili*, is said to have found out or made this way; which is not a little dangerous at the usual season of travelling through, being only a very narrow path shut in on the one side by craggy rocks, and bounded on the other by most frightful precipices, and it often happens that beasts slipping fall down with their riders an unmeasurable depth. Being come to the top of these mountains, which is above the clouds, tho' below all be burnt up with the immoderate heat of the sun, yet there the cold is so intense, and the air so sharp, that very often it parches the skin off those parts which are naked. And very often the continual shining of the snow, which here has a sharper reflection than in other places, blinds people for the present, or causes a violent smarting in the eyes. There are also abundance of *Iguis Fatui* or *Iguis Fæ Will* i'th *Vipers*, playing about, so that they seem to fall upon travellers, and be hid in their cloaths, which terrifies those that are unacquainted with them. The natives attribute these fires to the devil's endeavouring by that means to frighten travellers; but others, better vers'd in philosophical speculations, suppose them to be the mat-

**TACHO.** ter of thunder and lightning, which being every where hemm'd in with cold, and as it were fetter'd, for fear of its enemy, naturally flies to the bodies of animals, in which is something of their natural quality. Whatsoever it is, several persons faint away with it; but what is most to be admir'd, deer, goats, hares, and such like creatures run upon the tops of these mountains covered with snow, as safe, as if they were in the pleasantest fields; and to give you to understand, that nature has surrounded all things of the greatest value with mighty difficulties, the *Guanacos*, creatures which carry the *Bezoar* stone, live most upon these mountains.

*Bezoar stone.*

*Description of Buenos Ayres.* The fathers having held their congregation, *F. John Romero* was sent through *Tucuman*, to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, to be ship'd off for *Europe*, and to found a monastery in his way at that port, which gives us occasion to treat of it. The fort of *Buenos Ayres* was twice built by the first planters of the river of *Plata*, and their numbers being wasted by plague and other misfortunes, twice destroy'd; till the affairs of *Tucuman* and *Paraguay* prospering, in regard to the nature of the soil, the nearness of the river, abounding in fish, and that there was an easy passage through that continent to *Pern*, *Chili*, and *Paraguay*, these reasons mov'd *John Garay* lieutenant to *John Ortiz Zarate* the governor, after routing the natives in the year 1580, to build in the same place where the fort had stood, a city famous for carrying the same name, and for its port, and increasing to this day under the tutelage of the most blessed trinity. This port, though by the laws it be forbid to trade to it, is yet resorted to by several ships from *Europe*, *Africa* and *Brasil*, on pretence of being put in there by storm, or for fear of pirates. The chief commodity this port affords is hides, and beef dry'd in the sun; for the country abounds in pasture, and has excellent meadows for feeding of beefs and horses, whereof there are such vast multitudes, that all the country lying beyond the 34th degree of latitude, as far as the mountains of *Chili* and borders of *Tucuman*, swarms with herds of wild cattle and horses, belonging to no certain owner, all that vast number being multiply'd out of two horses and five mares carry'd out of *Europe*. In these fields there are great numbers of ostriches and wild goats. There is also plenty of a little sort of creatures, less than a hare, not unlike it in shape, but of much more variety of colours, and brighter; nothing in nature is more curious, or seems more delightful to man. It is as tame as beautiful, for it follows upon those it meets, and courts them to make much of it. Yet such is the ma-

*Vast increase of cattle.*

lignity of this beautiful fox, as the *Spaniards* call it, that after all this courtship, when least suspected, it sprinkles them that handle it with its urine, which has such an intolerable stink, that it can neither be wash'd nor wore out with time, but utterly spoils the garment so sprinkled with it. Thus we see there is no rest to be repos'd in fawning beauty, which at last will exhale some damp, and infect those that enjoy it with a stench scarce to be wash'd away with the waters of many tears. There are also other sorts of beasts; but I must speak of the manners of the men, inhabiting those vast plains scatter'd about, and in a wandering manner. That they were vastly numerous, appears by their encountering two thousand *Spaniards*, when the new fort was first built, and destroying many of them; for besides their number, their weapons and gigantic stature were a terror to the first planters, the people towards the streights of *Magellan*, being taller by the head and shoulders, and sometimes by half body than the *Europeans*, wherefore they are often call'd giants. To shew their strength, they thrust their arrows down their throat into their stomachs, and take them out a considerable time after. In fight they fasten stones bigger than a man's fist to a long rope, and having swung them about some time, let them fly with a great force, not as is us'd with a sling, for they let go rope and all. Wherever they hit, they shatter the bones to splinters, and at one stroke knock down man and horse; but whether they are fled up the country for fear of the *Spaniards*, or have been otherwise destroy'd, there are very few to be seen at present in that great extent of land, and those live scatter'd about without villages or houses, feeding upon herbs, and what they kill, being cloath'd in skins, and lying on the ground, both men and women. Nor have they any other shelter against the rain or heat, more than the wild beasts, unless they cover themselves with some little hay; wherever night takes them there they lye, always roving, and always at home. They have little knowledge of God, and consequently think not of worshipping him; yet after death they say they return to the Creator of all things. They celebrate the birth of their children with abundance of tears, saying when they are born they begin to dye. At the funerals of their kindred, instead of tears they shed abundance of blood. They carefully keep the bones of their relations; nor is there any affront they revenge with so much war and slaughter, as for upbraiding of them that the bones of their ancestors have been lost for want of looking after. They honour their dead *Caesars* by killing their slaves, believing

*Manners of the Indians.*

The of C

Valour of the Indians.



ing them to be sent after their masters to serve them. Very few of these *Indians* had been converted since the first coming of the *Spaniards*, and therefore the society could not be well employ'd there, either in regard of them, or of the planters, or of the seamen or traders repairing thither out of *Peru*, *Chili*, *Tucumán*, and *Paraguay*.

The State  
of *Chili*.

After the *Indians* of the valley of *Arauco* had murder'd the governor *Martin Loiola*, and destroy'd the towns in the south of *Chili*, a bloody war ensu'd between the two nations, and the kingdom of *Chili* was divided into two parts; one of which lying towards the south, beyond 37 deg. of latitude, as far as the straits of *Magellan*, and the richest in gold mines, is inhabited by the revolted natives; the other lying next to *Peru* and *Tucumán* is wholly subject to the *Spaniards*. But several ports have been built within the borders of those barbarous people to curb their fury, the chief of which is *Arauco*, seated in a valley of the same name, not far from the sea, in 36 degrees of south latitude, with a garrison of 500 *Spaniards*, and a convenient number of *Indians*. The other forts built in the province of *Jumbeline*, near the river *Bibio*, were defended by six hundred *Spaniards* and *Indian* soldiers. All the country about those forts was inhabited by abundance of heathens living in small villages, and subject to the *Spaniards*, either by force, or of their own accord. Both natives and *Europeans* liv'd dissolute lives, for generally the best of men did not go over to those remote parts; but if any had been good among them, they were corrupted by ill company, or the country it self; for the plenty and delights of the kingdom of *Chili*, are a great snare to those that desire to live voluptuously. The *Indians* were superstitious, obstinate, and refus'd to embrace christianity, or converse with the *Spaniards*, for fear of being oblig'd to work. To remedy these disorders, the society sent three fathers into these parts, whose actions since we do not intend to give an account of, we will proceed to speak of the place. The port of *Arauco*, as was said above, is seated in a valley or plain of the same name, from which not only those that inhabit it, but all the other revolted *Indians* of *Chili* are call'd *Araucans*, as all the people of the united provinces are call'd *Hollanders*, or those of the *Spanish* provinces *Flemmings*, taking their names from the principal towns.

Valour of  
the *Araucans*.

These *Araucans* have made themselves famous throughout the world, being inferior to none of the *Indians* for valour, for they have these many years oppos'd the *Spaniards* to assert their liberty, and still hold out in their full vigour, to the vast expence of the kings of *Spain*; exercising the *Spanish* troops

in those parts, that they may be always *Techo*. enur'd to war, to keep under those vast dominions they possess. The plain of *Arauco*, which is almost twenty leagues square, when first the *Spaniards* enter'd it was inhabited by the following numbers of *Indians*. *Tucupellan* commanded three thousand men, besides women and children; *Ongol* four thousand; *Caicutienpec* three thousand; *Paicave* three thousand; *Millarapuc* four thousand; *Levo*, *Pure*, and *Limaia* each six thousand; *Levopia* and *Geleno* one thousand; besides other *Caciques* who had smaller numbers. But the chief of them all was *Petuguitu* lord of six thousand *Indians*. Of all which number, when the *Jesuits* came into that valley, which was in the year 1608. there were scarce two thousand, as *Horatius Becchius*, one of them, testifies. But out of the plain, beyond the river *Bibio*, there was a far greater multitude kept under by the *Spaniards*, either thro' fear or affection. What the number of the enemies might be, could never be understood, none agreeing in their accounts. The whole nation is of a strong constitution of body, and what is wonderful, fit for war, or country labour, tho' addicted to a thousand vices. Whatever weapon every one chooses in his infancy he is oblig'd to use all his life-time, and forbid any other, lest by changing their arms, they prove expert at none. Being all divided into small parties, when an enemy invades them, the heads consult together whether they shall be for war or peace. A decree once made after three days consultation, fastening all the while, like the ancient *Gauls*, is inviolable. Those that perform any notable exploits, are prefer'd to commands, the rest of the soldiers are maintain'd at the publick charge. *Lipinus* tells us in his political examples, that the *Araucans* us'd to choose their leaders only by their strength of body, trying it with a great log of timber, which he that could carry the longest, was thought fit to undergo the burden of government. But this folly is laid aside; for at present being continually train'd in war by the *Spaniards*, they choose their commanders by the experience they have of their valour and conduct. Tho' the *Spaniards*, before the revolt, had spread their colonies throughout all the kingdom, yet very few of the natives were converted. One obstacle there was from the *Europeans*, viz. that the avarice of private men enslaving them, and the ill example of their lives, created an aversion to christianity. On the *Indians* side there were many; first their living dispersed in the mountains for fear of the war, and not in towns, the multiplicity of concubines they keep, the authority of the *Caciques* against whose will there is no persuading of their subjects; their wicked custom of revealing

Their  
manners.

Obstacles  
to their  
conversion.

**T**ETCHO, velling to such a degree, that they would invite the country round about, and two or three thousand of them meet at a feast, where they committed all lewdness and debauchery; their fond opinion that baptism was mortal, occasion'd by the custom us'd at first to allow it to few till they were near death, because of their intolerable vices, the confusion of continual war, the great number of wizards or negromancers among them, and their stupidity, occasion'd by their natural indulg'd vices. For the better preaching of the gospel to these people, at the instigation of the fathers, the governor drew the inhabitants of abundance of villages, into large towns, where much good was done upon them, till the *Spaniards* again oppressing them they slipt away and dispers'd as they were before.

and of  
S. Mary.

Island of  
Chiloe.

Opposite to the shore of *Arauco*, at fifteen miles distance is the small island of S. Mary. The inhabitants ador'd a God they call'd *Yucuebu*, had general meetings at certain times, which they call'd *Requets*, where, after much debauchery, they made priests, consulted the devil, and perform'd many detestable ceremonies; *Chiloe* an appendix of the kingdom of *Chili*, is an island opposite to the southermost part of the said kingdom, fifty leagues in length, and seven in breadth, in the shape of an arm bow'd, contrary to what geographers formerly represented, who made it square. The south part of it is parted from the continent by a very narrow sea, and the continent itself, as if loath to part with the island, makes a bay to receive it. All the country is uneven, mountainous, woody and marthy, subject to extraordinary cold, lying all beyond forty three degrees of south latitude. The summer season is interrupted by such cold storms, that it is scarce to be distinguish'd from winter. The frosty winds and little warmth in autumn hinder the fruit from ripening. If you turn up the earth a span deep, you presently come to a red sand, so mighty dry that it destroys any seed, and yet the woods produce such tall trees, that *Ovalle* with good authority tells us, several lengths of boards are cut out of them. The soil being unfit for ploughing, was formerly planted. This unfruitfulness of the air and land, makes them think they have a good crop, when they have five for one of an insipid sort of roots. On the north end of this island, some few *Spaniards* that escap'd, being the remains of those towns destroy'd by the *Araucans* when they revolted, built a little town call'd *Castro*, which the *English* pirates plunder'd in the year 1600, when it was but just built, after which scarce thirty inhabitants were left. In another of the neighbouring islands, which we shall soon

describe, they erected a fort, kept by a garri-son of eighty *Spaniards*, who being in want of all things, are often burdesome to the poor natives. Most of the people live upon what the sea casts afloat, and therefore before the coming of the *Spaniards*, only the coast was inhabited; but since, for fear of oppression, the islanders betake themselves to the inland, and hide themselves in the inaccessible parts of mountains, living in miserable want on pretence of liberty. They wear about their waist a sort of net-work made of shells, all the rest of their bodies being naked. When the island was first discover'd there were reckon'd in it fifteen thousand families. One only ship sails thither in a year, sent by the governor of *Chili* to supply the *Spaniards*; all the rest of the year they see none. In those islands they use boats made of three boards, sew'd together with a thick cord, and caulk'd with the bark of trees steep'd in water. There is no going in these boats, which they call *Pyraguas*, without great danger. But the peril is yet greater from the revolted *Chilenians*, who live all along that coast opposite to the island. So that considering the danger of the sea, the climate and nature of the soil, and the poverty of the natives and *Spaniards*, it is not only the farthest part subdu'd, but the miserablest of all that new world.

About the island *Chiloe*, lye forty small islands, not very well peopled, and at a small distance from one another, discovering the high tops of their woods, which look like so many bands of arm'd men placed about to guard the chief island. The sight is pleasant, did not the sudden storms rising there disturb this satisfaction, for it is very dangerous to sail upon the *Archipelagus* of *Chiloe* amidst all those islands. The natives live after the same manner as those of the great island, and follow the same customs, the soil being alike, but that being less conversant with men, they are more stupid. After the revolted *Chilenians* had destroy'd the towns on the continent, eighty *Spaniards* built a fort and settled upon one of these islands. Most of these islands are miserably dispeopled, and the reason the natives give for their being so few, is because they are stole away by pirates, contrary to the known laws, and carry'd over to the continent, as slaves. All the islands are subject to the governor of *Chiloe*.

Because we have often occasion to speak of the oppression of the *Indians*, vulgarly call'd *Personal Service*, it will be proper in this place to inform the reader with the nature of it, and to shew how much it was to the advancement of christianity and the honour of the kings of *Spain*, that it was

abio-

What the  
personal  
service in  
the *Indies*  
was.

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casts ahoar, and  
ing of the Spani-  
inhabited; but  
the islanders be-  
nland, and hide  
le parts of moun-  
want on pretence  
bout their waist a  
of shells, all the  
g naked. When  
over'd there were  
and families. One  
year, sent by the  
ly the Spaniards;  
ey see none. In  
ats made of three  
with a thick cord,  
k of trees steep'd  
ing in these boats,  
as, without great  
s yet greater from  
who live all along  
e island. So that  
f the sea, the cli-  
foil, and the po-  
Spaniards, it is not  
odu'd, but the mi-  
world.

oe, lye forty small  
peopled, and at a  
another, discover-  
their woods, which  
nds of arm'd men  
chief island. The  
the sudden storms  
satisfaction, for it  
upon the Archipe-  
those islands. The  
ne manner as those  
d follow the same  
alike, but that be-  
men, they are more  
lited Chilenians had  
the continent, eigh-  
rt and settled upon  
Most of these islands  
ed, and the reason  
ir being so few, is  
away by pirates,  
laws, and carry'd  
as slaves. All the  
the governor of

on occasion to speak  
e Indians, vulgarly  
it will be proper in  
the reader with the  
w how much it was  
christianity and the  
Spain, that it was  
abso-

Cuito or  
Chicuito  
province.

absolutely abolish'd and taken away. It is the ancient practice in America to reward such Spaniards as have serv'd well by making them chiefs of a greater or lesser number of Indians subdu'd by war, or that have voluntarily submitted. This custom, introduced soon after the discovery of the Indies, continues till this day. The design of their catholick majesties was, that the Indians should pay some acknowledgment to these men, according to the nature of the place, instead of the tribute due to themselves. This thing was prudently contriv'd by the kings, if the Spaniards who are lords over Indians, and call'd *Encomenderos*, had made use of their authority with any moderation, and it would have prov'd much more profitable both to the crown and private persons. But many of them abusing that limited power given them by the king, and not satisfi'd with their yearly contributions, oblig'd the Indians to serve them in person, with their wives and children, which they call'd *Personal Service*, and the nature of it was such, that those who were forced to it, could get nothing, or fly any thing was their own. They were carry'd from their own villages to serve their masters in their country or city houses, without any wages. Nay very often, upon some frivolous pretence they were sold away. For this reason a great part of the Indians of *Cbili* had revolted, as had the *Calchaquines* in the province of *Tucuman*, and other nations about *Paraguay*. Whensoever the Indians were exhorted to embrace christianity, they stood out obstinately, alledging it was the way to lose their liberty; and even those that had been converted fled to recover it, hiding themselves in mountains, and bogs rather than live in slavery. Whole provinces suffer'd under this calamity, for though the emperor *Charles* the fifth, and king *Philip* the second, sent repeated orders to suppress the personal service, yet some governors for their own interest suppress'd them, and others were not able to oppose the avarice of the Spaniards, who obstinately stood up for it. *Philip* the third repeated what his fore-fathers had done, putting out another edict for suppressing it. The first that obey'd were the *Jesuits*, who dismiss'd all the Indians given them by several persons, allowing them a competent reward for the time they had serv'd them. Some few conscientious persons follow'd their example, the rest became their enemies, refusing to quit those advantages they made by enslaving the Indians, though never so unjustly.

*Cuito*, or *Chicuito* is an inland dependance of the kingdom of *Cbili*, at the foot of the mountains, on the side of *Tucuman*, seated,

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as it were, without the walls of the king-*Techo*. dom, two hundred leagues in length, the breadth uncertain. There are in it three small towns, thinly inhabited, the chief whereof is *Mendoza*, seated close to the pass of the mountains that leads into *Cbili*, and built by *Peter Castello*, famous for taking *Pizarro's* standard in the civil wars of *Peru*. The name it had from *D. Hurtado de Mendoza* marquis of *Canete* viceroy of *Peru*. The copper of this place is in good esteem. The whole country is famous for nothing so much as for fruitfulness, caused by the melting of the snow in summer on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, and convey'd down at pleasure in trenches to the plain below, which produces such abundance of corn, wine, and other fruits, that it supplies the neighbouring countries. The days in summer are cut very short by the continu'd ridge of mountains, rising up to the skies so close by, which a few hours after noon hide the sun, and are impassable either way, unless when the spring is well advanced, even at which time there is danger in passing them. Yet the natives were forced to travel that way almost naked every year, without regard to sex or age, to serve in the further parts of the kingdom; where many lost their limbs, and others perish'd with cold, besides many other hardships imposed on them, without any care of their souls. The Indians of this province live either in marshes, or in the plains, wandering without any certain place of abode, carrying about mats which are all the houses they have. They feed for the most part upon what they kill, they fish, and make bread of the roots of rushes growing in the marshes, dy'd in the sun. They also dig holes in the ground with small mouths like coney-burroughs, to live in. It is usual among them, like the *Jews*, to sell their daughters, and the husbands make use of those they buy, as slaves, and wives. See more of them at number 65.

The town of *St. Michael* contended long of the with that of *Santiago*, about which should town of be metropolis of *Tucuman*; for the former *S. Michael*. of them was founded in the year 1550 by *John Nunnez Prada*, three years before the latter; but having been destroy'd by an inundation, not many months after it was built, and the town of *Santiago* successfully rais'd out of its ruins, the superiority remained with this last, and the honour of antiquity, with the other. In the year 1564, *Diego de Villaroel*, nephew to *Francis de Aguirre*, governor of *Tucuman*, rebuilt the town of *S. Michael* in a more lasting manner than it was before, by order of king *Philip* the second. After it was thus rebuilt *Gualah* the most powerful Indian in those

8 F

parts

**TECHO.** parts assaulted it, slaughter'd a great number of the inhabitants, set fire to it, and had utterly destroy'd it, but that they say the apostles St. Simon and Jude, whose festival it was, terrify'd the Barbarians with terrible lights, so that they were put to flight, *Gualan* slain, and those apostles ever since have been receiv'd as patrons of the city. Since then it has stood many assaults of the *Calchaquine Indians* without ever being shaken. Its situation is adjoining to those mountains, which run through all south *America*, cutting it in two by a continu'd ridge from north to south. All about it, the tops of mountains, the bottoms of valleys, and the plains are beautify'd with country houses, farms and woods, abounding in all sorts even of *European* fruit; and there is such abundance of all other sorts of fruits of the earth, that the first planters call'd the territory about St. Michael's town the *Land of Promise*. But this most delightful country, like the garden of the *Hesperides*, instead of a dragon, has cruel tygers, which often devour men and beasts; that we may adore the wonderful providence of God, which every where gives prosperity and allay of trouble, lest too much felicity should make man forgetful of his misery. Formerly the natives exercis'd themselves in warlike manner, to destroy these tygers, and they that kill'd most, which was made appear by producing their green skins, were honour'd and preferred above the rest. The *Indians* kill them after this manner. They hold a thick truncheon by both ends, and as the tyger comes up to them, give it her to fasten on; and the nature of them is such, that they never quit that they first seize. When it has fasten'd on the truncheon with teeth and talons, the hunter, turning it about, overthrows the tyger, which done, before it can recover its feet he strikes it into the belly, and bowels it. The *Spaniards* inhabiting the town of S. Michael, being of peaceable dispositions, are more addicted to gallantry than arms, unless provok'd. They are well dispos'd to piety, and love and honour their pastors, which made them ambitious of entertaining the *Jesuits*, whom they receiv'd with great affection, and built their church at the publick expence. The society had formerly been all over the valley of the *Calchaquines*, a part of this country, where they gain'd few souls, by reason of the barbarity of the people, yet all was quiet till the *Spaniards*, during the peace, baptiz'd many of them without any examination, and then, on pretence of causing them to be instructed in christianity, sent them away by force into slavery. These wrongs provoking the *Indians*, the war broke out between them and the *Spaniards*,

and spread throughout all *Tucuman*, and the *Spaniards* themselves being then at variance, it was fear'd the *Indians* might make use of that advantage to destroy them; when the fathers of the society offer'd their service to procure an accommodation with the natives. Two were sent, and so well receiv'd by those people, that in a very few days they converted great numbers, erected eleven chappels in so many villages of the *Indians*, and concluded a peace between them and the *Spaniards*, upon condition no wrong should be done for the future.

*Guaira* is a large country, part of the province of *Paraguay*, bordering on *Brasil* of *Guaira*. eastward, and shut in by the river *Parana* on the west. Its breadth from the plains of the *Urwaicans* in the south, to the woods and inaccessible marshes in the north, is not certainly known, but reaches a vast extent of ground. This country lying for the most part under the tropick of *Capricorn*, is by reason of its immoderate heat and moisture, no less fruitful of provisions than of diseases, the very same causes producing plenty, and fevers. It is much fitter to be the habitation of wild beasts, and serpents than of men. Yet if we may credit *Guzman*, when the *Spaniards* first came into *America*, there were three hundred thousands *Indians* in this country, who liv'd for the most part about the river *Huiba*, *Tibaxiva*, *Paranapana*, *Pirapo* and *Parana*. The ruins of abundance of villages, caus'd by sickness, and driving away of the *Indians*, which appear thick and almost contiguous, make this account credible, tho' at this time scarce the fifth part of that number remains. The inhabitants of two little *Spanish* towns are the posterity of those, who being sent into *Paraguay*, settled in this part about the year 1550. The whole nation lives miserably, having no bread but what is made of the root *Mandioza*, or any flesh to eat but that of wild beasts. They kill abundance of elks, whose hoofs are reported to be good against the heart-burning. This province is famous for a sort of stones, which nature, after a wonderful manner, produces in an oval stone-case, about the bigness of a man's head. These stone-cases lying underground, when they come to a certain maturity, fly like bombs in pieces, about the air, with much noise, and scatter about abundance of very beautiful stones; for they are bright, some of the colour of amethysts, others violet colour, some a grass green, some like glass, some red, and some sharp like diamonds; in fine, such is their beautiful variety, that to see the lustre of the stones one would take those cases for caskets of jewels. But these stones are of no more value than our *Bristol* stones; but before this was known, the new planters of the province

Nature of the country.

Hunting of tygers.

Peace made by the *Jesuits*.

Grat flow

Curr. stat.

Spring. fauce.

Singles

all Tucuman, and being then at various times might make destroy them; when they'd their service with the nation to well receiv'd a very few days, erected eleven villages of the Indians between them in condition no wrong done.

Province of Guaira. The province of Guaira, lying on the river Parana from the plains of the north, is not a vast extent lying for the sick of Capricorn, great heat and moisture, more provisions than of causes producing much fitter to be cast, and serpents may credit Guaira first came into a hundred thousands to liv'd for the most part, *Tibaxiva, Parana*. The ruins of caus'd by sickness, Indians, which contiguous, make at this time scarce remains. The Spanish towns are being sent into part about the year on lives miserably, that is made of the flesh to eat but that kill abundance of. This province is Curious, produces in stones, bigness of a man's lies lying under a certain maples, about the and scatter about beautiful stones; for the colour of amethyst, some a grass some red, and some fine, such is their the lustre of the se cases for caskets nes are of no more es; but before this anters of the province

Granadillo  
flower.

Cuembe  
fruit.

Strange  
fruit.

Snakes.

vince of Guaira, are reported to have abandon'd their colony, after gathering a great quantity of these stones, with a design to return into Spain, hoping to make estates of them. But being stopp'd by the way, they were sufficiently laugh'd at, as they well deserv'd. There are here abundance of trees that yield balsam. The woods produce various sorts of berries and other fruits, as does the rest of Paraguay. The most remarkable among the flowers, is that they call *Granadillo*, which represents the instruments of our Saviour's passion, and of it comes a fruit about the bigness of a common egg, most delicious, when the rind is taken off, so that it is an excellent emblem for the mediation of our Saviour's passion, which after the first appearance is wonderful delighting. Next to this the *Cuembe* is a great dainty, being long and sharpish at both ends, and pretty large; when the rind or shell is broke there appear yellowish kernels, like those of a pomegranate, which are good to eat. The fruit is perfectly sweet, unless you chew a very small seed there is within those kernels; for when that is broke it causes a sharp pain in the jaws. An excellent emblem of human pleasure, which yields gall, under the appearance of honey, when close follow'd. The same seed if it falls upon the tops of trees whose bark is rotten, will send down a sort of winding fibres, like ropes, to the earth, which being fed by the moisture of the ground, take root, and run up again like the ivy, producing abundance of fruit. There are also abundance of dates, not so sweet as those of *Africa*; yet they make a sort of wine of them, and pottage, and eat the pith of the palm instead of bread, for want of better. Among their wild cattle, the swine are famous, because, contrary to the nature of all other creatures, their naval is on their backs, which if you do not cut off, as soon as ever the beast is kill'd, it all corrupts immediately. There is vast abundance and variety of bees, but never to be brought to the house, their wax can never be made white; the honey is generally good, and fit to make methaglin. The snakes are here more mischievous than elsewhere, and there being no remedy against them, they destroy many men. Some there are, which darting themselves off the trees, twist themselves about the bodies of men or beasts, and unless immediately cut in pieces, soon kill any creature, and devour it by degrees. These snakes when they happen to gorge themselves, lay their bellies to the sun, which corrupting together with what they have eaten, they find themselves restor'd to their former strength. Another sort of them lye retching their vast jaws on the banks of rivers, casting out foam, which

deludes the fishes, whom they thus allure and devour. Lastly, another sort springing from marshes or lakes, catch at a certain sort of birds, which defending themselves, when they find themselves hurt, presently eat a sort of herb call'd *Macagua*, from which the birds themselves take their name, as an antidote, and, as soon as well, return to fight. The battle is pleasant to behold, for the *Macaguas* make use of their wings as bucklers, their beaks as a weapon, and the snakes lie intrench'd in water, securing themselves by their winding motion, so that they do not easily kill, nor are they soon kill'd. The province of Guaira has little in it remarkable, besides what has been here mention'd, which are common to the neighbouring countries, and monks and tygers. There was very little christianity in this country even among the Spaniards, till the Jesuits came among them. From the mountains of Brazil, there runs down into this country the river *Paranapan*, almost as great as the *Paraguay*, and falling into the river *Parana*, after it has receiv'd the *Tibaxiva*, *Pirapus*, *Ilangua*, and other lesser streams. Both sides of it are cover'd with great variety of trees, but the natives value the cedars most, which are so tall and of such a vast bulk, that there are vessels made out of single trunks of them hollow'd, which carry twenty oars. The Jesuits sail'd up this river, till they came to the place where the *Pirapus* falls into it, where they gather'd the natives, and built a town, which they call'd *Our Lady of Loreto*, and four miles from that another, to which they gave the name of their father *St. Ignatius*; a third call'd *Liberaca*; and a fourth, the name whereof we have not. These places being built, the Spaniards resorted thither to carry away Indians for their service, but the fathers oppos'd 'em; and the king's visitor happening at that time to come into the country, they obtain'd an order of him to secure the inhabitants of those places from all molestation from the Spaniards. This was the original of the towns of *Loreto* and *St. Ignatius*, which continue to this day, and have been the occasion of building eleven more in that province of Guaira.

About the same time that the Jesuits labour'd, as above, to bring the Indians of Guaira into towns, that they might be the better instructed, which was in the year 1610, those people, that inhabited the country between the city of the Assumption and the river *Parana*, opposite to the *Paraguay*, who till then had oppos'd the Spaniards, began to shew themselves much more tractable than before; for *Arapizanduvius*, a man in great authority among them, went to *Ferdinand Arias*, governor of Paraguay, pro-

Loreto and  
St. Ignatius  
towns.

The people  
of Parana.



**W**ECHO. promising, *If they might have priests sent among them, he with his confederate Caciques, would build a town, and submit to the king of Spain.* The governor, overjoy'd at this offer, went directly to the bishop, to demand of him priests to bring those people to the faith and obedience of the catholic king: the bishop refus'd to send any, because those *Indians* were mortal enemies to the *Spaniards*, and were cannibals, and could by no persuasions be prevail'd upon to alter his resolution. *F. James Torres*, provincial of the *Jesuits*, finding the bishop not to be mov'd, sent *F. Marcellus Lorenzana*, then rector of the *Assumption*, and the only one he had that could speak the language, with his companion *Francis Martin*: these having travel'd thirty leagues into the country, passing the marshes with incredible difficulty, stay'd in the first village of the *Indians* they came at, where they gather'd the people of all the neighbouring country, and mark'd out a place for building a town, labouring day and night to bring those barbarians to the worship of the true God; but it was a work of time and much patience, to change the manners of those harden'd heathens. These *Indians* follow'd their debaucheries in the new town at certain seasons, painting their naked bodies to look the more terrible, and spending two or three days and nights together without sleep, in drinking, laughing, and roaring, after such an extravagant manner that the fathers did not question but they should one time or other perish at their hands in these drunken fits. Nothing but patience could conquer this perverse custom, which at length in some measure prevail'd, and many of 'em sued to be baptis'd, which was not granted 'em till after good trial of their forsaking their barbarous manners. It happen'd that the fame of so many persons being baptis'd spreading abroad, a *Paranian* woman, with her daughter, stole privately from her husband to get an opportunity to be admitted to the christian religion; the *Indian*, enraged at his wife's flight, and laying all the blame on the priest, stirr'd up his country people to take arms to revenge his quarrel. Being got together, they first vented their fury on the *Mahomas*, friends to the *Spaniards*, and having made a great slaughter of them, drove away a great number of captives, to make their inhuman feasts of man's flesh. *F. Lorenzana* hearing of it, sent in the name of the *Spaniards* to complain of that action, and demand the restitution of the prisoners.

They answer'd, *They had already eaten a good number of those Mahomas, and were fattening up the rest for slaughter; threatening the father, and sending him word, It would be a merry day when they had his skull*

*to drink out of.* This was a sufficient declaration of war, and therefore the converts taking up arms for their pastor, chose *Aniagara* for their commander, which discover'd the pride and arrogance of that nation; for *Aniagara* being a man in great repute among his people, and puff'd up with his election, spoke to them in this haughty manner: *You had good reason, gentlemen, to chuse me for your commander; who am well known far and near to be singularly brave: me all the country about fears and loves, for my noble exploits in war; for, who has so often routed the enemy but Aniagara? who has baffled their designs but Aniagara? who has brought away the spoils of their commanders but Aniagara? Aniagara is my name, equally lov'd and dreaded by my enemies; for tho' I have overcome many, yet after the victory I have us'd such moderation, as to kill none of the prisoners, being no less famous for my mercy when action's over, than for my bravery in war.* This speech was receiv'd with great applause. Soon after a company of *Spaniards*, with three hundred of their confederate *Indians*, came to their assistance, and *Aniagara* joining them, they all march'd into *Parana*, where they routed a thousand *Indians* without the loss of a man. This done, the *Spaniards* return'd home, *F. Lorenzana* refusing to go of *S. Ignatius* with 'em as they desir'd, but chusing to remain expos'd to any dangers among his converts. His followers encreasing, he built the town and church in a more convenient place, and gave it the title of *S. Ignatius*; but the *Paranians* being enrag'd by their last defeat, and the hatred to christianity inflaming their rage, studied the ruin of the new town, and joining in far greater numbers than before, their bodies painted after their barbarous manner, pass'd the river, and plunder'd the country about the town. The news hereof being brought, 'tis hard to express what a dread seiz'd all men, for the *Spaniards* were gone, and the enemy more numerous than the townsmen. *F. Lorenzana* prepar'd his people for fight and death, performing all the duties of a good pastor, and his converts offer'd themselves to stand by him. In the mean while their spies brought an account, that the enemy, in a pannick fear, had retir'd into their own country. 'Twas remarkable at this time, that *F. Francis*, of *S. Martin*, companion to *F. Lorenzana*, as so terrified with the news of the approach of the barbarians, that he ran distracted, but afterwards recover'd.

At the same time the society sent missionaries among the *Guaicureans*, of whose manners we'll here give a short account. This nation is divided into two parts, the one call'd *Guaicuru*, t'other *Guaicuruti*: both

A town built.

War among the Indians.

Their way of war.

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 is but Aniangara?  
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 of

of 'em live on the banks of the river *Para-*  
*guay*, opposite to the city of the *Assumption*,  
 towards the king-dom of *Peru*, dispers'd  
 about, without any settled habitation; but  
 they are most numerous about that part  
 where the river *Pikomayo*, which comes out  
 of the mountains of *Peru* and falls into the  
 sea. They carry about their towns at plea-  
 sure, having no houses but mats, which  
 they set up where they think fit, like pens  
 for sheep. They undertake sowing, but  
 will not addict themselves to it, but live  
 by fishing and hunting. They use them-  
 selves, from their very infancy, to eat all  
 manner of venomous creatures, and feed on  
 worms, snakes, tygers, and lions, with-  
 out any hurt. The women are cover'd af-  
 ter a barbarous, but modest manner. The  
 men, to look the more terrible, daub rather  
 than paint all one side of their bodies, from  
 head to foot, with stinking colours: instead  
 of a beard, they fasten a stone a finger  
 long to their chin; anoint their hair with  
 a bituminous matter. make themselves bald  
 by art, pull up all other hairs about their  
 body, and make themselves monstrous by  
 scarrifying their faces, making deformity  
 the standard of valour. Their chief de-  
 light is drunkenness and war; but they go  
 thro' cruel trials to attain to the title and  
 dignity of soldiers; for those that aspire to  
 this honour are to testifie their courage to  
 the rest by enduring most hideous tortures,  
 boring their legs, thighs, tongues, and  
 other parts of their bodies with an arrow,  
 and if they flinch, or complain the least,  
 amidst their sufferings, they're excluded the  
 honour; which that they may be the surer  
 of obtaining, the very children use to run  
 thorns and briars into their flesh for sport  
 and pastime. All their youth they practise  
 running, inure themselves to labour, and  
 are train'd in their way of fighting. They  
 pay a greater honour to their commander  
 than any of the other *Indians*, receiving  
 what he spits in their hands, standing about  
 him when he eats, observing his least mo-  
 tions, and clearing the ways for him:  
 drunkenness, or the desire of satisfying  
 their natural cruelty, is often the cause of  
 war among 'em: they are continually en-  
 gaged against the *Cbiriguans*, *Alipons*,  
*Frontons*, and other nations like themselves  
 in manners. Of the prisoners taken in war,  
 they sell or kill all that are grown up to  
 man's estate; the younger fry they breed  
 up after their own way. They love dark  
 nights to fight in, having no force but in  
 the fury of their onset, not knowing how  
 to stand together in bodies. Having done  
 mischief by night, they retire to their lurk-  
 ing places, over horrid marshes and bogs,  
 all scatter'd about like tygers, thus, keep-  
 ing many spies abroad, they not only op-

Their way  
 of war.

pos'd the *Spaniards* during almost a whole *TECHO*  
 century, but very often made great slaugh-  
 ter of 'em, continuing in their ancient super-  
 stitions. They pester'd the city of the *As-*  
*sumption* from its foundation, committing  
 robberies and murders, and wasted all the  
 places about it with continual excursions.  
 They carried away the sister of *Ferdinand*  
*Arias* the governor, and several other *Span-*  
*ish* women, into miserable thralldom. In  
 fine, they did a thousand mischiefs without  
 scarce receiving any, being no less dreadful  
 in peace than war. They were defended  
 and born out in the savage way by the  
 marshes of the country, many rivers not to  
 be forded, thick woods, and bogs full of  
 reeds, where they hid themselves, and by  
 the multitude of vast snakes bred by the  
 heat of the sun in that wet soil. This First intro-  
 country, tho' separated from the city of *duc*  
 the *Assumption* only by the river *Paraguay*, *ty*.  
 had not as yet been visited by any priest,  
 because of the barbarity of the people;  
 however, *F. James Torres*, provincial of the  
*Jesuits*, ventur'd to send thither *F. Roch Gon-*  
*zales* and *F. Vincent Griffins*. They pass'd  
 the *Paraguay*, and having travel'd three  
 days over the marshes, were carried before  
 the commander of the *Guaicureans* as spies,  
 but he finding to the contrary, defended  
 them from any violence. Being ignorant  
 of the language, they were forced to make  
 use of a converted *Indian* interpreter, all  
 whose words they diligently set down, to  
 learn the language; which those ignorant  
 heathens observing, they concluded they  
 had mark'd down the roads, their strength,  
 and other circumstances, to bring the *Span-*  
*iards* upon them, for which reason they  
 had resolv'd to murder them; and had  
 done it, but that *F. Gonzales*, by the help  
 of his paper, recited to 'em, in their own  
 language, those mysteries of our faith which  
 he had taught them by the interpreter;  
 whereat they were so well pleas'd, that the  
 commander order'd a cottage of mats to  
 be set up for them, and became better in-  
 clined towards christianity. After spend-  
 ing a month there, the fathers propos'd  
 the building of a town, which the *Indians*  
 (who love novelty) easily consented to: be-  
 sides, their captain, upon the publick faith  
 given him, ventur'd himself with *F. Roch*  
*Gonzales* into the town of the *Assumption*;  
 and returning from thence, the provincial  
 went with him, being carried over rivers in  
 a sort of boat made of a hide, and over  
 marshes on the backs of *Indians*: at length  
 he came to the place appointed for the  
 town, where the scatter'd *Indians* were ga-  
 ther'd, and set up their huts of mats. The  
 fathers liv'd among them in a miserable  
 manner, feeding upon every thing as they  
 did, except venomous creatures. 'Twas  
 8 G very

**TECHO.** very difficult to curb the vices of those barbarians, for 'twas terrible to hear their drunken cries at night. In the day they would perform some hellish ceremonies, and many lewd lascivious actions, in the face of the sun. In fine, the fathers labour'd there long with little success, for all those nations of *Indians* which do not sow, nor dwell in settled places, are more vicious, barbarous, and obstinate than the others, and less fit to receive the faith.

The provincial having done such good service about the town of the *Assumption*, sail'd down the rivers *Paraguay* and *Plata*, to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, where arriv'd nineteen fathers out of *Spain*. sent by his catholic majesty to propagate the faith in those parts, with orders that all so employ'd should be maintain'd at his cost. About the same time *Ferdinand Arias*, late governor of *Paraguay*, prevail'd with the provincial to settle some fathers in the town of *Santa Fe*, eighty leagues above the port of *Buenos Ayres*. This town was built by

Town and country about *Santa Fe*.

Their manners.

*John Garay*, not long before that of *Buenos Ayres* was rebuilt, upon the banks of the river *Quilonisa*, just where it falls into the river of *Plata*, for the convenience of ships coming out of *Europe*. The *Indians* often fell upon the new planters, but without success. 'Twas formerly very remarkable among the other customs of the natives, that the women were not allow'd to paint their bodies with a clay colour till they had tasted human flesh. If they had not prisoners taken in war, they would cut the dead bodies of their own people in pieces, and give 'em to the young maids to eat. They planted trees over the graves of their ancestors, and adorn'd 'em with ostrich feathers, and met there at certain times to lament. Before the coming of the *Spaniards*, they liv'd upon fishing and hunting, but afterwards the herds of black cattle multiply'd so fast, that they serv'd not only to feed the natives, but in some measure to enrich the *Spaniards*. It appears upon computation, that from the year 1611 till 1613, a million of oxen were drove from the country about *Santa Fe* into the kingdom of *Peru*, which have yielded a prodigious profit. This is all that was remarkable concerning the town of *Santa Fe*, besides the hopes of bringing those barbarians to the faith of Christ; for on that side next *Paraguay*, runs the plain of *Calchaquina*, almost an hundred leagues along the river of *Plata*, and is inhabited by most inhuman people. In this town the fathers settled a small house, and *Ferdinand Arias*, the late governor, with his maiden daughters, carried earth upon their shoulders at the building of the church.

A college at *Cordova*.

The fathers had now more work upon their hands than 'twas possible for them to

go through, by reason of the great multitudes of infidels, and vast extent of the country; besides, many places desir'd they would settle among them, but they were too few to fix in every part. Their chief seat was at *Cordova*, where they settled a college and noviceship, chusing rather to breed up their young religious there, than in *Chili*, the delights of which country might render them less able to undergo the toils they were to be expos'd to. Many thousands of infidels were converted in the country about this town, whence the provincial went over the mountains to *Chili*, and in the metropolis of that kingdom, at the request of the magistrates, founded a college for the education of youths, under the care of the fathers. The provincial returning into *Tucuman*, *Luis Quinones*, governor of the province, sent to acquaint him, That certain straggling soldiers having kill'd some Caciques of the *Diaguitas*, those people were again revolted; and desir'd he would send some fathers to pacifie 'em. *John Darius* and *James Baroa* were appointed to manage that affair, who passing thro' *Aconguinea*, betwixt the cities of *S. Michael* and *London*, and the places adjoining to the wood of *Joncavil*, converted abundance of infidels. They entering the territories of the *Diaguitas*, the success answer'd their expectation, those people freely condescending to their proposals, and they on their side engaging to have them secur'd against all outrages of the soldiers. Thus they visited the *Guassans*, *Malleans*, *Haacaffes*, and *Andalgas*, inhabitants of small towns, baptizing five hundred of 'em. Those fathers we mention'd before, that had been among the *Guaicureans*, having met with very little success, were about to be recall'd, but the commander of those people desiring they might be continued, and delivering up his son, then twelve years old, to be bred a christian, they were continued, in hopes of bringing those barbarians to more civility: in the mean while the fathers in *Guaira* and *Parana* continued indefatigable in their labours, in the latter of which provinces they found the natives so wild, and unfit for the yoke of Christ, that they thought fit to forbear for some time, till by degrees they could by fair means and good offices reclaim and bring 'em to something of humanity: in the first their endeavours sometimes seem'd to answer expectation, but then, on a sudden, those unsettled infidels would slip away from the towns to their usual lurking-places, and fall to their ancient practices, seizing upon such other *Indians* as they could come at, to sell 'em for slaves, and spending whole nights celebrating their victories, and performing many superstitious acts. *F. Romero*, one of the

Another in *Chili*.

Cour *Para*

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Chili.

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*F. Romero*, one of  
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the missioners there, enquiring into their  
religion, found that they ador'd the moon  
and the constellation call'd *Charles Waine*,  
and had no other worship. During these  
transactions, father *Valdivia* had been in  
*Spain*, to solicit for the *Indians* of *Chili*;  
and having obtain'd all he went about, re-  
turn'd into that kingdom, where he pre-  
sently had a conference with fifty *Umes*  
(so they call their great men) and after a  
short time concluded a peace with the *Lei-*  
*cureans* and *Pureneans*, *Ulablame*, one of  
the principal *Indians*, answering for the rest.  
He pres'd to have some women belonging  
to *Aganamon*, another prime leader of those  
revolted people, restor'd to him, they be-  
ing then prisoners: 'twas granted that a  
daughter, who was an infidel, should be  
return'd, but for his concubines, and ano-  
ther daughter, who were become christians,  
he could not prevail. Peace being settled,  
*Ulablame* took three fathers along with him,  
to persuade the remoter *Indians* to submit  
themselves; but when they came to his  
town call'd *Leicura*, *Aganamon*, dissatisfied  
with what had been done, enter'd the said  
town by force, killing some *Umes* that had  
been for the peace, and railing at the *Je-*  
*suits*, because his women had been detain'd,  
first dash'd out their brains with clubs, and  
then hew'd their dead bodies with other  
weapons. Thus died *Martin de Aranda*,  
*Horatius Becbius*, and *James de Montalva*,  
for refusing to restore the infidel his concu-  
bines. After this murder, most of the *In-*  
*dians* fell from the peace, many factions,  
tho' wholly innocent, fearing they might  
suffer among the guilty; yet eight thou-  
sand *Caracatans* continued friends to the  
*Spaniards*. Because we do not pretend to  
write the actions of the fathers, but only  
what is historical, or relating to the de-  
scription of those countries, we have pass'd  
by the greatest part of the fourth book, ac-  
cording as our author divides his work,  
only relating what is to our purpose, and  
omitting all that relates only to the society.  
All we can add out of the said fourth book  
is, that about fifty leagues from the city of  
the *Assumption*, up the river, is an *Indian*  
town call'd *Guaramba*, consisting of about  
nine hundred families, part christians and  
part infidels, and remarkable for nothing  
but being very unhealthy; and about ten  
miles from it are two others of about three  
hundred families each; the names of 'em  
are *Pitave* and *Nirgua*.

Country of  
*Parana*. Tho' somewhat has been said before  
concerning the people of *Parana*, that re-  
lating only to such as live between the town  
of the *Assumption* and the river of that  
name, we must in this place add something  
of that country in general. The river *Pa-*  
*rana* runs five hundred leagues, as has been

said above, before it falls into the ocean, *Teciro*,  
thro' a mouth eighty leagues in breadth,  
and has not undervel'dly the name of *Pa-*  
*rana* given it, as representing the greatness  
and majesty of a sea in moist parts. This  
makes me dissent from *Joseph d'Acosta* and  
others, who reckon the river *Maranbaa* the  
greatest in *America*; tho' the same *Acosta*  
affirms the mouth of *Maranbaa* is but thirty  
leagues wide. The *Parana*, as well as the *Wood con-*  
*Silaro* in *Naples*, has the occult quality of *verted into*  
converting wood into stone, so that 'tis fre-  
quent to see sticks, as far as they lie under  
water, petrify'd. *Ferdinand Arias*, the go-  
vernor, set up a pillar thus metamorphos'd  
or converted, in the porch of his house:  
besides, it every where breeds fishes of a  
vast bulk; and *F. Ruiz* affirms he has seen  
some thicker than an ox towards *Guaira*.  
'Tis frequent to see sea-wolves swimming  
in shoals, lifting up their heads above wa-  
ter when a man whistles, and then ducking  
again, as if they sported. The *Capibara*,  
an amphibious creature, is often kill'd by  
people as they sail along. In the middle of  
the river *Parana* lies an island eighteen  
leagues in compass, all round very high,  
and encompass'd with lofty rocks, so that  
'tis inaccessible, unless in some places, where  
the land is a little lower, but those parts  
beset with many dangerous whirl-pools.  
This place was formerly the refuge and  
fortress of the *Poanensians*, against incur-  
sions of the *Spaniards*, for which reason the  
inhabitants, besides their natural fierceness,  
were of a warlike disposition. Both the  
shores, as well where they are plain and  
open as where they are wooded, produce a  
great multitude of beasts and birds: there  
are every where great flocks of birds and  
parrots, but these last are three times as big  
as those of *Asia*, and their feathers so beau-  
tified with variety of colours, that the na-  
tives formerly, for their sightliness, ador'd  
'em as gods; but they're only commenda-  
ble for their colours, as never learning to worship'd  
talk. That sort of bears is very remarkable  
ble which are call'd *ant-bears*, because of  
their eating those insects; their head is ve-  
ry long, the snout twice as long as a swine's,  
and sharper, out of which they draw a  
tongue like a spear, as 'twere out of a  
scabbard, and thrust it into the ant-hills,  
and draw it back with a great booty of  
ants sticking to it. These ants, which are  
as big as the top of one's finger, being  
toasted over the fire, are reckon'd by the  
natives and *Spaniards* as dainty food. For-  
merly there were no great towns upon the  
*Parana*, but the people liv'd dispers'd in vil-  
lages. Both sides of the river, running a  
vast extent, are inhabited by several na-  
tions, all, except the *Guairanians*, as like  
one another in manners and barbarity as  
they

TECHO. they are remarkable for diversity of languages. Among 'em all, I think those very remarkable who feed upon a certain sort of earth, dry'd at the fire, and then dipp'd in the fat of fish; so that there is little cause to admire they should think so little of heaven, who find so great a relish in earth. That part of the *Parana* which is next the ocean, for the space of two hundred leagues from the mouth, is by the *Spaniards* call'd the *River of Plate*, the reasons given for this name varying; for some will have it to be so call'd from *Gavot's* plate, as was observ'd in its place; others, from the first planters seeing the natives on the shores as they sail'd along in their ships cover'd with white shells, which at a distance glitter'd like silver. Some will have this name given it because the lakes and rivers, on whose banks the silver-mills are set at work in the province call'd *Los Cbarcas*, in *Peru*, roul down, after a prodigious long run, a great quantity of good silver oar among the dross there wash'd away, which quantity is so vast, that those who know how to judge of metals guess there have been forty millions of silver so carried away by the rivers *Tarajia* and *Picalmayo*, from the first working in the mountains of *Potosi* till the year 1611. And for quick-silver, us'd in the working of the plate, the quantity is so great, as serves to poison the waters of those rivers for a vast space, so that they breed no fish, that venomous mineral destroying all living creatures: but it is a folly to assign this for the reason of calling the river of *Plate* by that name, because 'twas certainly so call'd before the mountains of *Potosi* were known to the *Spaniards*. Whatever the reason of the name is, the *Parana*, as far as 'tis call'd the river of *Plate*, that is, till the *Paraguay* falls into it, has three *Spanish* towns on it, which in some measure keep the *Indians* about the shore in subjection. Towards its source, for almost the space of two hundred leagues, it runs thro' *Guaira*, and other countries in a manner subdued by the *Spaniards*. That part of *Parana* which lies between *Guaira* and the river of *Plate*, and is opposite to the *Paraguay* for almost an hundred leagues, still holding out, chose rather to be harass'd by war than to submit to a foreign yoke. Those people baffled the forces of *Ferdinand Arias*, a brave commander, and other governors, tho' they consisted of considerable numbers of *Spaniards*, and the choice of their confederate *Indians*. They almost ruin'd the *Spanish* town of *S. John*, seated on the conflux of the rivers *Parana* and *Paraguay*, by their continual excursions. They often invaded and terrified the converts made by the *Jesuits* at the town of *S. Ignatius*. There

Name of  
the river of  
*Plate*.

Fierceness  
of the peo-  
ple of *Pa-  
rana*.

was no going out of *Tucuman* into *Paraguay* without a guard, the *Paranenians* lying upon all the roads, and killing and robbing all they met. But none so cruel as those, who having been converted, were fallen off; for they being incens'd by the service the *Europeans* requir'd of 'em, continually set the people of *Parana* against their masters; so that, for several reasons, the name of the *Paranenians* was equally terrible to the *Spaniards* and their *Indian* confederates. No priest had been among them as yet, that is in the year 1615, except only *Roch Gonzales*, who ventur'd among 'em two years before, with no other weapon but the cross, being sent by *Marcellus Lorenzana*, having made way to this mission by founding the first town fifteen leagues from the river. This same year 1615, the same *Roch Gonzales*, after travelling some time thro' an uncouth country by land, came to a lake call'd *Appuen*, running into the *Parana*, and call'd by the *Spaniards* *S. Anne*. About it dwelt abundance of infidels, with whom he so far prevail'd, that they desir'd him to mark them out ground to build a town, which he did, and converted many families; but the *Franciscan* fathers, who had preach'd there before, demanding to have that part left to them which they first took in hand to instruct, he freely quitted it to them, being sensible there was work enough elsewhere for the society. *F. Gonzales* went up the river by boat, tho' much oppos'd by the *Indians*, who would not hearken to his proposals, about thirty leagues, and came to *Iiapua*, where four *Caciques* resided with a considerable number of their followers, who after some difficulty submitted, promising to erect a new town in that place provided the society would promise to settle among them: he thereupon hastened away to the town of the *Assumption*, to negotiate the finding of some fathers to settle there. As soon as he was gone, the *Paranenians* on the upper part of the river, being wrought upon by an apostate, made war upon the *Iiapuans*, for having entertain'd *F. Gonzales*, and attempted to pull down a great cross he had set up, but were oppos'd by the *Iiapuans*, who, tho' still heathens, stood about it and repuls'd 'em, tho' much more numerous.

*James Marino Negron*, governor of *Paraguay*, and the river of *Plate*, being dead, *Francis Gonzales de Santa Cruz*, brother to *F. Roch Gonzales*, was deputy governor till the king should appoint another. He thinking 'twould be an honour to him that the province of *Parana*, so often attempted without any success, should be reduced during the time of his government, and by means of his brother, having conferr'd with

*Iiapua*.

*Iiapua de  
S. Ann  
town.*



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Itapua.

S. Anna  
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with F. Marcellus Lorenzana the rector, granted a patent in the fullest manner he could, by which he permitted the society to build as many towns as they thought fit upon the rivers Parana and Uruaica, to appoint magistrates, and erect churches. F. Lorenzana provided all necessaries for building a new town, and so they dismiss'd F. Gonzales, who return'd to Itapua, where he arriv'd upon Christmas-Eve. Itapua is a place equally distant from the mouth of the river Paraguay and the borders of Guairara, being about sixty leagues from each, and standing high on the south side of the Parana; a lake that runs into the river makes a port before it. There were Indians enough in the country about, to make a handsome town. The Itapuan Caciques, who had gain'd renown by defending the cross, gave F. Gonzales, when he return'd, a house made of mud and straw, after the Indian manner. He having fitted up one part of 'a for a chapel, what by his own means, and the assistance of some Indians his emissaries, drew a considerable number of the neighbouring people to come and join with the Itapuans. F. James Boroa being come to keep F. Gonzales company, after he had been there four months alone, they both joyfully mark'd out the ground for the new town, built a house, and church big enough to contain the multitude, made huts for the Indians, whom they persuaded more by their example than words, brought clay and straw, cut timber, and made it fit for the work, being in such want of provisions, that they accounted an insipid sort of wild thistles, and bread made of the pith of trees, as dainties; they using to make some pottage of a sort of herbs which only the parrots were wont to eat before, those people in a harmless way of jesting call'd the fathers parrots. The church being built, the dedication was celebrated in the best manner they could; and a picture of the blessed Virgin being set up therein, not only the said church, but the town, took the name of the Annunciation, under which name it continues to this day. By the contrivance of the devil, 'twas soon given out, that the fathers were no priests, but spies in disguise, to betray the people, under a shew of religion, to the Spaniards; and, that they brought the plague with their pictures and books. These things alienated many of the Indians from them, till being by degrees undeceiv'd, they became more familiar with the fathers. Having built this town and the other we mention'd before, call'd S. Anne, on the lake Appuen, which he left to the Franciscans, F. Gonzales return'd to the city of the Assumption, where having given an account of all he had done to Ferdinand Arias, who

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was again appointed governor of ParaguayTucuman. and the river of Plate, he endeavour'd to dissuade him from going into those parts, as yet but in vain. The governor therefore, having sent the father before to dispose the Indians to receive him, set forwards with fifty Spanish soldiers. Being come to the river Parana, he cross'd it in small vessels provided by F. Gonzales, and when they arriv'd at Itapua, made great rejoicing, the governor saying to his men, *Let us give God thanks on our knees, that by virtue of the cross alone we now tread that ground, which neither my sword, nor the valour of the Spaniards, could conquer in so many years.* Then having appointed commanders of the Indians, and charg'd them to be respectful to the fathers, he set out from the port of Itapua the same day he came thither, covering his fear with the pretence of business, because the report went, that the inhabitants up the river were alarm'd at his coming, and their boats began to appear. As he was sailing down the river, about three hundred Indians appear'd on the steep banks arm'd with clubs and darts, and had certainly attack'd the governor, but that Gonzales, by his authority, with-held their commander: his name was Tabacambius, who being ask'd by the governor to accept of a general's staff, in his catholick majesty's name, by which he might be known to be commander of the Paransians, haughtily answer'd, *He had been their commander before, and should be so still, without a staff.*

All the country that lies between the Of the river Maranon, otherwise call'd of the Ana-Guairazones and the Parana, which are above a thousand leagues distant from one another, makes almost one half of South America, all which country the Guairanians inhabit; and, not so satisfied, passing these bounds, possess all that lies between Paraguay, Parana, and the borders of Peru. But within that compass there are several other nations to be found, differing from the Guairanians in language and manners, and whom they out of their natural pride call slaves: with them they have continual bloody wars, fattening the prisoners they take, and eating 'em. At these feasts they take new names to express their warlike exploits. They live in little scatter'd villages, which are under the command of Caciques, known either for their noble descent or popular elocution. In time of war they chuse a general of known valour; but know nothing of regular troops, keeping their ranks, foreseeing dangers, chusing a proper time or ground, improving opportunities, or laying up provisions. For the most part they fight as chance offers the occasion, being hot the first onset, but cowardly if suffer'd

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TO

**TACHO.** to cool. In fight they use clubs and arrows, and make their bodies hideous with dismal colours before they engage. They make no use of lime, stone, or tiles; but build houses of clay and straw, either round or long, and for the most part so large that one of 'em makes a village. Matrimony is at will, for every one has as many wives or concubines as he can keep or get. The *Caciques* claim a right to the handsomest maids in their village, whom they easily give up to be deflower'd by their followers or friends. To have to do with their daughters-in-law is frequent, and no shame to put away wives, or be cast off by them, 'Tis look'd upon as a great crime to turn any stranger whatsoever out of doors. They entertain their guests with weeping, and long praises of their ancestors, but their sorrow ends in laughing and feasting. They cover their nakedness with a very short garment made of shells or feathers put together, the rest of their body is naked. They sow *Indian* wheat, and several sorts of pumpions, beans, and roots. When any person, particularly those of any note, among them dies, 'tis not to be express'd what horrid howling the women make in all parts, swelling their cheeks, they by fits give hideous shrieks; they sometimes cast themselves headlong from high places, tear their hair, batter their fore-heads, turn the dead bodies, embrace and talk to 'em, bow their sides, open their hands, lay the carcases into great pots, and, believing the souls are buried with the bodies, cover the faces of the dead with concave dishes, that the souls may not be stifled, to shew they had the same master, who pray'd that the earth might lie light upon those they lov'd. They adore no God, but are addicted to the superstitions of wizards and such impostors. Their manner of conjuring varies according to the several countries; but they almost all agree in giving the greatest honour to those forcerers who are most familiar with the devil. Those that aspire to the knowledge of their magick arts are to mortify themselves with most severe fastings and other afflictions, which whilst they are performing they live alone, naked, and without washings, in dark and remote places, eating nothing but a sort of pepper and *Indian* wheat roasted, affecting to look ghastly, with their hair uncomb'd and clotted, their nails grown to a shameful length, and other filthy circumstances, and bring down their bodies with other rigorous practices, till having almost lost their strength and senses with fasting, they call upon the devil and see him. 'Tis their business to do mischief, by darting bones, coals, and hairs undiscover'd, which things being depriv'd by their charms, and piercing the bodies

of men, make them waste away, and sometimes die, unless he that did the mischief, take the cause out of the parts so affected. There's another sort of magicians, who do no harm, and only boast of their familiarity with the devil, and pretending they can discover secrets and things done a great way off, to them that ask, which they learn of the hellish fiends. In some countries, if a woman will be a witch, she must pretend to chastity, for if once she proves with child, she's no longer respected. The devil never appears to these conjurers without a hideous and frightful noise. There's also a sort of forcerers who pretend to physick; 'tis also their business to talk much, lye without measure, and for the most part do nothing: they suck the sick bodies, and pretend to spit out some corrupt substance, as if they had suck'd out the cause of the distemper. The whole nation minds dreams Superstitious, and superstitious observations to a madness. They think the touch of an owl will make them lazy, because that bird among them does not lie much, nor build a nest. If a woman eat a double ear of millet, she believes she shall be deliver'd of twins. They exercise a young maid, the first time she has her courses, after a strange manner; she's put into the hands of a lusty brawny woman to be thus exercis'd; she's forced to abstain from eating flesh till her hair before, cut off, grows down to her ears. 'Tis a crime for her to look upon men; if she happens to see parrots, they think she will be talkative ever after; she's made to sweep the house, to carry water, walking apace without stepping out of the way, to pound corn in a mortar, never to be idle, and to do all the business of a good housewife. This exercise of theirs *John Rbo* reckons among their many virtues. In short, they are of opinion the young girl will behave her self all the rest of her life as she does about the time of her first courses. Women with child abstain from almost all sorts of food; they eat no elk, lest the child should be born with a swollen nose; if they eat small birds, they fancy they shall bring forth a small child. They are forbid eating any of those creatures whose qualities they fantastically imagine may hurt their children. The laws the men are to observe when their wives are with child are these; not to kill any wild beast, not to make arrows, clubs, or handles to any other instruments; to abstain from eating flesh fifteen days after the wife is brought to bed; to unbend the bow; not to lay snares for birds; to lie at home idle, and fasting till the infant's navel-string be cut: if they do any thing to the contrary, they must expect some great mischief will follow. When the new-born babe happens

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Children  
names.

to be sick, the kindred, men and women, ab-  
stain from such diet as they believe would  
hurt the infant, if it eat of it. As soon as  
the children are born, they give them names  
agreeable to the beauty and imperfections  
of the body. If it be black or swarthy,  
they call it crow; if it have a hoarse cry,  
frog. I omit much more of the same  
stamp, lest it nauseate the reader. Yet it  
is found by experience that this nation, not-  
withstanding this folly and barbarity, if it  
be well taught, is more apt than any other  
people of *America* to embrace and retain  
the christian faith, and to learn mechanic  
trades, and a good measure of civility.

Error of  
the Guai-  
curians.

Many following chapters affording but  
little matter to our purpose, we will only  
collect out of them, what may be worth  
relating, giving this advertisement of it,  
that the reader may find many short re-  
lations put together, which have no particular  
connection among themselves. The fathers  
of the society preaching among the *Guai-  
curians* were not so successful, as in other  
parts, those *Indians* looking upon baptism  
as mortal to whosoever receiv'd it. The  
cause of the error was, that by reason of  
their many vices this sacrament was not  
granted them till they were in the utmost  
extremity, and therefore most of them that  
receiv'd it, immediately dy'd; which those  
infidels imagin'd to be the effect of bap-  
tism. But time and experience undeceiving  
them, they afterwards came in more freely  
to embrace the faith. It happen'd that a  
sorceress among them lying desperately sick,  
and having try'd all the arts of their im-  
pofors for her cure, and been supply'd during  
the time of her sickness with some better  
sort of sustenance by the fathers, overcome  
by their charity, turn'd off her *Indian* charm-  
er, and desir'd to be baptiz'd. As the fa-  
ther was about complying with her desires,  
a multitude of *Indians* flock'd about him,  
begging he would not bestow that favour  
on the worst of women, who was us'd to  
do much mischief; for if he should, accord-  
ing to his custom, bury her in the chappel,  
she would turn into a tyger and destroy all  
about her; and therefore it was better to  
carry out her carcase when she was dead,  
into some remote solitary place, lest she  
should do more harm dead, than she had  
done alive. This they said, because the  
*Guai-curians* are of opinion, that the souls  
of wicked persons transmigrate into wild  
beasts, which are mischievous in propor-  
tion as they were when living. But the fa-  
ther undeceiving them, baptiz'd her, shewing  
that the virtue of baptism was such, when  
rightly apply'd, as to make the blackest  
souls brighter than the sun, and send them  
into eternal bliss. At *Cordova*, in the pro-  
vince of *Tucuman*, about the year 1516, a

monastery of nuns was founded by *Eleanor Texedo*,  
which was the first in those parts. She  
design'd them for *Dominicans*, and ac-  
cordingly they wore that habit, and the  
monastery was erected under the invocation  
of *S. Catherine of Siena*, but there being  
none of the order to begin it, nor any book in  
use of the rule, they follow'd that of *S. Teresa*,  
with some little alteration, which afterwards  
bred great contests; for some would have  
it that their vows were void, because they  
were design'd for *Dominicans*, and follow'd  
the *Carmelite* rule, besides other circumstan-  
ces that made them a confus'd sort of an  
order; but after much debate the thing was  
refer'd to pope *Paul* the fifth, who order'd  
the present nuns should remain for the pre-  
sent as they were, under the rule they had  
taken their vows to; but for the future o-  
thers admitted should be reduc'd to the rule  
of *S. Dominick*, and so the monastery con-  
tinued as had been at first design'd.

Great hopes were conceiv'd of advanc-  
ing the faith, throughout the province of *Jaguapua*,  
by the faith, throughout the province of *Jaguapua*,  
*Parana*, and introducing it into that of  
*Urvaig* or *Urvaica*, when the governor  
*Ferdinand Arias* had like to disturb all, by  
designing a conquest on the latter of those  
places, from which all the persuasions of  
the fathers could never divert him, till the  
*Spaniards* refusing to follow him in that  
dangerous and unprofitable expedition, ob-  
lig'd him to alter his resolution. *F. Gon-  
zales* being eas'd of this fear, which would  
have alarm'd the *Indians*, and utterly de-  
stroy'd all that had been done for their con-  
version, went away to a place the *Indians*  
call *Jaguapua*, where he persuaded a good  
number of the scatter'd natives to come to-  
gether and settle. *Tamboaiens*, Cacique of  
an island opposite to *Jaguapua*, increas'd  
the number of those people, and by his ex-  
ample many more flock'd thither out of  
the woods, who all together built a town,  
*F. Gonzales* marking out the ground for  
them. *Jaguapua* is about four leagues from  
the town of *Itapua*, and twelve from that  
of *S. Ignatius*; and therefore there being no  
fathers to settle at *Jaguapua*, those of the  
other two places took it by turns to go over  
thither to instruct the *Indians*, where they  
made very many converts. At this time  
*Arapizanduvius* the *Indian* commander of  
the town of *S. Ignatius*, taking some dis-  
gust at the fathers, gather'd a number of  
malecontents, and stirring up the *Paranen-  
sian* infidels, went away to join *Tabacam-  
bius*, who, we said before, had refus'd to ac-  
cept of the general's staff from the gover-  
nor of *Paraguay*. These two great men re-  
tiring into a peninsula made by the river  
and a lake, call'd by the natives *Ma-  
racanais*, struck a terror into the new towns  
of *Parana*, and the fathers were much  
afraid

**TECHO.** afraid lest they should by their great authority draw many converts to abandon the faith. Therefore *F. John de Sales*, before they were settled in their designs, ventur'd to go from the town of *S. Ignatius* to them, to persuade them to peace, where he had doubtless been kill'd, had not an old woman put them in mind that the *Spaniards* would revenge his death, which made the infidels hold their hands; and the father taking that opportunity to speak to them boldly, his words had such force, that *Arapizandureus* immediately beg'd pardon, and drawing together his followers, forsook *Tabacambis*, returning to the town of *S. Ignatius*. At the same time *F. Joseph Cataldinus* attended by a small parcel of converted *Guaicanians*, ventur'd through the country among the *Pirapocansians*, among whom he spent ten months, and having converted seven hundred of them, caus'd them to remove out of their woods, and build a town not far from that of *Loreto*. Very little good was done among the *Guaicanians*, their obstinacy and stupidity prevailing above all the labours of the fathers, and therefore many advis'd they should be given over; but father *Peter Romero*, who had spent some years among them, and brought them to live together in a town, was for overcoming them with christian patience and kindness. The plague raging among them, they all dispers'd and fled to the woods, many of them that had taken the infection dying by the way. *F. Romero* never ceas'd following them, and prevail'd with some few at the last gasp to receive baptism, and when the virulency of the plague was over, brought back those that had escap'd it to the town. They abusing that health they had been restor'd to, according to their natural inclination, presently engag'd in unjust wars, making slaves of the prisoners they took, spending the nights in hideous cries, giving up themselves to drunkenness, and celebrating their new moon festivals with superstitious madness. This year 1617, *F. John de Viana*, who had been sent procurator to *Rome*, arriv'd at the port of *Buenos Ayres* with thirty seven fathers he gather'd by the general's order, for a supply to the province of *Paraguay*. This addition made the province so flourishing, that the provincial now settled nine colleges in it, and seeking which way he might enlarge either among the *Spaniards* or *Indians*, soon found an opportunity, the *Spaniards* of *Essecho* and the *Calchaquina Indians* admitting the fathers to settle among them. *Essecho*, otherwise call'd *Nuestra Senora de Talavera*, is a small town, very conveniently seated for the relief of those that travel out of *Peru*, to the river of *Plate* and *Paraguay*, through *Tucuman*,

37 Jesuits arrive at Buenos Ayres.

Essecho town.

and it had increas'd beyond all the other cities of *Tucuman*, but that the unwholesomeness of the air, which is hot and moist, obstructed its thriving. This place being in want of priests, made provision for and receiv'd five of the fathers.

The valley of *Calchaquina* above-menti-<sup>Valley of</sup> on'd running thirty leagues in length, from north to south is but of a small breadth,<sup>nd.</sup> and almost enclos'd on both sides by the high ridges of mountains that make the borders of *Peru* and *Chili*; the two angles of it look, the one towards *Salta*, the other towards *London*, two small towns of *Tucuman*. Many monuments of the conquest make it still appear, that the inhabitants of this valley were formerly subject to the *Ingas* kings of *Peru*; and those people, to this day, have a veneration for the very name of the *Ingas*. It is most certain, there are mines of rich metals in this valley, but as yet they could not be discover'd, those *Indians*, for fear of being forced to dig, concealing the gold and silver, which have been the cause of so much mischief. It is reported, that in the night there is a sort of creature seen there, which casts a mighty light from its head, and many are of opinion that light is caus'd by a carbuncle; but as yet this creature could never be taken or kill'd, because it suddenly baffles all the designs of men, leaving them in the dark by clouding that light. The natives of this valley, ever obstinate from the first coming of the *Spaniards* of *Tucuman*, have defended themselves and their families with such resolution, that the women have been seen to force their husbands back to fight, driving them with fire-brands, when they saw them give way or fly; and when their strength has fail'd them, rage still prevailing, rather than fall into the hands of their enemies, they have either run upon their swords, or cast themselves headlong from the tops of mountains. *Alonso Barfena* had formerly pacify'd these people, which peace they had often broke at pleasure without regard to articles, either running into open rebellion, or doing harm under shew of a false peace. During those intervals of peace, such as they were, some fathers of the society made several excursions among them, wherein they found much more difficulty than success. But these excursions for a short time<sup>Father goes to reside there.</sup> turning to no account, it was believ'd their obstinacy might be overcome by continually inculcating the doctrine to them, or at least it would be some curb to their frequent revolts. Therefore *F. James Torres* having this year 1617 obtain'd an allowance of six hundred pitoles a year from the viceroy of *Peru*, for the support of the society, he resolv'd to fix two constant seats of the society

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society in this valley, and accordingly sent four fathers with full power from the governor and bishop, to build towns and churches, and do all other things for the well governing of those people as they should think fit. The *Indians* were willing enough to entertain the fathers, not so much for the sake of religion, as because their numbers being much diminish'd during the late wars, they now thought themselves superior to the *Spaniards*, and therefore were glad to have an honourable opportunity offer'd them of putting an end to the war. For this reason the principal men went out to meet the fathers, offering their assistance towards building of their houses; and having carry'd the fathers about the neighbouring villages, diligently built a chappel in a convenient place, with cells made of mud and straw. This place in gratitude to cardinal *Ferdinand Borromeus*, was dedicated to *S. Charles Borromeus*. After some time *Christopher Torres*, who was superior of that mission, leaving two fathers there, went away with a companion to the further part of the valley, where he settled another mansion, under the invocation of the blessed virgin *Mary*, the *Indians* assisting as the others had done. From these two seats they were in continual motion over all the valley, endeavouring to propagate the faith, but with very little success, the customs of those barbarous people being too opposite to christian religion, and therefore it will be proper in this place once for all to give an account of their manners. It was suspected that these *Catebaquines* were descended from the *Jews*, because at the first coming of the *Spaniards* among them, many of them had the names of *David* and *Solomon*; besides, the eldest among them affirm'd, that their forefathers us'd to circumcise themselves. It was also a custom among them to raise seed to their dead brothers; and their garments hanging down to the ground gather'd up with a girdle, shews something of a *Jewish* custom. This conjecture is confirm'd by the opinion of *Joseph d'Acosta*, and other writers, who affirm the *Americans* to be descended from the *Jews*. The whole nation, like the *Jews*, is superstitious even to madness. They frequently adore trees adorn'd with feathers, so that what was said formerly of the synagogue may be well apply'd to them. *Thou dost fall down under every flourishing tree*. They worship the sun as their prime God, the thunder and lightning as next to him. They pay an honour to heaps of stones, which are the monuments of their ancestors, which is a further instance of their *Jewish* extraction. They give much honour to sorcerers, whom they use as physicians and priests, being most notable impostors. These men live in solitary hermita-

Vol. IV.

ges, conversing with the devil, or at least *Techo*, pretending so to do. It is the duty of these priests to bring up others to their hellish practices. They practise all sorts of extravagancies with these novices, and are as mad and abominable in these their filthy debaucheries, as can possibly be imagin'd from the worst of men, inflam'd with continual drunkenness and rage. When they are heated with wine, they fall upon one another in a riotous manner to revenge past injuries, battering one another's heads with their bows. In these drunken frays, it is an everlasting shame to shun a stroke, or put it by with the hand; but it is reckon'd the greatest honour to receive several wounds, to shed much blood, and to have their faces made hideous. In the heat of their madness, the priest muttering many words, consecrates the skull of a hind, stuck full of arrows, to the sun, praying for a good harvest; this done, he delivers the skull to another, who receiving it, becomes head of the next mad revels. Thus the prime men of the nation giving the token round, spend their lives in raving mirth. At their sacrifices they are daub'd with the blood of beasts by the forcerer. But they are never so mad as at their funerals. All the kindred and friends repair to the dying man's house to drink together day and night, as long as the distemper lasts. They encompass the sick man's bed with abundance of arrows stuck into the ground, that death may not dare to approach for fear of them. As soon as the party is dead, they bewail him with the loudest cries they are able, place all sorts of meat and wine about the dead body, which is seated on a chair, make fires, and burn a sort of leaves instead of frankincense. To move compassion, both men and women shew the dead persons goods to the multitude; whilst others, dancing and leaping after a distracted manner, clap meat to the mouth of the dead carcase, as if it were to eat it, and then swallow it themselves. Having spent eight days in these and such like follies, they bury the body, casting into the same grave with him, his dogs, arms, horses, and other goods, besides abundance of garments offer'd by his friends. This done, they burn the house he died in, that death may never return thither again. Having spent a whole year in mourning, they celebrate the anniversary with the same ceremonies. Instead of mourning cloaths, they paint their bodies black. That nothing may be done amiss, they make use of a master of the ceremonies. They believe no body dies a natural, but all violent deaths, which error makes them always full of jealousies and fighting; the devil, to promote war, sometimes whether truly or falsely laying their deaths at some persons

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**TECHO.** doors by the mouths of their forcerers. They think the souls of their friends after death are converted into stars, whose brightness is proportionable to the high post they had in this world, or the brave actions they perform'd. On festival days they make themselves crowns of feathers of several colours. Their hair, which reaches down to the waist, they wreath with ribbons like women.

**Garments.** Their arms are cover'd as high as the elbow with silver or copper plates, which is useful for shooting with their bows, and some ornament to them. The chief men of the nation wear a silver or copper ring within a diamond or coronet of some other matter about their heads. Youths are forbid having to do with women, till they are emancipated or made free by their forcerers. Maidens wear cloaths of several colours, which, when they have lost their maidenheads, are chang'd into one colour only. The factions among them are almost continually destroying one another in warlike manner. The women are most powerful to reconcile the two jarring parties, and produce peace, those most barbarous people easily granting any thing at the request of those that bore and suckled them. It was reported there were at this time about thirty thousand natives living in abundance of villages; but I find even those that went to instruct that nation differ about the number. But this they all agree in, that the *Calchaquines* are easily induc'd to imbrace the christian faith, as they are afterwards ready without any cause to renounce it. Not one of those, who had been formerly baptiz'd, liv'd at this time like a christian, but resided promiscuously among the heathens, following the customs of their forefathers. For which reason the fathers agreed, that for the future none should be baptiz'd, but at the point of death, or after several years trial. Infants were more easily admitted to baptism. Because the ancient deprav'd customs of the *Indians* were to be abolish'd, before the laws of christianity could be introduced, therefore the fathers spared no labour, but, without regarding the danger of death, cast down idols wherefoever they came, exclaim'd against their funeral rites, and hindred there being performed about any body that had been baptiz'd. Besides, they took much pains to dissuade many from the opinion they held that nothing was a sin, and therefore they had no need of confession. But tho' the fathers gain'd few proselytes among that perverse people, yet it was a comfort to them that they often baptiz'd dying infants, and sometimes others grown up, and kept that nation from revolting openly against the *Spaniards*, and warring among themselves. Besides the usual allowance

Women  
peace-makers,

for the subsistence of the fathers, the king sent bells and church-stuff for both those mansion-houses.

We now enter upon the sixth book of our author, and find nothing in his two ment of a first chapters, but little excursions of the *Jesuits*, and therefore wholly omitted; in the third we find this following account of a *Brazilian* impostor, who repaired to the town of *Loreto* in the province of *Guaira* attended by a man-servant and a woman. All the way he came this forcerer had practised his frauds, and as soon as he arriv'd at *Loreto*, the residence of *F. Cataldimus*, he there gather'd the multitude by the river side, and putting on a garment of feathers us'd by forcerers, and shaking a sort of rattle made of a goat's skull, crying after a mad manner, he proclaim'd himself absolute lord of death, seed and harvest, that all things were subject to his power; that he could destroy all things with his breath, and create them again; that he was three in persons, and but one God. For, said the blasphemous wretch, *I begot my companion* (that was his man) *with the splendor of my face, and this young woman proceeded from us both, whom we equally love, making use of her by turns.* This monster of a man astonish'd those ignorant people, and he, the more to terrify them, roar'd after a hideous manner, that he would make a mighty slaughter, and presuming to rave before *F. Cataldimus*, shaking his rattle, skipping, repeating his blasphemies against the blessed trinity, and declaring, if they durst attempt any thing against him, he would destroy their converts and their priests. The father justly provoked, order'd those that were next to seize him, and being deliver'd to the officers, the sham God was well whip'd; and tho' he cry'd out after a few stripes, that he was no God, nor any thing different from any other vile fellow; that all his divinity was vanish'd, and he had no power in his breath; yet the lusty converts who had him in hand left not off, till they had given him an hundred lashes by tale, the boys laughing and making sport at him. The two following days he was again publicly scourg'd, that he might three times abjure his being God three in persons. This punishment brought him to a right understanding; for his man and woman being detain'd at *Loreto*, he was banish'd the province for a time, which being expir'd he return'd and became a christian. This happen'd about the year 1618, at *Plague*, which time a raging plague ran through all the province of *Guaira*, which abundance of the new converts believing would be less contagious if they were dispers'd, they fled in shoals from the new towns, into their ancient woods, so that the last of the three towns

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A wild  
people.

OF S. Tho-  
mas the  
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the Indies.

towns erected in that province was utterly ruin'd. The heathens, to whom some of them fled, endeavour'd to persuade them quite to abandon the towns, and restore themselves to their ancient liberty; adding threats to their persuasions, and declaring there was nothing they so earnestly desir'd, as to have one merry bout at drinking out of a priest's skull. However, when the plague abated, the fathers, with the assistance of the most faithful of the converts, began to gather up those that had surviv'd out of the woods and marshes, some travelling one way, and some another; and having brought together all the converts, they by continual labour drew a great number of infidels, which more than made amends for what the plague had destroy'd. The converts, who were continually searching out the wild Indians between the rivers Parana and Huibao, light upon a sort of men more fierce than generally the Guairanians are. Many of these had fastened three or five little stones in their lips, which stuck out, and made them look hideous. They liv'd in cottages not so high as themselves. All their food was dates, the pith of the palm-trees, some little venison and roots. Having no iron, they supply'd that want with sharp stones and bones fix'd to long wooden handles. They had no name to express God, but worship'd the thunder as their only Deity. The fathers brought seventy three of these men at one time to inhabit the town; but being us'd to feed upon such things as grew naturally, and to live in shady woods, they all but dy'd within a year, having been first baptiz'd. About this time some of the planters of Brazil that went about to take Indians, came to the new towns of Guaira, reporting they had cross'd a vast country as far as the river Marannon, and telling many wonderful things they had seen, which, their authority not being very good, we shall not impose upon the reader, as not becoming the authority of this history. Among other things, they said they had found some memory among those people of S. Thomas his having preach'd there, of which, because I find some account from better hands, I will here say something.

F. Joseph Cataldinus, and Simon Maceta being employ'd about reducing the people about the river Parapana to live in towns, Maracana, a powerful man among those Indians, and several other heathens, told them, *They had a tradition from their ancestors, That St. Thomas (whom they call Zume Bralli, as the Guairians do in their language) formerly travel'd thro' Guairania, and prophes'd to those country people, that it would come to pass in process of time, that all their nation should be reduc'd to two towns, by men*

carrying crosses in their hands; which they Techo. said was fulfill'd, by building the towns of Loreto and St. Ignatius. Seven years after, the same F. Cataldinus preaching the gospel to the Pirapoensians, and after him other fathers in several parts of Guaira, found the same memory and prophecy of St. Thomas still preserv'd; which is confirm'd by part of a letter written by F. Emanuel Nobrega, visitor of Brazil, in the year 1552, whose words are these. *The natives (says he) that Account is, the Brasilians, have some knowledge of St. Thomas, and have it deliver'd down to them by their ancestors, that he travel'd this way, and affirm his footsteps are still to be seen near a certain river, which that I might be more certain of, I went my self, and with my own eyes bebold the impression of four feet and the toes made pretty deep, which are sometimes cover'd by the swelling water. They report those impressions were made as St. Thomas fled from his persecutors, who would have kill'd him, and that the river divided it self, through the midst of which he pass'd without wetting his feet, and went away to India. They also recount, that the arrows shot at him, return'd back upon those that shot them; that the woods through which he pass'd made way for him; and be promis'd he would some time return to visit those countries. Thus far Nobrega. Nor is what Orlandinus relates in his history of the society unlike this. There is a path still to be seen by such as travel out of Brazil to Guaira, to which the natives have given the name of St. Thomas, believing the apostle travel'd that way. This path continues much the same all the year about, the grass growing on it but low, and quite different from the adjoining fields, which are very full of grass, and looks like a way made by art; which the fathers teaching in Guaira affirm, *They have often seen, but never without astonishment. Besides, near the metropolis of Paraguay, in Paraguay, there is a sharp rock, having a small flat space at the top, on which there is still the prints of mens feet in the stone, and the natives affirm, That from thence the apostle St. Thomas us'd to preach the law of God to the multitude resorting to him from all parts; adding, That he taught them to plant the Mandioca, of which they make their sort of wooden meal. Laurence Grado, bishop of Paraguay, and afterwards of Cusco, as also Francis Alfaro of the king's council, affirm, They found footsteps of the same apostle in the province of Misqua. The Peruvians in Peru, shew a seamless garment of an unknown stuff, found among the ashes of a burning mountain, a pair of shoes of a most fragrant smell. As James Alvarez de Paz affirms, Prints of feet upon stone with exotic characters, and a path through the reeds on the marsh of Titicaca, are still plain to be discern'd.**

**TECHO.** *cern'd.* And men of authority are of opinion all these things belong to St. Thomas the apostle, because of the memory there is of him among the *Indians*, who call him *Tume*. *Torribius*, archbishop of *Lima*, renowned for sanctity of life, caus'd that rock on which the prints of a man's feet are, to be enclos'd with a chappel; and before the coming of the *Spaniards*, *Colla Tupa*, tutor to *Guarcar Inga* in his youth, caus'd that rock to be worship'd. In the province of the *Cachensians*, there are rocks still to be seen scorch'd with fire from heaven, sent down to punish the people's attempting to kill a certain man that taught the law of God; which man the *Collas*, another people of *Peru*, held in such veneration, that they call'd him the Son of the universal Creator. But nothing makes so much for my purpose, as the cross at *Carabuco*, famous through all *Peru*. *Carabuco* is a small town of convert *Indians*, upon the lake of *Titiaca*, under which, upon information receiv'd from the *Indians*, *Sarmiento*, curate of the place, after much digging, found a cross, soon after famous for working many miracles; among which one very remarkable is, its growing up again as fast as bits of it are cut out to satisfy people's devotion. It is a receiv'd opinion that this cross was formerly erected at *Carabuco*, by St. Thomas the apostle. The devils at the same time declaring, they would give no answers by their oracles, till it was taken away, and therefore the *Indians* cast it into the adjoining lake, which they having often repeated, and finding it still swimming on the water, and that no fire would consume it; at last they dug deep under that lake *Titiaca*, and bury'd it, laying a vast heap of earth upon it. The signs of their having in vain attempted to burn it, are still visible upon it. But there being no such wood as this cross of *Carabuco* is made of, to be found either in *Peru* or the adjacent countries, *Anthony Ruiz* guesses the apostle carry'd it through the provinces of *Guaira* and *Paraguay* out of *Brazil*, where, he says, there are many trees of that sort, which he hath seen himself. But if any body should object the weight of it, which is above three horse loads, they may as well refuse to give credit to *Ossorius*, who affirms, That at *Malepur* or *Meliapor*, a town in *Cambela*, where the apostle's tomb is to be seen, they to this day shew a piece of timber miraculously brought thither, which is so vastly big, that a great number of oxen, or, as *Atendeza* says, several yoke of elephants cannot stir it out of the place where it is. If any man make a question, which way the apostle sail'd into *America*, let him read *Nawarcha's Asiatick epistle*, where he proves that might be done without any miracle.

I am not ignorant how many stories of St. Thomas's travels are counted as apocrypha; for as it is certain the found of the apostles was spread throughout the earth, so it is doubtful which way every one went. Therefore I rather relate than affirm what has been here said, lest by omitting it, I seem to contradict the opinions of grave men; or by asserting to deliver conjectures for certain truth. Let us proceed to what is better known.

The fathers sent to convert and instruct the *Chiloe*, on the coast of *Chili*, before spoken of, built among those islands eighty little chapels, and spent the whole year sailing from one to another to assist those poor people. The fathers *Melchior Vanegas* and *John Baptist Ferrufin*, sent thither by the provincial *F. James Torres*, were by him order'd to enquire diligently into the manners of the *Cbumians* and *Huillans*, inhabiting near the straits of *Magellan*, and to send him an account if there was any hope of propagating the gospel among them. *Delco*, the chief man among the *Cbumians*, satisfied their desires. He being used to come from his country to the islands of *Chiloe* on account of trade, trafficking with the *Spaniards*, found the precious stone of the gospel, and having taken the name of *Peter* in baptism, desir'd nothing so ardently, as that his son might receive the same grace. He repairing to the fathers, then busy among the islands upon this account, gave 'em very great comfort. He brought along with him in five vessels, besides his own family, a numerous train, and one well skill'd in the language of *Chiloe*, who serv'd for his interpreter; and after a courteous reception, being ask'd concerning the manners of the *Cbumians* and *Huillans*, he deliver'd himself to the fathers to this effect; 'Three days' journey (said he) from the *Archipelago* of *Chiloe* is *Gautana*, the first island of the *Cbumians*; all the way thither is thro' a sea subject to continual storms, which is not very dangerous to the islanders, who by continual practice are perfectly acquainted with the sea and winds; but if strangers go thither, the hazard of being cast away is almost inevitable, by reason of the shoals and narrow channels. The whole nation lives partly on the continent of *America*, and partly in an infinite number of islands not far distant from the shore, but these so thinly peopled, that none among 'em, except *Gautana*, contains above three or four families. The soil is all barren, stony, and wild, scarce bearing any grain. The trees, as to greenness, are much more dismal than those of *Chiloe*. The natives live upon fish and what the sea casts up, the women diving

Their Food.

any stories of St. as apocrypha; and of the apocrites the earth, so it is one went. There- firm what has been ing it, I seem to f grave men; or conjectures for cer- ed to what is bet-

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Drink.

The Huil-  
lans.

Their  
houses.

Their  
Food.

'diving to the bottom, and soon after  
 'coming up with great store of fish in  
 'baskets hanging about their necks; their  
 'greatest want is fresh water. They press  
 'an oil out of sea-wolves, which they drink,  
 'and know of no other wine or delicate  
 'liquor. Having drank a great deal of  
 'that oil, and gorg'd themselves with eat-  
 'ing unreasonably of fish, they vomit it  
 'up, and so celebrate their bacchanals with  
 'motions like drunken men, that they may  
 'not seem to be outdone by the neigh-  
 'bouring nations, whose drunken feasts are  
 'their principal merriment. Yet at pre-  
 'sent the *Indian* wheat, of which drink is  
 'made, grows indifferently well in the  
 'island of *Guatana*, my native country.  
 'The natives are for the most part red-  
 'hair'd, of an olive-colour complexion,  
 'and of a mild disposition. In the remo-  
 'te islands they breed dogs with long hair  
 'and manes, whom they trim, and of their  
 'hair make garments, so short, that they  
 'cover nothing but the shoulders and  
 'breast, covering their nakedness with sea-  
 'weeds, or leaves of a vast bigness grow-  
 'ing in the sea, and harden'd in the sun.  
 '*Delco* deliver'd himself much to this pur-  
 'pose; 'The condition of the *Huillans*, who  
 'are near the stright of *Magellan*, is much  
 'more miserable, and their disposition  
 'more barbarous. They live in almost  
 '50 degr. of south latitude, in a very cold  
 'climate, and stark naked, build moveable  
 'huts of the barks of trees, in the shape of  
 'a cone or sugar-loaf, eat nothing dress'd,  
 'and nothing but raw fish and oysters.  
 'Their skin's almost black, and their hair  
 'so harsh and upright, that it looks more  
 'like a bush than man's hair. Their num-  
 'ber is small, and they give no other rea-  
 'son for it, but that the nature of the  
 'country, and the incursions of their ene-  
 'mies, suffer them not to encrease, for the  
 '*Chunians* hunt after the *Huillans* as if they  
 'were wild beasts, and either keep 'em as  
 'slaves, or sell 'em in the islands of *Chiloé*,  
 'or else give 'em away; and they are  
 'still happier in slavery than in their own  
 'country. They rather make a noise than  
 'talk. They're of no use in the world  
 'before being transported. They learn  
 'the language of *Chiloé* but to drive the  
 'birds from their corn-fields, like scare-  
 'crows, being equally fit to fright and to  
 'be frighted.' By the help of the inter-  
 'preter, *John Baptis Ferrufu* in two days  
 'time translated the ten commandments,  
 'some principal prayers, and the *Confiteor*, in-  
 'to the *Chunian* language, so successfully,  
 'that the poor *Indians* were besides them-  
 'selves for joy. *Delco* earnestly begg'd his  
 'son might be baptiz'd, but he being not  
 'sufficiently instructed, and the *Chunians*  
 'Vol. IV.

oblig'd to return home, 'twas put off till *TECHO*.  
 another opportunity, those people most  
 humbly entreating the fathers to go along  
 with them, which could not be granted, to  
 the great sorrow of those distress'd converts,  
 who had no other comfort, but that *F. Mel-*  
*chior Vanegas* promis'd he would let slip no  
 opportunity of procuring the health of their  
 souls. Yet, for ten years following, those  
 nations had no help but what some few of  
 'em receiv'd, who came to the islands of  
*Chiloé*. Till this year 1619, the afore-  
 mention'd *F. Melchior Vanegas* and *Mat-*  
*thew Stephanus*, with great danger and trou-  
 ble sail'd over to the island *Guatana*, where  
*Delco*, being inform'd of their coming,  
 had built a chappel after the manner  
 of those of *Chiloé*. and gather'd as many  
 of his people as he could, that they might  
 be baptiz'd and receiv'd into the number of  
 the faithful. Thence they pass'd over to  
 the continent and other islands, where they  
 found abundance very desirous of learning  
 the christian doctrine; yet baptiz'd only  
 two hundred and twelve, because they could  
 not be longer absent from their own pro-  
 vince.

Let us return from the south sea towards *Uruguay*  
 the *Atlantick* and *Brasil*. The river *Urui-*  
*ca* of the first magnitude, rising out of a  
 small spring in the mountains of *Brasil*,  
 carries but a small stream for a long way  
 and without any considerable name, till  
 having swallow'd many streams and consi-  
 derable rivers on both sides, and by that  
 means increas'd its store, it becomes equal  
 to, if not greater than the *Paraguay*, and  
 falls into the river of *Plata*, a little above  
 the port of *Buenos Ayres*, where losing its  
 name and channel, as it were for a punish-  
 ment of its presumption, it is hurry'd away  
 into the sea. For when it has once left  
*Brazil* running directly up the inland, it  
 gives a turn and runs continually parallel  
 to the river *Parana*, not much inferior to it  
 for greatness. Great stones and rocks lying  
 in it at certain distances, make it incapable  
 of ships of burden; but when it has re-  
 ceiv'd the winter floods from the rains and  
 other rivers, swelling over its shoals, vast  
 rocks and both banks, unless where con-  
 fined by mighty topping shores, it spreads  
 its waters like a sea. It runs two hundred  
 leagues from its source with a mighty noise,  
 being streighten'd by continual ridges of  
 rocks and woods, till having with much  
 struggling rid itself of those troublesome ob-  
 stacles, it glides more gently along the plains.  
 The woods, which abound in monkeys,  
 tygers, parrots and other sorts of creatures,  
 differ but little from those of *Parana*. For-  
 merly nothing was to be seen in the fields,  
 but ostriches, lions and several sorts of  
 goats and deer; at present all that vast ex-  
 tent

**TECHO.** tent of land on both sides the river is pasture, cover'd by an infinite number of cows and horses; as if these beasts had succeeded in the place of men, who formerly in great multitudes inhabited these plains, but are now very thin considering the largeness of the country. The province *Urvaica*, so call'd from the river of that name, reaches as far in length as the river. On the east it has *Brazil* and the *Atlantick* ocean, on the west *Parana*, on the north *Guaira*, and on the south the river of *Plata*; and is divided into several provinces distinguish'd by as many barbarous languages. Among them all the *Guaranians* far excel the rest, both in number and aptness to be civiliz'd and become christians. The first *European* I can find that attempted to discover this province, was *Ramon* or *Raimund*, sent thither by *Garot* the discoverer of south *America* for the emperor *Charles V.* in the year 1526. He sailing up the river in a frigate, was slain in battle by the *Charras* a most fierce people, with many of his companions. Afterwards, in the year 1557, an hundred and twenty *Spaniards* were sent by the governor *Martin Irala*, to build a town near the mouth of the river *Urvaica*. But the very first year of their settling there, the natives tir'd them out with such continual attacks, that they were forc'd to abandon the colony. As they were sailing back to *Paraguay*, a most dismal accident befel them; for many of them being gone ashore at noon to dine, the high bank on which they sat, on a sudden opening and sinking under them, drew those persons that were dining, after it into the river, making so great a commotion in the water, that one of the ships being overset, stuck its mast in the bottom of the river, not one of those that went out to dine escaping. But the ship recovering, brought up a woman alive after she had been many fathom under water. About the year 1610, the governor *Ferdinand Arias* made his way with some *Spanish* troops to the province of *Urvaica*; but hearing of the great multitudes of natives there were in those parts, retir'd ingloriously without doing any thing; for the *Barbarians* had secur'd themselves by spreading the terror of their name far and near, inasmuch that the *Spaniards*, as covetous as they were to make themselves masters of those vast countries, so famous for the fruitfulness of the soil, plenty of pasture, and conveniency of their rivers; yet despair'd of ever subduing the *Urvaicans* by force of arms. This great work was resolv'd to be perform'd by the preaching the gospel, and the first that attempted it was *F. Robt Gonzalez*. Whilst he and *F. James Boroa* were teaching the law of *GOD* upon the river *Parana*, some of the *Urvaicans*, attracted

First discoverers of  
*Urvaica*.

by the fame of the new religion, came several times to the new town of *Iapua*, under pretence of trade, and were there courteously entertain'd by the fathers, hoping the christian faith might be propagated in their country. The small number of preachers obstructed it for a long while, till the provincial *Peter Onate* being re-inforced, appointed *F. Robt Gonzalez* for this great work. He set out attended by a small number of converts, and having travel'd through dismal places as far as the brook *Aracula*, which runs into the river *Urvaica*, found there a great number of *Indians*, who had notice of their coming by their spies, and were there naked, arm'd with clubs and bows, haughtily commanding him to proceed no farther, because it would certainly cost him his life. His companions terrify'd by their threats left him, but he lay in a wood all night with only two boys that serv'd at mass, and the next morning *Quaracipucutius*, a *Cacique* of note came to him, promising his protection against his country people. By his solicitation several *Caciques* met, and resolv'd to hear the father, who having declar'd to them the cause of his coming, so far prevail'd, that *Niezza*, the most powerful of all the *Caciques*, invited him to his village. The river *Urvaica* was two leagues from this village, whither he went with *Niezza*, and gathering a multitude of *Indians*, set up a cross of a mighty bigness on the bank of it, teaching those people to pay a devout veneration to it, for having expounded the mystery of the redemption, and thereupon kiss'd the cross, all the heathens fell down and worship'd it. There is a place a league distant from the river *Urvaica*, call'd *Ibitiragua*, where several of the *Caciques* assembling upon the day of the conception of the virgin *Mary*, *F. Gonzalez* mark'd out the ground for a town, to which he gave the name of the *Conception*, and abundance of *Indians* from all parts resorted to inhabit it; so that it afterwards became the metropolis of the province of *Urvaica*. Some *Indians* beyond, and others upon the river, at first threaten'd the new town, but were soon appeas'd by *F. Gonzalez*. He by the provincial's order, set out with a few converts to discover all the river down to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, which the *Indians* beyond the river being inform'd of, and imagining he went to bring in the *Spaniards*, now he was acquainted with their country, they pursu'd with a resolution to murder him, but he let them pass by in a dark night, and return'd to the town of the *Conception* without daring to proceed further. Being disappointed of this design, he apply'd himself to build another town, which, that it might be done with less danger of his life, he caus'd the converts

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converts

General  
hunting.

converts to appoint a general hunting, as they call it, to which the *Urvaicans* dwelling in all the neighbouring plains were invited. The manner of those general huntings is thus. The *Indian* hunters beset a large field, encompassing it with their multitude; then upon a signal given, they contract, drawing equally into a less circumference towards the center, whither all the ostriches and wild beasts retire for fear of the men; having shut them up into a very narrow compals, they give a shout for joy, and fall to slaughtering the game which they dress and feast together: The *Indians* us'd to resort to this sport from far and near. *F. Gonzalez*, under pretence of seeing this sport, hop'd to gain an opportunity of finding a fit place to build a town, and become acquainted with the heathens. Both these things he perform'd, yet could not for the present attempt the erecting of the town. Besides, at his return from the hunting, he found the plague in the new town of the *Conception*, which made the converts disperse, and found him and his companions work enough to follow them into the woods and plains, that they might not die without help. After the plague follow'd famine, which was so sharp, that what had escap'd before, fled to remote places, eating any filthy food they met with. The forerers gave out, this punishment was for embracing the christian faith; and the *Paranenians* were not wanting to blow the coals, but still the patience and resolution of the fathers prevail'd, and they brought back the *Indians*, and restor'd the town.

In the year 1620, the provinces of *Paraguay* and the river of *Plata*, which, till then, had been subject to one governor and one bishop, were divided into two several governments and bishopricks; the river *Parana* being the boundary of both their jurisdictions. The first new governor of the river of *Plata*, brought over with him from *Lisbon*, contrary to the known laws, a considerable quantity of merchants goods, whereof information being given at court, the king sent over a judge with power to examine the matter. The town of *Buenos Ayres* favour'd the governor, and contriv'd to expell the judge, who, at the same time, happen'd to offend the fathers at that port, whereupon some crafty friends of the governor, advis'd the rector to appoint a judge conservator to assert his and the society's right: The rector, who was a plain harmless man, took their advice, and appointed a judge over the king's judge: This person so appointed, being set on by the governor's emissaries, gave sentence against the king's judge for the wrong done to the society, and sent him back by force into *Spain*: The king's council in *Spain* com-

plain'd of this affront to the general of the *Techo*, *Jesuits*, who, besides other religious punishments inflicted in private, declar'd the rector for ever incapable of the fourth vow of the order, and of any dignity or preferment in it. The king, on the other side, sent one of the council of *Peru* to punish the abettors of that insolence, who is said to have fin'd them in eighty thousand pistoles: Discord at this time, like a plague, ran through the whole province, and particularly the towns of *Sancta Fe* and the *Assumption*. About the same time a *Spaniard* being abroad in the field, was set upon by a tyger, which had broke through a wring of *Indians*, and with much difficulty escap'd alive, but much torn; which accident was very remarkable, because it is the nature of tygers ever to assault the meanest creature of first: Thus, if it meets a man on horse-back with a dog, it first falls upon the dog, then the horse, and last of all the man; nay, it goes further, and makes choice of men, so that if it meet an *Indian*, a *Black*, and an *European* together, the *Indian* is first attack'd, then the *Black*, and next the *European*: Even among *Spaniards* it makes a distinction, and picks out those first that have most mixture of *Indian* blood. This section be-  
mixture of *Indian* blood. This section be-  
ing compos'd of several matters, as they of the  
occur'd in the author; tho' we have else-  
where treated of the *Guaicureans*, we will  
here insert the manner of their performing  
the funeral exequies. *F. Joseph Oregias* had  
baptiz'd their chief commander, who was  
always a friend to the society, but would  
never be reconcil'd to christianity till a lit-  
tle before his death: Whilst the father was  
burying the body after the christian manner,  
the *Indians* made a dismal howling lamen-  
tation, and rending and breaking into pie-  
ces all his garments, ensigns, garlands,  
bow, and all his other goods, scatter'd  
them abroad in the air: Some blooded  
themselves at the calves of their legs in  
great abundance, others express'd their grief  
by mad motions, killing all the dogs, par-  
rots, and other creatures their commander  
delighted in; and had certainly murder'd  
and thrust into his grave, a woman and her  
son to serve him, as they fancy'd, in the  
other world, had not *F. Oregias*, by his  
authority, prevented it: His son, *James*  
*Francis*, succeeded him in the command,  
who being a christian, gave great hopes of  
propagating the faith; but the fierceness of  
the people disappointed that expectation,  
and very few were gain'd the following  
years.

Tho' it may seem something foreign to  
our purpose, yet because our author thought  
fit to insert it, and the curious reader may  
for variety sake be pleas'd with an argu-  
ment concerning a nice point in matter of reli-  
gion.

**T**ACHO. religion ; I have resolv'd not to omit a controversy that arose about baptism, and 'twas whether the baptism of the Blacks brought from *Angola* was valid or not ; some being of opinion, that the said Blacks newly brought over, ought to be baptiz'd conditionally, others denying it : Those who were against rebaptizing, argu'd thus. That it was not allowable to call in question what the prelates on that coast of *Africk*, which was subject to the catholick king, did in relation to conferring of sacraments : That if scruples were started on that account, the ignorant Blacks throughout *America*, seeing their countrymen rebaptiz'd, will never rest till the same were granted them. That to prevent an evil which might very rarely happen, there would be a snare laid to an innumerable multitude. That it was not deny'd, there might sometimes be defects in the baptism of those people, but for the most part they were not such as touch'd the validity of it. That even among hereticks, baptism was not duly administred ; and yet it was rare that hereticks converted were ever rebaptiz'd. That the baptism of the Blacks had never been call'd in question for so many years past, and therefore such an innovation, tho' never so much palliated under the shew of religion, would be suspicious. This they said that oppos'd it ; the other party alledg'd, that it would be no reflection on the prelates of the coast of *Africk*, if those defects which they desir'd to correct, but could not, were rectify'd in any other part of the world. That it was not to be call'd a niceness or scruple to secure the salvation of so many souls, which was otherwise dubious. That the Blacks, who had once been examin'd, would easily be pacify'd. That it was improper to instance the baptism of hereticks, who rarely do any thing to invalidate it ; but yet in those things wherein they err'd, the errors were cautiously to be rectify'd ; but as for the point of innovation urg'd by the other part, it did not at all make to the purpose, because it is certain, there daily arise disputes started by ingenious persons upon several matters, which, as circumstances vary, alter from the former state they were in. Thus they argued on both sides, but the time of starting this doubt, and cause of it, was as follows. In the year 1605, *F. James Torres*, who was then laying the foundation of the province of *Quito*, observing that many thousand Blacks were every year brought out of *Africk* unto *America*, by the way of the port of *Carthagena*, he committed the care of them to *F. Alonso de Sandoval*, who afterwards compos'd a very useful book, about restoring the Blacks to a state of salvation, and dedicated it to the

fame *F. James Torres*. He often enquiring after African traders, after what manner the Blacks were baptiz'd at *Loanda*, and finding by several years experience, how ignorant most of them were of the mysteries of christianity, thought he would do a very good work, in composing a small book, and directing it to the archbishop of *Seville*, shewing it was his opinion, that the baptism of most Blacks brought out of *Africk* into *Europe* and *America* was void for want of catechizing them ; and that therefore they ought not to be admitted to other sacraments, till they were conditionally baptiz'd. The book pleas'd the archbishop, who caus'd it to be examin'd by learned men, not only of the society, but of oth<sup>r</sup> orders, who all were of *Sandoval*'s opinion. By their consent the archbishop pass'd a decree, ordering all Blacks brought into his diocese, without exception, to be examin'd by able men ; and those that they had any scruple about to be conditionally baptiz'd. The bishops of *Mexico* and *New Granada* soon follow'd his example, and appointed examiners of the Blacks in the sea-port towns. The news hereof being brought into *Tucuman*, *F. James Torres* labour'd to introduce that examination there, with much opposition from the adverse party. Whilst the controversy was depending, he receiv'd letters from *F. Jerome Bogado*, rector of the college of the society of *Angola*, whom *F. Torres* had sent to consult upon the matter, the very words were these. *F. James Torres*, Your reverence is in the right in questioning the baptism of the Blacks sent out of *Africk* into other parts ; for, in my opinion, they are not baptiz'd, and ought, at least, to be conditionally re-baptiz'd, because they receive baptism without being scarce catechiz'd : For the day before they sail, they are carry'd in troops to the vicar ; by whom, being ask'd all together, whether they desire to be made christians ? and a few words more said to them, they are baptiz'd, and have christian names given them, before they understand what faith they embrace. I have often charg'd the vicar generals with this great neglect, in the presence of the bishops, but to no purpose ; for though at first, when they have been check'd, they are more careful of their duty, yet they soon relapse into their former negligence, and serve those poor wretches after an undue manner. The bishop thinks he had sufficiently clear'd his conscience, if he lays some punishment upon the vicars that are accus'd of such neglect. Thus *F. Bogado*. When these letters were read, the controversy ceas'd, and all the fathers apply'd themselves to the relief of that miserable nation. This may suffice, as to the matter of the baptism of Blacks, which I thought worthy to be inserted, being a curious point which may give the reader satisfaction.

The

Town of  
Corpus  
Christi.

The plague continued to rage in the province of *Parana*, in the year 1622, yet the fathers supply'd the places of those that dyed in their town, with new converts brought out of the woods, and were so successful as to build a new town. The *Indians* are fifteen leagues distant from the *Iapuan*s up the river, and had been earnestly solicited by *F. Gonzalez* for some years, to join with the *Iapuan*s, but either the natural fierceness, or the natural love of their country, had still made them refuse; yet, at this time, they became so well inclin'd to christianity, that, of their own accord, they asked for fathers to be sent among them. *F. James Boroa* and *F. Peter Romero* went and found all things to their mind; so that very few opposing it, they apply'd themselves to build a new town, upon the banks of the river *Inian*, which falls into the *Parana*, giving it the name of *Corpus Christi*, under which it flourishes to this day. Not far from it are the rivers *Tibiapo*, *Pirapo*, and *Caapibari*, whence many inhabitants have been drawn to the new town, and in the year 1670, there were computed five thousand souls to have been baptiz'd there: About the same time this new town was built, a number of wild *Indians*, of the province of *Ibitaranbeta* in *Brazil*, came to the woods of the town of *Loreto* in *Guaira*, to fetch wood to make their arrows; some few of which nation had been among the converts at *Loreto*, and told them that their country swarm'd in men. *F. Cataldinus* laid hold of this opportunity, in hopes of converting those people; and having, by means of their converts, entertain'd many of them lovingly in his town, desir'd he would take them along with them, to teach them the christian religion. *Nambabaius* their *Cacique*, said he was willing enough to do it, but that he fear'd it might cost them both their lives. The father being willing to expose himself to the danger, went along with him, and they travel'd a month up the river *Tibisica*, but as soon as they came near the borders of *Ibitirambeta*, the *Cacique Nambabaius* stole away before the people knew of his bringing the father: He thinking it a rashness to go on, sent two youths to invite the *Caciques* of *Ibitirambeta* to come to him, but they with threats prevail'd with one of those youths to marry among them, tho' he was marry'd before, and renounce christianity; the other, rather than comply, suffered himself to be cut in pieces and eaten by them. Whilst these things were doing, *F. Francis Vasquez*, who had been sent procurator into *Europe*, arriv'd at the port of *Buenos Ayres*, with a supply of twenty one fathers. There *F. John Vas* had taught sixteen converts musick, which play'd and

sang so well, that they gave extraordinary satisfaction. These new fathers brought over the catholic king's, and pope *Gregory* the 15th's letters patents for erecting universities in the province, and accordingly, the city *Cordova* in the province of *Tucuman*, and that of *Santiago* or *S. James*, in the kingdom of *Chili*, had that honour conferred on them. There were now in this province of the society, eleven colleges, two residences, one novitiate, and thirteen small houses among the *Indians*, and in them a hundred and ninety fathers.

*Nicolas Durandus*, the new provincial Town of of the *Jesuits*, in the year 1623, erected a college of the society at *Salta*, a small *Spanish* town, built in the year 1582, not far from the borders of *Peru*, and at the very entrance of the valley of *Calchaquana*, to curb that barbarous nation, by *Ferdinand of Lerma*, governor of the province of *Tucuman*. The town furnish'd all necessaries for building the house and church; and the provincial perceiving the fathers, who had been sent into the valley six years before, and settled there, did reap no fruit worthy of their labours, call'd them away, thinking it enough for the present, if they made some excursions at times from the town of *Salta*. The news being brought into those southern parts, that *S. Ignatius Loiola*, and *S. Francis Xavierius* had been canoniz'd the year before, there was extraordinary rejoicing in most costly manner, not only in the *Spanish* cities, but even in the *Indian* towns. The pleasantest sight, for a pleasant its novelty, was in the town of the *Assumption*, where a number of *Urvaican* boys, lately made christians, and brought thither by *F. Roch. Gonzalez*, were divided into two troops, the one in the *Indian*, the other in the christian habit, and represented a battle, dancing very dexterously to the musick: The *Indians* distinguishable by the variety of their feathers, were arm'd with clubs and bows, the christians with long crosses. It was diverting to see them sometimes all mix'd, and then presently parted; sometimes fiercely attacking one another; sometimes falling into two ranks, and then mixing again, as if they would destroy one another: After they had thus fought a considerable time, the christians got the day, and the musick following to another tune, they led the *Indians* as their prisoners, and presented them to their bishop and governor, to express the became subjects to the church and catholic king. At this solemnity *Quiracipucius* a *Cacique*, and twenty three more *Urvaicans*, brought to the feast by *F. Gonzalez*, were baptiz'd. Soon after, a controversy arising between the society and bishop of *Paraguay*, he sent complaints against them into *Spain*, and

**TECHO.** took from them their schools in the town of the *Assumption*, but it was not long before he was reduc'd to restore them, and be reconcil'd. The governor of the river of *Plate* had desir'd of the last provincial, to send *F. Peter Romero*, who was skilful in managing the *Indians* upon the river *Urvaica*. **The Tavo-co,** to try whether the *Tarofians* might be brought under, and a new town built at the mouth of the said river. Tho' the mouth of the river *Urvaica* be not far from *Buenos Ayres*, yet no body had dar'd to venture up it, the numerous *Indians* on both sides, all of them fierce people, and speaking several languages, having refus'd all commerce with strangers. Among them all, the *Tarofians* and *Charuans* were most obstinate in adhering to their ancient customs; living dispers'd, utterly strangers to husbandry, and any form of government; and so very barbarous, that they cut off a joint of a finger at the death of every one of their kindred, so that there are several of them who have nothing left but the bare palm of their hand. Before the coming of the *Spaniards* they liv'd upon ostriches, other fowl, venison and fish: At present, they ride about the plains, there being vast herds of oxen and horses: They feed, for the most part, on beef half raw, generally use slings, and are so expert at them, that they often hit birds flying, and knock down the largest beasts. *F. Romero* ventur'd among them attended only by one *Spaniard* and a few *Indians* that row'd: Wheresoever they went, they met fierce men, with their bodies anointed, their hair hanging below their shoulders, their limbs deformed with much pricking of them, and formidable for their hideous voices. These being exhorted to embrace religion and civility, positively refus'd admitting any alteration of their ancient manners. Nevertheless the father proceeded till he came to the first villages of the *Guaranians*, an hundred leagues distant from the mouth of the river *Urvaica*, and was very desirous to make his way through, to that part of the province *Urvaica*, where *F. Gonzalez*, four years before, had founded the town of the *Conception*; but the *Indians* would not permit, threatening immediate death if he did not turn back. Therefore finding none of those people ripe for the gospel, he return'd to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, to give an account of what he had seen to his provincial, and the king's governor.

**The Guai-cureans** instructed, The provincial immediately sent him back to the *Guai-cureans*, two hundred leagues up the river of *Plate* and *Parana*, where he employ'd all his talent with his companion in reducing that nation; but the barbarity of those people frustrated the labours of those fathers. Three months af-

ter his arrival there, the commander of the *Guai-cureans*, and his mother, attended by a great number of *Indians*, met the provincial, then going and visiting the college of *Assumption*, entreating him to afford their people his preference. The manner of inviting him was thus; there went before a woman singing and expressing the desires of the nation in tune, declaring in many words, how acceptable and beneficial it would be to that miserable nation to enjoy his presence; when her song was ended, the whole company, with confus'd cries desiring the same thing, oblig'd the provincial to cross the *Paraguay*, and repair to the place where the *Guai-cureans* had set up the cottages of mats, about the chappel of the society, in the form of a town: The provincial articul'd with the commander, that in case he would have the fathers stay amongst them, they should settle in the town, and forbear unjust wars; because it was not fit that those, who had so many years since put themselves into the hands of the society, should be no way civiliz'd. They, in appearance, submitting to the conditions, receiv'd some gifts from the provincial; yet very little credit was given to their promises, because many years experience had shewn, that they would not stay long in a place, their inclinations to war being such, that they change their habitation every year almost, to find out new enemies. When they return from war, they bring home to their wives in triumphant manner, the skulls of their enemies slain; which skulls the women on festival days, bring out in great pomp, with the commendation of the people, as it were to insult over their enemies. Nay, they are sometimes so mad, as to contend with the elements. When a storm arises, and there is much thunder or wind, they all go out in troops, as it were to battle, shaking their clubs in the air, shooting flights of arrows that way from whence the lightning comes; and believing this shew of resolution hinders the spirits or devils, whom they look upon as the causers of all tempests, from doing any mischief. They have also some festivals in which they represent battles. There is no time of so much joy among them, as when the north winds begin to blow in that hemisphere; for then, without any regard of age or condition, they fill the air with cries, beating one another with their fists, computing the year would prove plentiful, or otherwise, according to their madnefs. Therefore the provincial, tho' he had but small hopes of converting those people, left the fathers there to try the utmost, who continu'd three years longer, and then utterly abandon'd the place, when they had been in it sixteen years, without reaping any fruit among those

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those hardened barbarians, but only the baptizing some infants, and a very few at men's estate, at the point of death. At the same time the plague raging through the province of *Parana*, made mighty havoc in the new towns of the converted *Indians*, but more especially at *Yaguapua*, where the fathers had been eight years gathering a considerable number of *Indians*, and bringing them into the church. Here the distemper was so virulent, that after the greater part of the inhabitants had perished, those few that remained went away, some to *Iapua*, and some to other places. As soon as the infection ceased, the fathers, with infinite labour, search'd all the woods, mountains and marshes, to bring fresh supplies of inhabitants to the towns. Having mention'd the town of *Iapua*, I will not omit a more than manful act of a woman of that place. A cruel tyger had seiz'd a boy of ten years of age in the presence of the father and mother, and close by them, which the fierce beast made away with, throwing the child over its shoulder, as the fox does with a fowl. The father, astonish'd at the accident, fled, but the mother, whose love was tenderer, forgetting the danger, ran after the tyger, and recovering the boy, brought him back to her husband, that fierce creature never attempting to oppose her; the husband ever after confessing, his wife had more courage than he.

Something was said before of the *Ibitirambetans*, concerning whom we will add what remains in this place. Tho' the attempt made before upon them prov'd unsuccessful, this did not discourage the fathers *Anthony Ruiz*, *Joseph Cataldinus*, and *James Salazar* from making another effort to bring them over to the flock of Christ. The whole province of *Guaira* is divided into two parts, the woody and the champain. The woody had been under the direction of the fathers for several years. But as yet they could not get into the champain, because of the inhumanity of the people, who cruelly devour strangers, and resolutely defend themselves against any foreign invasion. *Ibitirambeta* is a wooded mountain, which separates these two parts of *Guaira*, so call'd by the natives, because at a distance it looks like a man's head, with a rock sticking out of the chin, instead of a beard. About this mountain were abundance of villages of heathens, which being brought together would make a populous town, and be a good step towards the champain country. A year before this, as was mention'd above, the inhabitants of this mountain, cruelly slew the youth sent them by *F. Cataldinus*, and had roasted and eaten several of the people of the woody country at their feasts; for they reckon man's flesh their greatest

dainty. When the fathers, after passing *Tecno*, the rocks and precipices of the river *Tibaxi*, come near to their borders, the converts attending them begin to be seiz'd with fear, and chiefly because *Taitetus*, a man famous for cruelty among the *Ibitirambetans*, had met a little before, and assur'd *F. Ruiz* that if he durst proceed he would meet with many enemies. Yet some offer'd to hazard themselves in carrying a message to those people. But the fathers *Ruiz* and *Cataldinus* leaving *F. James Salazar* to look to the boats, with orders if they were kill'd to fly down the river, went on themselves with a few *Indian* converts by land. Having wandered a long while, without knowing the way through the woods, they at last met with a man more like a painted devil than an *Indian*, who acting the part of an angel, undertook to introduce the fathers into his village, provided they would let him go before, to dispose them to receive their guests favourably; assuring them it would be very dangerous to go without he made way for them. The fathers thinking it safer to stand the brunt of coming upon those people suddenly, than to give them time to consult together, follow'd the *Indian* guide close at the heels, and that same day boldly enter'd the first village of the *Ibitirambetans*, the people whereof, tho' they forbore acting any cruelty, yet shewing their mistrust, declar'd they would not allow the fathers to stay among them, lest after them should follow the rovers that went about to carry the *Indians* into captivity. As they were in this condition, the *Cacique* of another village promising *F. Ruiz* his protection, gave some hopes of success. Having therefore call'd away *F. Salazar* from the river, they mark'd out the ground for a town, fell to build a church, and abundance of people flocking thither from the neighbourhood, order'd a form of government. As they were thus employ'd, news was brought, that several factions had conspir'd together, and particularly those that the year before slew the youth sent by the fathers, all unanimously agreeing, that the strangers were to be made away, lest they should bring some mischief upon the province; and that they would taste whether the flesh of priests differ'd in taste from that of other men. The enemy being within less than a mile of the town, *F. Ruiz* came to *F. Cataldinus*, then busy about building the church, to acquaint him with the danger, who answer'd, *As the will of heaven is, so let it be*; and went on with his work. The enemy being told of this resolution of the fathers, went off without attempting any thing, fearing some great misfortune might befall them, seeing those strangers make so small account of death. This storm



**Techo.** storm being blown over, there ensu'd such a calm, that they had leisure to build the town in peace, and dedicate it to S. *Francis Xavierius*. Not only the neighbouring people, but even those that before had been enemies, and others from remoter parts resorting to inhabit this town, it came to contain fifteen hundred families. Here *F. Castaldinus* was left alone, and so continu'd a year among those barbarous people.

*Taiaboa's territories.* The other two fathers *Ruiz* and *Salazar* undertook a new dangerous expedition into the lands of *Taiaboa*, whereof I find the following account. *Huibius*, a river in *Guaira*, falling into the *Parana*, under the tropick of *Capricorn*, has on its banks *Villarica*, a little *Spanish* city, thirty leagues from its mouth, and eight *Indian* towns not far from it, and under its jurisdiction. Above this town the river falling from a precipice hinders any vessels going farther up. This precipice was a boundary and entrenchment to *Taiaboa*, and his confederate

*Canibals.* *Caciques*. All this nation is so barbarously greedy of human flesh, that when they want enemies, they inhumanly kill and eat their own people. Some of them wean their children with man's flesh, and make the heads of their arrows of men's bones, making the monuments of their brutality the instruments of fresh cruelty. Which makes me admire *Ranfonierius* should write, that in this part of *Guaira*, there are no tygers or wild beasts, whereas there are almost as many wild beasts as natives; for the old saying fits no nation so exactly, viz. *Man plays the wolf with man*.

The reason why this country took its name from *Taiaboa*, was, because he being the most powerful of all the neighbouring *Caciques*, was by his people call'd the *Great*. Take this account of him. Some years before this we now write of, an *European* commander, famous for his hatred to the *Indians*, coming from the metropolis of *Paraguay* to *Villarica* with a power, pretending friendship, sent to invite *Taiaboa* to come to him, promising him much courtesy and some presents. Upon publick faith given, *Taiaboa*, and three other powerful *Caciques*, come to *Villarica*, full of hopes of what they were to receive, but there instead of gifts, they met with threats, stripes and bonds; that commander terrifying them with death and tortures, if they did not bring a number of *Indians* to *Villarica*, to be made slaves. Three of the four *Caciques*, rather than betray their people, starv'd themselves to death in prison. *Taiaboa* alone escaping with his fetters into his territories, for the future was so strict in hindring any resort to his territories, that he not only kept off the *Spaniards*, but tore to pieces and devour'd the *Indians* sent to him at several times to

settle peace. The *Spaniards* have often invaded him, but never came off without much loss; insomuch that there were no further thoughts of subduing them. Thus flood *Taiaboa*, when *F. Ruiz* entertain'd thoughts of converting those people. When his design was known, every body affirm'd he went in great danger of his life; but he set out and travell'd eight days difficult journey, with *F. Salazar*, a resolute man, to the borders of *Taiaboa*, and leaving his companion in the towns about *Villarica*, he pass'd over the precipice, and got to the first village of *Taiaboa's* party; and perceiving how great the danger was, those menacing *Indians* flocking about from all parts, he prepar'd himself and fifteen converts that attended him, for death. As he was so employ'd, the *Canibals* and forcerers gather'd about him, to whom he declar'd the cause of his coming, which was to teach them the way to heaven through *Jesus Christ*, and how to avoid eternal torments. Scarce had he spoke those words, when the *Indians* gave him the lye, declaring him guilty of death for denouncing eternal torments to them, and were just ready to fall upon him. *John Guirains*, a convert persuaded him to fly, which, as they did, the arrows flew about them so thick, that seven were immediately kill'd, and *Guirains* perceiving they all aim'd at the father, who could not fly so well as the rest, clasp'd his gown and cap on him himself, that the *Indians* might mistake him for the priest, and aim at him. Thus they both escap'd into a wood, with seven more of their companions, whence with great sorrow they made their way through the bushes and brambles, down to the river, and there found a boat two old men had brought from a village that was in amity, hearing of the danger they were in. This boat carry'd him down the river to the towns about *Villarica*, where he found *F. Salazar*. In the mean while, the *Canibals* having divided the booty *F. Ruiz* left behind him, made a feast of the bodies of the convert *Indians*, nothing troubling them, but that they had mis'd of the priest's flesh, and could not drink about in his skull. *F. Salazar* was left in those towns of converts about *Villarica*, that being near at hand, he might endeavour by kindness to win *Taiaboa's* people, but nothing succeeded for a year and a half. *F. Ruiz* went away to the town of St. *Xaverius*, which he found much encreas'd by a great number of converts; and having afterwards been to give an account of his actions to the provincial, return'd into the province of *Guaira*, where, attempting to reduce the *Tucuhians*, he found the success answerable to his expectation. The people lay in the mid-way between the old towns of *Guaira*, and the new colony

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colony of St. Xavierius. It was therefore very convenient to settle a new colony among the Tucumans, that there might be a direct way and commerce between the aforesaid towns and colony, because before, the way was very troublesome, being far about, and along the rocky river *Tibariva*, besides the danger of leaving barbarous enemies behind. The Cacique of the first village the fathers came to, offer'd them that place to build the town, but that being unhealthy, they chose another, to which two hundred families immediately resorted out of the neighbourhood, and soon after six villages came over to it entire. The church and town had the name of S. *Joseph* given them. Having settled this town, and left F. *Simon Maceta* in it to instruct the people, F. *Ruiz* undertook to open a way through the woods and mountains, to the colony of S. *Xaverius*, and tho' he met with almost insuperable difficulties and hardships, being several days without water, and forced to suck the moisture of a certain branch that runs up the trees like a rope, for drink, and feed upon leaves, he at length prevail'd, and got safe to the town, to which he had made this new road. I have follow'd F. *Ruiz* in all these travels to come to the conclusion of what we are to say of *Taisoba*, with whom we began this section, and am now drawing near to bring them together that the relation may not be dismembred, as it is in our author, who has divided it too much for the conveniency of the reader. *Suruba*, a Cacique in great authority, had been the main obstacle for a long time to the conversion of the *Taitensians*, a people of the territory of *Nvajingua*, opposite to the plains of *Guaira*, he being an obstinate follower of the customs of his fore-fathers, and a profess'd enemy to christianity. He, tho' his people were well inclin'd to the faith, kept them from any communication with F. *Ruiz*, because he was resolv'd to have no town built within his liberty. This *Suruba*, attended by several Caciques and their followers, all enemies to the Spaniards, went into the lands of the great *Taisoba*, to gather the herb of *Paraguay*, in which they take great delight, and whereof an account has been given before. Among them was *Pindovius*, a powerful man among his people, who the year before lay in wait for F. *Ruiz*, to have eat him, and afterwards would have had him come to erect a town in his territories. *Taisoba* the great, dissembling his hatred to strangers, gave them free passage through his lands, to gather the herb, but laying an ambush for them as they return'd, slew *Suruba*, and all his company, securing their bodies to make a feast. Only *Pindovius* making the best use of his weapons, broke thro' a company of

bow-men, with three followers, and made *Treno* his escape. *Suruba* being thus taken off, *Pindovius* considering to what a peaceable condition the *Ibitirambetans* were reduc'd by the society, from their former confusions and disorders, but erecting the town of S. *Xaverius*, and that he had enemies whom he could not withstand, unless he join'd the christians, sent three Caciques of his faction to F. *Ruiz*, to desire in his name he would come and build a town. The inhabitants of the town of S. *Xaverius* hearing of it, severely reprimanded his messengers, hindring them from the speech of the father, alledging that was one of *Pindovius* his usual frauds, to draw the fathers to him, that he might devour them. Yet F. *Ruiz* taking the messengers apart, promis'd to go with them in three days, notwithstanding any thing that might threaten. They thank'd him for giving credit to them, rather than to those that gave so ill a character of them, and promis'd, they would be as zealous in protecting him and his, as the *Ibitirambetans* had been. After the three days F. *Ruiz* and his companion set forward, and the fourth day of their journey came to the place of *Pindovius* his residence, by whom they were receiv'd with triumphal arches made of boughs, amidst the noise of drums and trumpets, and throng of people flocking from all parts, and so conducted to a chappel built for them. *Pindovius* promis'd to use all his endeavour to gather inhabitants for a populous town, he gave the fathers a house that was fortified with a trench and palisadoes, against the attempts of a certain Cacique, who had taken and eaten *Pindovius* his own mother, as *Pindovius* had done by several of his friends; and not long before the coming of the fathers, that enemy had taken three boys in *Pindovius* his party and roasted them, and kill'd some Indian women, whose bodies *Pindovius* recover'd, and among the rest one that was shor through, having life left, was baptiz'd and recover'd. The place pitch'd upon to build the town, was a field very commodious by reason of the river running along it, and abundance of fir trees close by. There a cross was erected, and the names of many *Incarnati-* saints being put into an urn, they drew to build. give a name to the town, and missing *All Saints*, took out *The Incarnation*, as the place is still call'd, which soon contain'd fifteen hundred families.

F. *Christopher Mendoza* was left in the new town of the *Incarnation*, F. *Ruiz* repairing to other parts. Whilst he was absent, the Indians of the plain rose in arms against *Pindovius*, for having receiv'd the society, resolving to kill F. *Mendoza*, and destroy the town. Having gather'd their forces,

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VOL. IV.

The Tucumans, and the new colony

TECHO. they sent a youth to discover the strength of *Pindovius*. This youth being taken was put to the rack to discover the designs of the enemy, which still he resolutely refus'd to have any knowledge of, till *F. Mendoza* taking up his breviary to say his office, he believing that book discover'd all secrets to the *Europeans*, of his own accord reveal'd all that could not be extorted from him before, declaring that the enemy desir'd nothing more than to gorge themselves with the flesh of the priests, and had resolv'd to ruin the town, and slaughter all its inhabitants. Upon this intelligence *Pindovius* led out his men with all expedition against the enemy; but their being disappointed by their spy, fearing some treachery, retir'd to their own lands. But to return to the great *Taiacoba*, from whom the continued series of these affairs have diverted us, he being now somewhat mollified by the fame of the society, sent two of his sons in a disguise with the *Cacique Maendius* to the town of *S. Xaverius*, to discover whether all was true that was reported of the society. They having liv'd conceal'd some days in the town, were at last discover'd by a servant of theirs to *F. Francis Diastanius*, who then had charge of the *Ibitrambetans*. The father hoping that opportunity might serve to oblige *Taiacoba*, sent for the two youths, and *Maendius* in an honourable manner, and asked what was the design of their coming; who ingenuously answer'd, they came as spies to pry into the manners of the christian priests and their converts. Next he ask'd, how they lik'd the religion? To which they unanimously reply'd, they lik'd it well, and would persuade *Taiacoba* to admit christianity in his dominions. This done, they were handsomely clad and sent back. *F. Ruiz* being inform'd hereof by letter, hasten'd to the town of *S. Xaverius*. *Taiacoba* hearing of his approach, went out to the borders of his territories to meet him with a great retinue, and embracing him with great demonstrations of joy, said, *Behold me here, O father, receive me as your son, and instruct me what I am to do.* His wife, in no less obliging a manner, set before him her three little children, whom *F. Ruiz* lovingly imbracing, wonderfully oblig'd both the parents. For nothing so much takes with the *Indians*, as to see their children belov'd by strangers. Being conducted through arches made of boughs, with great noise of trumpets, into *Taiacoba's* lands; his first care was to chuse a place to build a town, and having pitch'd upon it near the river *Huibao*, with the assistance of three hundred *Indians* he erected a cross, laid the foundation of a church, mark'd out the plot for the town, created magistrates in the name of his catholic majesty, gave the chief command to *Taiacoba*, appointed

*Taiacoba*  
reconcil'd.

his eldest son captain of the forces, honour'd the other *Caciques* with several titles, baptiz'd twenty-eight small children of *Taiacoba's* by several wives, and gave hopes to those that were grown to mens estate, that they should be receiv'd into the number of the faithful, as soon as they had learnt the rudiments of christianity. The forcerers, enrag'd at this success, stirr'd up all the neighbouring people against *Taiacoba*, who setting out gave strict command that no harm should be done to *F. Ruiz*, their design being to take him alive, and kill him with solemnity at a feast. *Taiacoba* and his confederate *Caciques* being much inferior to the enemy in number, and sensible of their danger, went late at night to *F. Ruiz* desiring to be baptiz'd, and promising, *If that favour were granted them, to dye manfully in defence of the faith.* The father considering the present circumstances, instructed them the best he could for that short time, and made them all christians. Before break of day, the enemy, having divided their troops into four parts, attack'd *Taiacoba's* forces. At the first onset several of the enemies and two of ours fell, many on both sides, and among them *Taiacoba's* son being wounded, and his whole party put to flight. *F. Ruiz* order'd *Taiacoba* to stay in the place design'd to build the town, with the *Cacique Piragatua*, till they could have an opportunity of retrieving that misfortune. The people of *Villavica* hearing of what had happen'd, sent five hundred converts well armed against those revolted *Indians*. There coming to a battle, and being overpowered by the multitude of the enemies, were forced to secure themselves within passadoes. Where the fight being renew'd, they must have perish'd, had not *F. Ruiz* advis'd them to receive all the enemies arrows without shooting any, because both sides make use of the enemies arrows, and when they have none left they certainly fly. By this means our men having receiv'd all their arrows without any harm, soon put them to flight, which done they return'd home. It happen'd in this expedition that our men, having put the enemies to flight, brought away a pot full of flesh, whereof *F. Ruiz's* hunger pressing, and believing it to be venison, eat a little, but was struck with horror, when at the bottom of the pot they found a mans head and hands, and above all when it was found to be the flesh of his own clerk, who being taken in the former flight, had been reserv'd for a solemn entertainment. Concerning the ceremonies of their feasts of human flesh, because we have often occasion to mention them, take this short account. The men-eaters of the province of *Villavica* led any prisoner they took in war to their village, allowing him all man-

Ceremonies of killing men to eat.

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manner of dainties they could think of, that he being fatted, might fatten others with his flesh. During the fattening time, it was a crime to refuse him any thing he had a mind to. On the day before the slaughter was to be, the inhabitants of the village calling in the neighbours on all sides, made a mighty appearance. First went a great number of armed men two and two, and women in the same manner; one maid in the midst of the procession richly adorn'd with feathers and garments, carry'd a club, the instrument of their cruelty, and a fine dish; and another dress'd like her, a crown or garland for the intended victim. Lusty brawny women led the prisoner, bound about the middle with slack ropes and his arms loose, throwing sticks and stones at all about him. If the prisoner happen'd to hurt any body, all the multitude applauded his valour and dexterity, with great shouts and acclamations. The procession of the eve being ended, they spent the night in confuse noise, dancing and drunkenness; cramming the prisoner with meat and drink. In the morning they led him in the same manner as the day before to the place of slaughter, where having repeated all the same follies, the prisoner being crown'd by some powerful *Cacique* and curiously adorn'd, was knock'd down with the club. When down all there present struck him, leaving their old names and taking new ones, and even the little children having names given them by their mothers, were forced to strike the body with their hands. When it appear'd he was dead, all the company broke out into immoderate laughter, and danced about before the inhuman feast. Then they boil the carcase, cut in pieces and eat it, sending some pieces to the neighbouring villages, that they might taste and take new names. This barbarity was look'd upon as a glorious death, and therefore very few prisoners made their escape, though they might easily do it. Things not being yet ripe for building the town, because the enemies were too powerful and the friends but few; *F. Ruiz* retir'd from thence to visit the other parts of *Guaira*. Having perform'd that duty, he return'd with greater resolution, and though all people dissuaded him, alledging, *He would infallibly be devour'd by the barbarous Indians*, nothing could alter him. He therefore sent before *Nicolas Taiaboa*, with orders to gather all the force he could to oppose the enemies, whilst he had recourse to God for aid. About the same time an hundred of the bloodiest of those *Indians* who had formerly eaten the seven converts that attend'd *F. Ruiz*, came and submitted themselves to him; and news was brought that seven *Caciques*, who were mortal enemies to Chris-

tianity, had been beaten to death with clubs **TECHO** in the woods, and many others of that stamp slain in the same place, yet it could never be known who had made all that slaughter. So many obstacles being remov'd, *F. Ruiz* set forward, and within a few days was met by *Taiaboa* and *Piraguatia*, with whom he went to the place design'd to build the town, where he found **Town of** very few *Indians*, because the followers of the **Seven** *Taiaboa* and *Paraguatia*, understanding that **Archangels built:** other *Indians* had again conspir'd against them, durst not assemble. *Guiravera* a *Cacique* was the most inveterate of cannibals, who now threaten'd *F. Ruiz* should not escape him, and therefore call'd together all the *Caciques* of his faction, who agreed to put his design in execution, which was thus disappointed. Among the rest was *Avarundio*, who, in the former attempt against *F. Ruiz*, commanded their forces; him *Guiravera* upon some suspicion murder'd with his own hand, and lay'd him before the rest to be eaten, designing to make a feast of all his followers. Accordingly *Cheacabie* another *Cacique*, who had formerly promised his concubines to treat them with *F. Ruiz's* legs, was shot thro'. These murders bred discord, and so the enemies forces were divided, and *Taiaboa's* party so considerably increas'd, that of eighty *Caciques* there were in that part of the country, sixty favour'd Christianity with *Taiaboa*. *F. Ruiz* encourag'd by this success, fell to work on building the new town, gave it the name of the *Seven Archangels*, and settled the form of government. There he baptiz'd five hundred persons, before he left that populous town to the charge of *F. Peter Spinoja* to go himself into the plain, where we shall speak of him again hereafter.

Though some account has been given before at number forty, of the province of **Of the** *Cuio* or *Chicuito*, we will here add a fur- **people of** *Cuio* of **Chicuito.** ther relation our author gives out of a letter of *F. Dominick Gonzalez*, rector of the college of *Mendoza*, the capital of that province, who labour'd much for the conversion of those people, and writing to the provincial, speaks thus of them. *The Indians (says he) among whom I have been, inviting one another from several villages, have often solemn revellings. I saw the places of their mad drunken meetings, which the lord of the village and master of the feasts encloses with straw, making them round with gaps at certain distances, and in bigness proportionable to the number of the guests. There all the men pass three or four days in dancing and singing, without sleeping. The women are not to come within these inclosures, only when they bring their husbands wine, which they do with their eyes shut, and their face turn'd away; if through any neglect they look upon the men when they are revelling in that*

**W**TECHO that ring, the punishment is death; which law is so rigorous, that neither the husband forgives his wife, nor the father his daughter. The reason they give for this superstitious cruelty, is that they have found by experience, as they pretend, that some of the revellers dye presently, and sometimes are openly kill'd by the devil, if they are seen by women in that enclosure. The devil before call'd upon, is present at these dances, and the way of raising of him is thus. An old fellow standing in the midst of the dancers, beats a drum till he visibly appears with a mighty noise, in the shape of a man, dog or fox. When come, the devil does not refuse to drink; then having made a speech to the company, the parents offer their children to him, whom he marks as his, drawing blood from them with his nails. At other times, those that desire to devote their children to the devil, carry them to certain old men appointed for that purpose, who tear the children's skins with their nails, and pierce their heads with a sharp bone till they bleed plentifully, the blood which runs they receive in their hands and scatter it in the air, believing the children consecrated by this ceremony. Having thus blooded them, they make them fast in some retir'd place remote from all other company, by which misery they pretend they become strong. All the nation adores the sun, moon and morning star, hoping for all health and prosperity from them. Thus F. Gonzalez of the people of the province of Cuio or Chicuito.

Let us look back a little into the province of the *Nativity* built. The town of Parana, where some attempts had been made to introduce christianity among those people, inhabiting on the banks of the upper part of the river; yet at length some of the Caciques had been so far oblig'd by frequent courtesies, that it was believ'd there might be a probability of building a town. F. James Boroa and Claudius Ruiz undertook this work in the year 1624, setting forwards in March, with a company of select converts. The mouth of the river Acarai is thirty leagues from the town of Corpus Christi, whence they set out. About that river dwelt several Caciques, one of whom of his own accord assign'd a place in his liberty to build the town. The report whereof being spread abroad, drew many Caciques thither to confer, who departed so as was believ'd they had been gain'd over to the faith. The fathers therefore built a sort of chappel for present use, and gave the new town the name of the *Nativity* of the Virgin Mary, taking all possible care to attract all the neighbouring people to come to inhabit there. F. Claudius Ruiz was left there alone, and endur'd very much, there being scarce a man in the town but what fell sick; as soon as they recover'd, he drew over the inhabitants of two villages. But his main design was upon Qua-

racipacatus an apostate, who hearing the father was coming to him, assembled the neighbouring Caciques to murder him; but the father wrought so powerfully upon him by his words, that he furnish'd him provisions, and some time after joyn'd the other converts. At this time and others the fathers brought several *Indians* to his town, but they, out of their natural laziness, neglecting to build their houses, were so frighten'd by a tyger that us'd to come into the town at nights, that they fell to work in their own defence, and with wonderful celerity built substantial habitations to defend them from danger. Soon after the tyger was taken in a gin. This place was long subject to be so infested by tygers, and had another plague, which was a multitude of gnats breeding in that low hot Ground, that day and night were a continual torment to the inhabitants, yet the town prosper'd and continues to this day. Jaguapinus a Cacique of this province of Paragua, was a great hindrance to the progress of christianity, and persuaded the heathens of Urvaica, to build a larger town near to that of the *Conception*, to the end they might with united forces make war on the christians, and obstruct their increase. The converts of Parana having notice of his design, drew together and fell upon his town, where they took him, and sent him into banishment; which prov'd a double advantage to the towns of Parana and Urvaica; for Jaguapinus became a christian with all his followers, and afterwards many more towns were built. Yet A famous amidst all this prosperity, no little trouble was rais'd by one John Quaracius a wicked forcerer, famous for many villanies, who being born in the province of Guaira came into that of Parana, suffering himself to be baptiz'd, that he might, being the less suspected, do most harm. He travelling into several countries, spread every where his damnable superstitions, endeavouring to dissuade all he could from embracing christianity. In the town of the *Assumption*, being convicted of heinous crimes, he was condemn'd to be hang'd, but sav'd by some indiscreet persons, and banish'd to the town of Santa Fe. Making his escape from thence up the river Parana, he privately got into the town of the *Itatinensians*, subject to the *Franciscan* fathers. Being a crafty fellow he persuaded the people to conceal him, and by insinuating discourses prevail'd with those credulous *Indians*, to repair to him in great numbers at night. The doctrine this night-doctor taught, was this. ' That they should take heed of the christians and their priests, who were devoted to the ruin of the *Indians*. That they persuaded the converts to confession, that they might



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 fast, should be too hard for the Spaniards.  
 That therefore he, by the power he had  
 in him, commanded them all not to be  
 satisfy'd with one wife for the future, but  
 to keep as many as they could get.  
 Live (said he) and drink after your ancient  
 manner, making merry with dancing and  
 drunkenness; celebrating the memory of our  
 ancestors. Give no honour to the images of  
 Saints, but look upon me as your only deity. If  
 you do otherwise, I will deliver you up to be  
 swallow'd by the Parana, transform'd into  
 frogs and toads. To these blasphemous  
 doctrines, he added a leud example. For  
 besides keeping seven concubines constant-  
 ly to satiate his lust, he would have to do  
 with any others at pleasure. Having thus  
 done much harm by words and example,  
 in a short time he so perverted the Itali-  
 nensians, that they look'd not like the same  
 people. For instead of respecting, they  
 revild the priests. Instead of frequenting  
 the sacraments, they were fallen to  
 their former vices so openly, that a revolt  
 of the whole town was fear'd. F. John  
 Gamarra, a Franciscan, well skill'd in the  
 Indian language, and in the way of ma-  
 naging those people, was then chief there,  
 who inquiring into the cause of this sudden  
 change, was a long time before he could  
 make any discovery, till at last a boy made  
 some discovery. For having a particular  
 kindness for him, and asking him, Whether  
 he lov'd him? The boy answer'd, Indeed I  
 love you father, but John Quaracius lies pri-  
 vately in tosen, whom I love better than you.  
 Quaracius's name was well known, and  
 therefore having heard this account, he  
 made no question but that was the cause of  
 all the mischief. But he being more earnest  
 in that business than was proper, Quaracius  
 making his escape with his concubines up  
 the river Parana, got away into Maracana,  
 the refuge of wicked men for many years.  
 Then making some looses from thence,  
 spreading his venom in all parts, he infest-  
 ed our converts, and fill'd to the villages of  
 the upper Parana, to persuade the infidels  
 not to embrace the faith. F. Gonzalez ob-  
 serving the change in the converts, and  
 not knowing the cause whence that mischief  
 proceeded, having receiv'd letters from F.  
 Gamarra, giving an account of Quaracius's  
 escape, gather'd a company of the most  
 faithful of the converts, and with them hat-  
 ted to Maracana, but before he could get

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thither, the impostor had betaken himself to his lurking places in the marshes, where-  
 with he was well acquainted, and would  
 never have been drawn thence, had not  
 one of his concubines betray'd him. When  
 found, the converts bound him fast, and  
 after shewing him in the town of Iltana,  
 conducting him down the Parana, and up  
 the Paraguay to the city of the Assumption,  
 where he was hang'd, and so deliver'd the  
 provinces of Parana and Urvaica from im-  
 minent danger.

About this time, that is, the year 1625  
 or 26, the kingdom of Chili which had  
 been a part of the Jesuits province of Pa-  
 raguay, by reason of the vast extent of  
 the said province, and the vast mountains  
 which part those dominions, and are pass-  
 able but at certain times in the year, was di-  
 vided and made a vice-province, subject  
 to that of Peru, which I mention here,  
 because this history treating only of the  
 father's province of Paraguay, we shall  
 for the future have no more occasion to  
 speak of the said kingdom of Chili. Up-  
 on this separation, all the fathers born in  
 that kingdom retiring to it, there began  
 to be a want in Paraguay, to remedy  
 which Gaspar Sabrino was sent procurator  
 to Rome, to bring new supplies out of Eu-  
 rope. There we will leave him and return  
 to F. James Boroa, who being chosen re-  
 ctor of the college in the city of the Assum-  
 ption, beg'd of the provincial, that be-  
 fore he enter'd upon that dignity, he might  
 have leave once more to try to bring the  
 Iguazuans, a people bordering on Parana,  
 among whom he had been before with im-  
 minent danger of his life, to build a town  
 and embrace the faith; which having ob-  
 tain'd, he set forward with all necessaries  
 for his design. Iguazu, which signifies  
 great river, falls into the Parana with a  
 mighty noise, at an almost equal distance  
 from the town of Itagua and borders on  
 the province of Parana, in about twenty-  
 four degrees of south latitude. A craggy River I.  
 rock lying quite athwart the river four miles  
 above its mouth, renders it innavigable,  
 and rolls down from a great height such  
 a vast quantity of water, that the noise of  
 its falling is heard three leagues off, and  
 the violence of its dashing, forms as it  
 were a cloud ever visible from the Pa-  
 rana. This precipice had till this time  
 been as a bulwark, to secure them against  
 all foreigners. The whole nation differs  
 in nothing from the rest of the Guaraniens.  
 Before the coming of the Jesuits among  
 them, the women went naked. They  
 reckon'd it dainty diet to feed on the flesh  
 of their enemies. No Spaniard had hi-  
 therto been among them, nor was there a-  
 ny hopes of entring by force of arms.

8 N

Three

**T**ECNO. Three years before this *F. James Boroa*, attempting with a few converts to introduce christian religion among them, was forced to retire by the natives in arms. Two years after having pass'd the same precipice, and gain'd the good will of some *Caciques*, he was again expell'd by *Taupá*, the most powerful of the *Iguazuans*, and return'd to *Paraná* with small hopes of reducing those people. But being of a spirit that still struggled against all difficulties, he again went upon the same expedition better provided than before, with *F. Claudius Ruier* for his companion. Their design being known, the *Iguazuans*, according to their custom, held a consultation at a solemn feast, to debate, whether the preachers of a new law ought to be admitted. That the business might be perform'd with the greater solemnity, they with horrid ceremonies kill'd a youth they had prisoner, dress'd, and eat him. What is wonderful, amidst these abominations, when the matter was put to the vote, they all unanimously agreed, that *F. James Boroa* was to be admitted, because from the time they had resisted him, God had punish'd them with famine and pestilence; most of those, who were the chief cause of expelling him, being taken off by the plague. As soon therefore as they heard that the father had set out of *Acará*, they sent boats to the precipice, which, when he had pass'd, they receiv'd him in their first village with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness. The following days *Taupá* himself, and other *Caciques*, came very readily to submit themselves. Several strove to have the new town built where their villages stood, but the fathers without regard to private interest, chose the most convenient place for the publick. A great cross was erected, and the plat being mark'd out, abundance of people from all the neighbouring parts, destroying their villages, came to settle there. The new colony was call'd *S. Mary Major of Iguazu*. After four months the *Cacique Paravera*, at the instance of *Taupá*, brought over two hundred families to the town; after whom, none refus'd to embrace christianity, so that a hundred and fifty men and women were baptiz'd on the feast of the *Assumption*, and above five hundred of all sorts within a few days after, all the rest coming in by degrees, to the number of eight thousand six hundred, at the time when the author resided there. The house and church were five months building; during which time the fathers dwelt and taught under mats; living so poorly, that insipid roots were their chief dainties; for the country of *Iguazu* being all woody, has not pasture for cattle; and the river being shut up by the precipice, has no fish, so that all the people feed on snails,

Town of  
*S. Mary*  
of  
*Iguazu*  
built.

and some inconsiderable fruits of the earth.

*F. Roch Gonzalez* was no less successful upon the river *Urvaica*. He had been confin'd for seven years to the town of the *Conception*, built by himself, not being able to set his foot beyond the river, because of the obstinacy and jealousy of the *Indians*; but many obstacles being now remov'd, passing the *Urvaica* with a few converts, he went as far as the place where the small river *Piratin* falls into it. Having found a place fit to build on, two leagues from thence on the banks of the said river, he summon'd the neighbouring people to a conference, and having gain'd their affections, on the day of the *Invention* of the cross, he erecteth one, and laid the foundation of a town, which, in honour of his provincial, *Nicolas Durand*, he call'd *S. Nicolas*; and the *Indians* resorting to it, in a short time it grew populous, so that above seven thousand were baptiz'd in a few years. In the mean while, *Luis de Cespedes*, governor of the province of *Rio de la Plata*, thinking it would gain him reputation, and be a matter of merit with the king of *Spain*, if the province of *Urvaica* were reduced to admit of towns, during his government, us'd all possible means to open a way from the port of *Buenos Ayres*, to the town of the *Conception*, founded by *F. Gonzalez*. But despairing of ever subduing such vast nations by force of arms, he concluded the only way to compass it, was to encourage the society, with supplies from the king to continue that expedition. To this purpose, having purchased the friendship of the inhabitants, he prevail'd with *Ferdinand de Sa*, a *Spaniard*, well acquainted with the language and temper of the *Indians*, partly by his authority, and partly by hopes of reward, to venture to sail up the river *Urvaica* a hundred and fifty leagues, and carry his letters to *F. Gonzalez*, then in the town of the *Conception*. *Ferdinand de Sa*, escaping many dangers, perform'd the journey, and delivered the letters to *F. Gonzalez*, by which the governor signify'd, that it would be a great service to God and the king, if he would discover along the river *Urvaica*, and come down to him to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, that they might consult about the best means of reducing the province of *Urvaica*. *F. Gonzalez* rejoicing that the means was offer'd him of doing that, which he had so earnestly desir'd; taking along with him the boldest of the inhabitants of the *Conception*, and their commander *James Niez*, set out with *Ferdinand de Sa*. By the way he persuaded four hundred *Indians*, that came to meet him in warlike manner, to return peaceably to their homes. Where-soever he went, the people along the shores, remarka-

*S. Nicolas*  
town  
built.

its of the earth.  
 no less successful *S. Nicholas*  
 He had been con-  
 the town of the  
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 ould gain him re-  
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 province of *Ur-*  
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 e port of *Buenos*  
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*Sa*. By the way  
 red *Indians*, that  
 arlike manner, to  
 homes. Where-  
 along the shores,  
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remarkable for the diversity of langua-  
 ges, and barbarity, ran to have a view  
 of him. In twenty five days he came to  
 the port of *Buenos Ayres*, to the great joy of  
 the governor, who, understanding that the  
 chief of the *Urvaican* converted came along  
 with him, thought it might be an endeavour  
 to insill into those ignorant people, a re-  
 spect for the catholick king and *Spaniards*.  
 To this purpose, on the day appointed, he  
 march'd out with all the prime men, and  
 a good number of horse: Next him fol-  
 low'd his eldest son, captain of a troop of  
 horse, and another son that was captain of  
 foot, exercising their men, the cannon in  
 the mean while roaring from the walls.  
 Thus were the *Indians*, astonish'd at that  
 terrible noise, conducted in state, first to the  
 governour's, and then to the bishop's pa-  
 lace; and the governour having kiss'd his  
 hand, and speaking to him some time on  
 his knees, taught those strangers what re-  
 spect was paid to prelates. Then *James*  
*Nieza*, in the behalf of all his people, took  
 an oath that he and they would be subject  
 to the catholick king, and obedient to his  
 governours; and take care that none should  
 obstruct the executions of his majesty's  
 commands; and begg'd that they might  
 not be oblig'd to serve private men, or be  
 govern'd by any but the fathers of the so-  
 ciety. The conditions being granted, and  
 homage receiv'd for the province of *Urva-*  
*ica*, the governor appointed *James Nieza*  
 commander over his people, and having  
 presented him with his own coat, and se-  
 veral other things, advis'd him to continue  
 faithful to the catholick king, as he had  
 sworn, and be obedient to the fathers. The  
 bishops did the same, and then gave the  
 fathers full authority in spirituals, as the  
 governour did in temporals; delivering,  
 at the same time, to *F. Gonzalez*, bells,  
 church-stuff, and other necessities at the  
 king's expence; and knowing there might  
 be more towns erected, besides the two al-  
 ready built on the banks of the river *Urva-*  
*ica*, if there were fathers to supply them, he  
 sent *F. Michael Ampuero* back with *F. Gon-*  
*zalez*, and writ to the catholick king, ex-  
 tolling the proceedings of the society, and  
 begging that thirty of them might be sent  
 to serve the province of *Urvaica*; which  
 letters were of good effect at *Madrid*, for  
 obtaining the fathers that came two years  
 after to *Paraguay* with *F. Gaspar Sobrono*.  
*James de Vega*, a rich *Portuguese*, gave con-  
 siderably towards priestly vestments, and  
 other church-stuff, and promised to send  
 for all sorts of iron tools for the service of  
 the new towns, which he afterwards per-  
 form'd, and was of great use. Having  
 spent ten days in concluding these important  
 affairs, *F. Gonzalez* return'd the same way

to the place whence he came; and having *Trecho*  
 again viewed the shores of the river *Urva-*  
*ica*, found there was little hopes of founding  
 any town, for an hundred leagues from the  
 port of *Buenos Ayres*, because the natives  
 were of that sort of people, who, wandering  
 about all their life time, would not be  
 brought to till the land, or settle in one  
 place. Beyond that, he encourag'd the  
*Japevians* to build a town; and twenty  
 leagues further, prevail'd with the *Jagua-*  
*raians* to do the same, whereof we shall  
 soon give an account. This done, he re-  
 turn'd to the town of the *Concepcion*.

This was the posture of the province of *Two*  
*Urvaica*, when the provincial *F. Nicholas* <sup>ways from</sup>  
*Durant*, having resign'd the kingdom of <sup>*Tucuman*</sup>  
*Chili*, resolv'd upon visiting *Guaira*, where <sup>to *Guaira*.</sup>  
 no provincial as yet had been. There were  
 two ways out of *Tucuman* into *Guaira*; the  
 one had been used for many years past,  
 which was up the rivers of *Plate* and *Para-*  
*guay*, and the rest by land. But his was  
 much about, and almost five hundred leagues  
 in length; besides, that it was infested by  
 the *Paiguans*, the most inhumane of the  
*Indians*, and famous for the slaughter of  
 many travellers. The other way was much  
 shorter, which was sailing up the *Parana*,  
 and had never been attempted before the  
 society erected the towns above spoken of,  
 for fear of the infidels; and because of a  
 vast precipice running quite athwart the *Pa-*  
*rana*, near the borders of *Guaira*. Most  
 of those people being now brought into  
 towns, the provincial hoped he might take  
 that way. *F. Anthony Ruiz* being inform-  
 ed of the provincial's design, sent several  
 messengers one after another, to discover  
 that new way; the last of whom making  
 his way through into *Tucuman*, satisfy'd  
 the provincial, that he might go up the ri-  
 ver to *Guaira* with very little danger. He  
 set forward from *Cordova*, and travell'd six-  
 ty leagues to the college of the town of *St.*  
*Fe*; thence a hundred and fifty leagues to  
*Itapua* on the river, and fifteen further to  
*Corpus Christi* town, and so thirty more to  
 the new colony of *S. Mary Major of Iguaçu*,  
 wherein were already two thousand inhabi-  
 tants. He held on his course to *Acarai*,  
 and thence towards the precipice, which  
 was forty leagues further. Drawing near <sup>The won-</sup>  
 the precipice, he began to be sensible of the dreadful pre-  
 force of the water that fell; the little ves- <sup>tipice of</sup>  
 sel that carried him being much batter'd; <sup>*Guaira*.</sup>  
 and another in which were *F. Martin Ma-*  
*rinus*, and *Mendiola*, priests going to assist in  
*Guaira*, beaten to pieces against a rock, but  
 the passengers saved. This oblig'd them  
 to travel by land. *F. Anthony Ruiz* had  
 laid bridges over the clefts of the precipice,  
 and open'd a way through the impassable  
 parts of the woods; yet they were forced  
 very

**TECHO.** very often to lay planks over from rock to rock, going over them in great danger of their lives, if their feet had slipped, being sure to fall a vast depth into the rowling waters. Very many fabulous stories have been made concerning this precipice, which I will not take notice of. Most certain it is, that many have lost their lives, being dashed by the falling waters against the rocks; and I know not whether there be any thing in the world more wonderful of that kind; at least, in *America*, there is nothing more dreadful, or more spoken of; for a little above the precipice, the river *Parana*, which is two leagues over, draws into so narrow a compass, that the breadth is not above a stone's throw. When it is at this narrowness, it tumbles most impetuously from a prodigious height, down a descent of twelve leagues, the sloping channel being full of hideous rocks, against which the water violently beating, flies up a wonderful height. In many places the channel is obstructed by mighty rocks; but as soon as the waters, thus slopt, get a head again, they make most dreadful whirlpools. In other places, the falling waters, after making their efforts against the rocks, slip away out of sight through private passages, and having been long conceal'd, piercing through the rocks, break out again at the bottom of them, and spread abroad with a high noise, as if it were out of inexhaustible springs. In fine, so great is the violence of the waters, tumbling headlong down that inclining channel, that there is a continual foam of an iron-colour for all the twelve leagues the descent lasts, which being reflected upon by the sun, dazes the eyes of those that behold it. The noise of the waters falling and beating against the rocks, is plainly heard four leagues off. Not far from the foot of the precipice, the water seems desirous to rest in a smoother bed; and having made, as it were, a sea, looks more like a standing pool than a *Cataract*. But that calm is mischievous, for almost every hour there arises a great noise from the bottom, the cause unknown, and throws up the water many cubits high, perpetually giving warning, that there is no confidence to be repos'd in its counterfeit stillness, which every now and then grows boisterous to the destruction of many. There are fishes there of a prodigious bulk. *F. Anthony Ruiz* affirms, he has seen one as big as an ox, swimming with half its body above water. It is reported, as a most certain truth, that an *Indian* was swallow'd by one of these fishes, and afterwards cast up whole on the shore. They spent six days with unspeakable toil in climbing the mountain; for tho' the way, if it were streight, would be but twelve leagues, yet the many windings make

it almost double. Besides, it is all along an uncooth rocky shore, divided by lakes, brooks, woods and scorching sands. No part of the world would be hotter, did not the woods at small distances make a shade; and yet that very thickness of the trees, which does not give free passage to the air, is very tiresome to travellers. Where they were to lie at night, the *Indians* set up a little cottage, the walls and roofs whereof were made of leaves, orderly placed, which being bound together with roots instead of cords, kept out the rain.

When they came to the top of the precipice, *F. Peter Spinsa* met the provincial <sup>The provincial's</sup> with boats from sixty leagues further up the province of *Guaira*, and entertain'd him and his company with a plentiful provision of the country fruit; this meeting at the top of the precipice, being in some measure, an emblem of those, who, ascending with much difficulty to the pitch of virtue, taste there the sweet fruits of their past labours. Two leagues beyond the precipice, the chief men of *Cuidad real* came out to meet the provincial, receiving him with the greater honour, because, till that time, no bishop, governor, or provincial had been in *Guaira*. After the reception, they desir'd of him that he would erect a college in the city, which he could not grant, because of the small number of fathers, but promis'd he would appoint some to take care of the city, and to see the *Indians* perform'd their two months service, according to the king's order, and suffer'd no further oppression. Thence he went to *Loreto*, where the converts, to honour his coming, represented a fight among themselves on the river, which was all cover'd with boats, re-sounding with musical voices and instruments. The church he found adorn'd with such curious inventions, that he declar'd, he thought them a sufficient reward of all his labours. The town of *St. Ignatius*, entertain'd him with no less tokens or affections; and he departing from it, left the river *Parana* on his left hand, and went up the *Tibaxiva*, which being very shallow in many places, he had much ado to make thirty leagues in fifteen days, to come to the town of *St. Xavierius*, containing fifteen hundred families, under the direction of *F. Francis Dianianus*. Hence he sent *F. Christopher Torriano* some days journey by land to *Villarica*, to restore the residence of the society in that city, that it might be a check to some who oppress'd the *Indians*, and assist them in their spiritual concern. In his return upon the river *Tibaxiva*, the vessel that carry'd him was cast away, and many things lost. Wheresoever he went, he bestow'd shirts, hooks, pins, needles and glass beads among the *Indians*; inasmuch, that he is said to have spent to the

The rock.

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Tumults  
infestation  
on account  
of Spanish  
governors.

the value of two thousand pieces of eight among the *Guaicureans*; which liberality was not ill bestow'd, for the fame of the great father's gifts (as they call'd him) gain'd the hearts of abundance of the infidels, and encourag'd the converts. At his departure, he order'd *F. Antony Ruiz* to build three towns more among the *Inianians*, and in the countries of *Taiaba*, and the *Coronadas*. When he came down the precipice of *Guaia*, he went to see a vast rock, which by contraries they call *Pena pobre*, or the poor rock. This rock is of several colours, and so bright, that the sun beams striking upon it are reflected, as it were from a glass; which makes the ignorant multitude believe it to be all of some rich metal, if not of gold; but they are deceiv'd, for it is known to be meer stone, so rub'd and polish'd with the sand of several colours drove by the wind, that it looks at a distance like glass. It is reported that thirty Spanish boats were formerly lost going near to view this rock. Thence the provincial proceeding through the province of *Parana*, drew away the two fathers that were among the *Guaicureans*, there being no hopes of the conversion of those people, tho' the society had been sixteen years settled among them. At *Itapua* the inhabitants petition'd the provincial, that he would suffer the blessed sacrament to be placed in their church, and the best instructed among them to receive it, which he granted, whereupon they kept a festival with such solemnity, that the nicest Europeans who beheld it were struck with admiration. Let us return a little to the province of *Urvaica*, which not long since we left in a good posture towards being reduced.

The too hasty eagerness of the governor of the province of *Rio de la Plata* bred much disorder and confusion there. This governor sent from the port of *Buenos Ayres*, *Ferdinand de Sa*, *Peter Bravo*, and *Paiva*, all Spaniards, to be corregidors or governors of the new towns the fathers had or should erect for the king of Spain. *F. Gonzalez*, tho' he foresaw the ill consequence of that unreasonable resolution, yet not daring to withstand the king's governor's commands, permitted *Ferdinand de Sa* to act as corregidor in the town of the *Conception*; *Paiva* he sent to the *Jaguaraitians*; and *Peter Bravo* to the *Japevians*, people of *Urvaica*, who had desir'd of the society to be gather'd into towns: but it was not long before this precipitate project did much harm; for tho', out of respect to the fathers, the converts for some time bore with the strange governors, yet it soon appear'd that could not be lasting, which was tolerated so much against inclination: for the news being spread abroad, the *Ila-*

*puans*, a people of *Parana*, sent a messenger to threaten the *Ibitiraguans* with war if they did not cast off the yoke of that foreign governor; and the infidels inhabiting the opposite shore of *Urvaica* gathering into a body, fell upon a party of *Ibitiraguans*, and plundering them, sent 'em home with many reproaches, and a declaration of war. *Ferdinand de Sa*, by his imperious carriage, added fuel to the fire, provoking the people, not us'd to be under command, by his threats and arbitrary practices, and by giving a box on the ear to a youth who had powerful relations, for not obeying his orders immediately. The *Ibitiraguans*, impatient to be upbraided and provok'd by this action of *Ferdinand de Sa*, besides some jealousy of his lust, ran to arms in a tumultuous manner, beset the fathers house, and demanded to have the new governor to be deliver'd to them to suffer death; and had done it, but that *F. James de Alfaro* interposing his authority, in some measure appeas'd 'em; but *Ferdinand de Sa* durst not go out of the House, or presume to exercise any command. Not long before this happen'd, *F. Gonzalez* had got together as many of the *Jaguaraitians* as were sufficient for a handsome town, which they had begun to build. *Paiva* coming thither, had with his threats so incens'd those people, that *Potirava*, a powerful Cacique, contriv'd to kill him; and had done it, but that *Tabaca*, the Indian commander of the new town, obstructed it. *Potirava* being disappointed of his design, for fear of being punish'd, fled to his ancient lurking places, drawing along after him about a thousand of the inhabitants of the town. *Paiva* for fear hid himself in the woods. Upon this news the provincial, with some companions, hastened to the province of *Urvaica*: as he came into the town of the *Conception*, the chief men of the town flock'd about him, rather demanding in a tumultuous manner than entreating, that he should interpose his authority, unless he would have the church perish there; for the *Urvaicans* were all agreed, *That the faith could not be propagated among them, if any other governors came among 'em but those of the society, under whom they would obey all the king's commands.* The provincial having heard their complaints, deserr'd giving them an answer till the next day, when he told 'em, *'Twas not in his power to displace the corregidors sent by the king's governor-general, but that he would send one of the fathers to him, and did not question but he would remove the causes of their troubles.* The people were satisfied with his answer, and he presently sent *F. Michael Ampuero* down the river *Urvaica*, to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, who obtain'd of the governor not only the removal of those corregidors, but



**TECHO.** new supplies for the support of the fathers in that province. The provincial then continuing his visitation, proceeded to the town of *S. Nicholas*, on the river *Piratin*, and thence to the *Japevians*, where he forwarded the building of a town already begun, and call'd *Los Reyes*, or *the three Kings*, which made way to the conversion of the *Jarosians*, *Membaguas*, *Cbaruas*, *Guenoas*, and other fierce nations till then untouch'd, which hope is since much advanc'd by the building of the town of *S. Andrew* among those people. Here let us leave these people ending this section, to proceed upon other variety of matter.

**Ibicut, or Purification town built.** The river *Ibicut* falls into the *Urvaica* an hundred leagues from the town of *Buenos Ayres*, on the opposite side among the people call'd *Japevians*. It was requisite to bring the people down to the banks to the faith of Christ, in order to open a way to those other nations that inhabit the great continent between the river *Urvaica* and the *Atlantick* ocean. To this purpose *F. Gonzalez*, with great danger of his life, venturing up the river *Ibicut* in a boat, with only a few *Indians* to row, ran forty leagues, till he came into the country of *Tabaca*, a powerful *Cacique*, by whom being friendly receiv'd, he found the beginning of his attempt easier than he had imagin'd; for *Tabaca* having heard the doctrine of Christ, took upon him to gather as many infidels as would suffice to make a considerable town. The father thus assist'd, presently erected a cross, built a chapel to serve for the present, and mark'd out the plan of a town, to which he solemnly gave the title of the *Purification*, otherwise call'd *Ibicut*: which done, he return'd to the river *Urvaica*, promising to send them a priest with all possible speed, to reside there. When he was gone, the people further up the country conspir'd, and thinking he was still there, came arm'd in great numbers to sacrifice him and demolish the new town. At first onset they threw down the cross, burnt the chapel, threatned the supporters of the new religion with death, and destroy'd all they found. The news being brought to *F. Gonzalez*, he set out with *F. Romero*, contrary to the advice of all the *Japevians*, who affirm'd he was running to most certain death. Having ran up the river *Ibicut* twenty leagues, his spies told him, he could not possibly escape if he advanc'd: nevertheless sending *F. Romero* back, he ventur'd alone with only a few men that row'd, to the place where the town had been destroy'd. There he was inform'd by *Tabaca* and the neighbouring *Caciques*, that the thing had been done in their absence, and that tho' they had been there, they could not have oppos'd such a

multitude of enemies. The father having sent for some of the *Caciques* of the upper country, by his authority and rewards prevail'd with them, tho' much against their wills, to convey him into the country of the *Japevians*, to retrieve what had been lost. Being there, as he was examining all things, and disposing the *Indians* to build a town, news was brought that the further people were marching in great numbers to kill him. The *Caciques* his friends gave some check at first to their advance, but being press'd by too great a number, and almost lost, *F. Gonzalez* made use of his wits to shun this threatening danger, fetching out a great book and a saw he carried with him to cut down timber. The enemy's spies being terrified at the sight of those things, ran back to acquaint their people, That *F. Gonzalez* brought along with him an iron instrument full of teeth, which he said could with great ease cut in pieces an infinite number of men; and, that he talk'd with a parcel of leaves put together, which certainly were able to destroy whole armies. The *Indians* hearing this account, being very apprehensive of the power of books, and not knowing the power of the saw, were struck with a panick fear, and fled. *F. Gonzalez* finding matters were not yet ripe there for his design, return'd to *Urvaica*: but it was not long before an opportunity offer'd to attempt it again, for the chief of the *Piratinians* inform'd him, that above the river *Piratin* there was a place call'd *Casapamin*, very commodious to build a town, and that the people thereabouts (if 'twere put to 'em) would easily be brought to embrace the faith. Upon this hope *F. Gonzalez* taking *F. Romero* along with him, enter'd the borders of the *Casapaminians*, whereof about two hundred met him in arms, threatening in case he did not retire; but these very men being persuaded by the fathers, promoted their design, encouraging their country people to embrace the faith, so that *F. Gonzalez* laid the foundation of a town, calling it the *Purification*, as he had done the first time, the care whereof he committed to *F. Romero*, under whom it prosper'd so well, that there were three thousand souls reckon'd in it the first year, and above seven thousand had been baptiz'd when the author was there. The country of *Iguazu* was now miserably afflicted with famine, the fathers in the town of *S. Mary Major* being reduced to extremity, and the *Indians* for the most part dispersing, of whom *F. Ruiz* afterwards, with much difficulty, gather'd four hundred. A tyger having tore to pieces a young girl that lay in the woods, *F. Ruiz* laid a snare for and catch'd it that same night, which gain'd him much reputation among

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among the *Indians*, and thereupon many of them return'd to the town: but their natural fierceness prevailing, they broke out into war with some neighbouring people their enemies, and having taken a number of prisoners, slew some, and design'd to butcher the rest, and would have relaps'd into eating of man's flesh, had not F. Ruiz boldly seiz'd the promoters of it, and forced 'em to release the prisoners. Yet many hundreds there, and in other parts, were converted by degrees, and became religious christians. At this same time F. Maceta founded the town of S. Paul among the *Indians*, a people lying between the town of the *Conception* and the lands of the great *Taiacoba*. The *Cacique Guiravera*, a great man-eater and forcerer, used all possible means to obstruct the encrease of this town, which nevertheless in a short time grew to four thousand inhabitants. But we may have occasion to speak more of this matter hereafter.

About this same time the *Indians* of the plains, so call'd because they inhabit the vast champaign country above the town of the *Incarnation*, found the fathers new employment. They are also call'd *Coronados* and *Cacelludos*, that is, *crown'd* and *bairy*, because both men and women wear their hair down to their shoulders, but the top of the head stay'd round, like religious men. These people seem'd to have excluded all hopes of being brought to civility ever since, as was said before; they attempted to destroy the town of the *Incarnation*, and murder F. Maceta, yet now they began to be better inclin'd, upon this account: the *Tupiza*, a people of *Brazil* (of whose fierceness *Orlandinus*, in his history of the society, makes mention) breaking into the territory of the town of S. Xavierius in great numbers, were driving away some converts into slavery, which were recover'd by the industry of the *Jesuits*. Another company of them had made prisoners some townsmen of the *Incarnation*, whom F. Mendoza refus'd pursuing the robbers with *Pindovius* and a parcel of converts. And being further inform'd, that a village of the *Coronados* had been plunder'd by the same people, and many carry'd away, he surpriz'd them, and recovering the booty and prisoners, sent them back well reprimand'd into *Brazil*. The *Coronados*, oblig'd by this kindness and some gifts he bestow'd on them, were dispos'd, promising, To send their country people to the fathers to be inform'd in matters of religion, which they perform'd. Not long after, ten *Caciques* of the *Coronados*, mov'd to it by *Taiacoba's* example, sent to desire of the fathers some one to instruct them in the christian doctrine. Hereupon F. Ruiz halting out of

the country of *Taiacoba* to the town of the *TECHO*. *Incarnation*, took F. Diaslanius with him, and set out towards the *Coronados*. When they had travell'd eight days over rocks and marshes attended by thirty converts, they met some of the *Coronados*, who told him, That *Guabair*, a powerful *Cacique*, bearing of their coming, had drawn over several villages to his party, and by common consent lay in wait for them in the next wood, where they would undoubtedly all perish if they presum'd to advance. That they themselves had been summon'd to have a hand in that business, but being mindful of the kindness receiv'd from the society, were come a By-way to give them intelligence. The fathers thanking them, consulted whether it was safe to proceed, and finding it was not, turn'd back and put off that expedition till the next year.

It is time we should say something of the Province of *Chagua*, under which name is comprehended all that part of *Paraguay* *Tucuman* and *Rio de la Plata*, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Santa Cruz*, or the holy cross, in the mountains, and the archbishop of *Chagua*, which is a vast extent of land. It is divided into several parcels by rivers rising in the mountains of *Peru*, and falling (after a run of many leagues) either into mighty lakes, or into the rivers *Paraguay* and *la Plata*. Since the first coming of the *Spaniards* into those parts, abundance of the natives of *Tucuman* and *Peru* retir'd thither for fear of those new guests, as appears by those that still use the language call'd *Amarra*, proper to the *Peruvians*. The most noted nations among them are the *Tamirivians*, formerly inhabiting one hundred eighty eight villages, the *Tent*, *Mataguais*, *Agois*, *Mosobies*, *Japitilag*, *Churumatans*, *Tonocotas*, *Abipones*, and several other factions of *Indians*, differing more in languages than customs. There is no supream power among them, they are subject to *Caciques* like the other barbarous people, whose power extends not beyond a house or village. Every particular person among 'em, superstitiously chooses a fish for his patron and protector, and worship it so religiously all their life-time, that they will rather starve than eat any of that species. They are continually at war with their neighbours, being more dreadful to strangers for their cruelty than valour. Some governors have endeavour'd to open a way through these people into *Peru*; but that road has been forsaken, because those barbarians have at several times murder'd many *Spaniards* in their way from *Paraguay* to *Peru*, till in the year 1628. *Martin de Ledesma*, governor of *Tucuman*, conceiv'd some hopes of performing what had been in

**TECHO**, in vain attempted before by subduing the province of *Chagua*, by the way of *Xuxui*, the last town under his government, near the borders of *Peru*. Having therefore rais'd a body of men, he writ to *F. Durand* the provincial, earnestly intreating him, To assign some Priests to preach the Gospel. The provincial well knowing that soldiers commit many insolencies when they enter upon new conquests, lest he should render the society odious to those *Indians*, answer'd, He would send fathers into the province of *Chagua*, when he could see any hope of settling there. But when he understood that the governor with his *Spaniards* forces had pierced into the province of *Chagua*, and having built a castle, lay'd the foundations of a town, in that part where the river *Lobo* runs through the most fertile soil, and most frequented by *Indians*, he then sent *F. Gaspar Oforio* to look to the spiritual welfare of both *Spaniards* and *Indians*. He being a comely and sweet temper'd man, soon won the affections of all men. Several *Caciques* of sundry fictions resorted to him, with whom he agreed, that they should sell timber in three places to build as many new towns, after the manner of the people of *Parana*. These were reported to be above fifty thousand, whose language he endeavour'd to make himself master of. There were reckon'd thirty thousand of the language of the *Mataguais*. Nor did he neglect the tongues of the *Tobas*, *Mocovias*, and *Zapitalaguas*, very numerous nations, as well because many of them desir'd to become christians, as because there were hopes of making a way through them to many other populous nations. He also study'd the language of the *Churumates*, so call'd perhaps, because they often use this syllable *Chu, Chu, Martin Ledesma*, the governor being gone to found another town on the banks of the river *Soletano*, *F. Oforio* stay'd among the *Tobas* to mark out the plan of another town; whence he writ to the provincial, acquainting him, that three towns might be founded in the territories of the *Tobas*, *Mocovias*, and *Zapitalaguas*, if there were fathers enough. He added, that the *Indians* up the country were so tall, that he could scarce reach their heads with his hand. The first year the *Spaniards* sowing, found the soil fit to bear all sorts of *European* grain, and what pleas'd them best, the *Indians* were reported to conceal mines of gold and silver. Yet there were some, who fear'd these easy beginnings would end unhappily, through the avarice of the new planters. At this time *F. Gaspar Sobrino* who had been sent procurator to *Rome*, return'd to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, bringing with him forty-two fathers to be dis-

pers'd through that vast continent, to carry on the work so well begun. They were receiv'd with great joy, and the more for having narrowly escap'd being taken by pirates, who appear'd in the river of *Plata*, presently after their landing, and were known to be *Dutch*, who to poison the people, and excite them to rebellion, left on the shoar under a chest, a parcel of *Spanish* books but printed in *Holland*, tending only to follow their example in falling off from their obedience to their lawful king. But of this enough, for we must confine our selves to affairs of the *Indies*.

There *F. Gonzalez* traversing the province of *Urvaica*, endeavour'd to find employment for the new-come fathers, the news of whose arrival was spread abroad. First, he made his way into the woods of the *Caaroans*, knowing that the inhabitants of them were in some measure dispos'd to receive the faith, by the example of their neighbours, and persuasions of *F. Romero*. Sixty *Caciques* dwelt in these woods, most of whom he perswaded to sow their grain not far from one another, in hopes of building a town; and promising them one of the society should come speedily to instruct them in the christian faith, he went away to the *Jivians* through the country of the *Piratinians*. The *Jivius* more like a brook than a river, having fallen down some easy descents from its source, runs directly into the *Urvaica*, a little above the *Uitiraguans*. On both its banks and the adjacent plains there are woods, inhabited at that time by about five hundred families and their *Caciques*. The chief among them was *Niezuvius*, who by his nimble tongue and forcery, he prevail'd with all the neighbouring people to follow him as their leader. He was a fierce, but crafty man, cunningly flattering strangers, that he might have them in his power. Abundance of *Indians* offended at our converts, had fled from the town of *S. Xavierius* and other places, to that monster of a man, allur'd by a licentious way of living; all whom *Niezuvius* kept about him and maintain'd, requiring them all to worship him, as a God. His disposition was naturally fit for any fraud or villany. This man must have prov'd very troublesome to the affairs of the converts, had he persisted in his wickedness; therefore *F. Gonzalez* putting in execution the design he had long entertain'd of going to him, made no account of the man's cruelty, or the danger of deserters and renegadoes that lay in wait, and appearing unexpectedly before *Niezuvius*, prevail'd so far by his eloquence that the inveterate enemy seem'd to be reduced the first encounter. Therefore the more to oblige him, he brought him to the

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the next town of *St. Nicholas*, where he was conducted to the church with great state. This fhew of honour fo far inclin'd him to the fociety and christian religion, that returning home he built a houfe and church for the priests that were to come, and brought over many of the neighbour- ing *Caciques* to follow his example. This was a difficult province, and requir'd a prudent and refolute man; for it was fear- ed, that *Niezuvius*, who was fo eafily brought over, might foon relapse, being known to be much given to forcery, to affect divine honour, and even at that time to keep a great company of concubines. *F. John Castillo* was left there, and *F. Gonzalez* going away to the river *Tabatio*, which runs into the *Uruguai*, found that another town might be erected on its banks, as was afterwards done, and therefore he promifed the *Tabatians* an instructor, as foon as there were fathers enough. Then hearing that ten fathers were coming up the *Parana*, he went to meet them, and hav- ing detain'd and difperfed them, returned through the territories of the *Jivians* and *Caafapaminians*, into the country of the *Caarans*. This country lies about ten leagues from the river *Uruguai* towards the inland, nothing unlike to the other parts lately civiliz'd, but that it feems to be fomething more populous; nor would it be any thing more remarkable than its neigh- bouring people, but for having fignaliz'd it felf in a bafe action, and afterwards in making amends for it. One great caufe of reducing this country to christianity be- fore any other, was its bordering on the lands of the *Caafapaminians*, as thofe do on the *Jivians*, and thefe on the *Piratini- ans*, who are parted from the *Bitiraguans* only by the river *Uruguai*; and it was hop'd, that thefe people, among whom the fathers had founded towns, being fo linked together, would eafily defend them- felves againft their enemies, and make the paffage eafie to thefe lands which lie be- tween the river *Uruguai* and the *Atlantick* fea. *F. Gonzalez* being come with the *Caciques* to the place appointed, erected a crofs, mark'd out the ground for the church and town, to take the name of *All- Saints*, appointed magiftrates, baptiz'd infants, intructed the men and women, and began vigorously to carry on their work. As things were thus going on pro- fperoufly, *Potirava*, a bold man, fit for any mischief, who had fled from the town of *S. Xaverius*, being harden'd in his old fuperftitions, went privately to *Niezuvius*, and telling him he would foon be no bet- ter than a flave to the *Jefuits*, and muft quit all his concubines, eafily ftirred him up to confpire the death of the fathers.

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Having drawn his people to confent to the murder, he fent the *Cacique Cuniaragua* to carry the defign among the *Caarans*, di- recting him to put the *Caciques Caarupe* and *Caabure* upon murdering *F. Gonzalez* and *F. Rodriguez*, which done, they were to go to execute the fame upon *F. Romero*, whilft he put to death *F. Castillo* and other fathers, about the river *Piratin*. All things were difpofed as *Niezuvius* had order'd, fo that *F. Gonzalez* having call'd together the *Indians* to hang a bell, that was to call them to be catechized, they were all ready, but upon another defign, for *Caarupe* had underhand commanded them to be privately arm'd, and make no difcovery, till he gave the fignal to *Mirangoa*, who was to execute the murder. They were all thus afsembled, and *F. Gonzalez* ftooping to put the rope into the ring of the bell, *Caarupe* thinking that a fit opportunity to ftrike, made the fign to *Mirangoa*, who, with all his force, ftruck the father on the head with a club that had a great ftone fixed at the end, and at one blow knock- ed out his brains and left him dead, yet another feconding, the head was quite bruifed to mafh. Then all the company gave great fhouts of joy, which alarmed father *Rodriguez*, who was at his prayers in a cottage near by. As he was coming out, the cruel executioners befet his door, and in the fame manner with their clubs batter'd him to death. When they were both dead, a continual cry followed, but not all of a piece, fome rejoicing at the murder, others (for they had not all con- fented) expreffing their grief, in doleful la- mentations. The barbarians not yet fatis- fied, cut the trunk of *F. Rodriguez* his body from the limbs, mangling them with many wounds, dragging them about the church, and at laft burnt them and the church together, tearing and breaking all that belong'd to it. Then fending an ac- count of what they had done to *Niezuvius*, they all fell to feaft together, where, as they were boafing of this action, as if it had been fome honourable enterprize, an ancient *Indian*, father-in-law to *Guarobius*, a great admirer of the fociety, though not yet baptiz'd, had the courage to reprimand them for their infolence, whereupon they all furiously fell upon, and tore him to pie- ces. Two youths, who ferv'd *F. Gonzalez* at the altar, being taken, it was confulted whether they fhould deftroy them, but their advice prevailed who would have 'em fent home, left it might be a provocation to the *Indians* of *Parana* to make war up- on them. Thefe being accordingly fent home, difcover'd the whole manner of the fllaughter.

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**TECHO.** The next day, being nothing more fedate after their night's sleep, they repaired in throngs to the place of the murder, where finding the fire had not consumed the trunks of the bodies, they kindled the fire again, and cast them in. Whilst they were thus employed, one of the youths, we said they had sent away home, passing in his way through the territories of the *Caafapaminians*, acquainted *F. Romero* with the slaughter of his brethren; which being spread abroad, those people, according to the custom of their country, first kept a doleful silence, and then broke out into dismal shrieks, to express their sorrow, till their grief turning into anger, they ask'd leave of the father to revenge the murder. He dissuaded them from seeking revenge, but said he should look upon it as a great testimony of their affection, if they durst bring away their dead bodies. *Membacaba*, a man in repute among his people, immediately chose about two hundred out of all the multitude, and ordering them to arm themselves, set forward with speed, and came the same day to the place where the mischief had been done, where they took the bodies half burnt, and return'd with them in despite of their enemies, and put them in a coffin, as the time would permit. Not long after, the wicked *Caarupe* came unexpected upon the *Caafapaminians* with three hundred armed men, to sacrifice *F. Romero*, whom, because he liv'd single, in scorn he call'd the old woman. The townsmen, according to their custom, were abroad in the fields about their country affairs, so that there were but ten young men in town, who being led by an old man, went out with their bows and arrows against that great number, and behaved themselves so gallantly, that they stop'd them, till the *Caafapaminians* flocking out of the fields, put them all to flight, killing some, without the loss of a man. *F. Romero* himself appearing on horseback with two converts, contributed much towards gaining this victory, and so daunted the enemy, that they durst never make a second attempt. Before these things were done; that is, the next day after the slaughter of the two fathers, *Niezurivius* having receiv'd the news of their death, and rejoicing at the bloody fact, put on his garment of feathers, and all the other ornaments us'd in their prophane ceremonies; and ordering one of his concubines to be dress'd after the same manner, call'd all his people about him; it was night when they all met, and he making use of the darkness, for all lights were put out, after rattling some strange words in his throat, and making a hideous noise with an empty calabash; at last when he had fill'd all the company with horror, declar'd to

The dead  
bodies re-  
cover'd.

A brave  
action.

them that *F. Castillo* was to be taken off. They all consented, resolving to manage it dexterously, lest he should make his escape, and therefore they took along with them some infidels that were come to be instructed in christianity. At break of day they *F. Castillo* came to *F. Castillo*, then at his prayers, desir'd him to admit those who desir'd to be inroll'd in the catalogue of christians, and to bestow some small present on them, according to custom. The father receiv'd them with all possible affection, but as he was busy, and suspecting nothing, they fell upon, buffeted, and threw him down. *If it be for these little things I bestow*, said he, *that you exercise your cruelty on me, take all, and keep me as your slave*. They answer'd, it was his death, and of all the fathers throughout *Parana* and *Uruica*, which they sought; and to make short, they bound him with a long rope, and thus dragg'd him half naked out of the town, over briars and stones, scoffing at him and shouting. By the way they hew'd his face, pierc'd his body with arrows, a slave of *Niezurivius* every foot cruelly battering his belly with a club. At last they cover'd his head, all deform'd with blood and mud, under a heap of stones, casting the body into the woods to be devour'd by tygers; which done, they return'd to give *Niezurivius* an account of their exploits. He putting on *F. Castillo's* priestly vestments, and over them the old garment of a forcerer, assembling his people, told them; they had no cause to fear their fields would lie waste; that they might now safely, after the manner of their ancestors, keep as many wives as they pleas'd, and again bestow divine honours on him. Then causing the children that had been baptiz'd, to be brought to him, as if he could take off the baptism, wash'd their heads with hot water, scouring their tongues with sand, and scraping them with a shell, to wipe away the exorcis'd salt that had been laid upon them. Having perform'd many more extravagant ceremonies, he burnt the church, and order'd his men to be ready to march the next day, to kill the two fathers that were among the *Piratinians*. The news of their design came thither before them, and the fathers prepar'd themselves for death; the *Indians*, in the mean while, tho' few in number, because most were abroad in the fields, making ready to defend their teachers; hearing that the enemy was very near, and numerous, the converts forced the fathers to fly into the woods, and the rebels, being too numerous for the *Piratinians*, broke into the town of *S. Nicolas*, seeking the fathers, and exercising their cruelty against the houses and goods, till the *Piratinians*, that were abroad, could be call'd home, and then renewing

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rians to flight, killing sixteen of them, and  
wounding many more, without the loss of  
one man.

Courage  
of the Ibi-  
raquians.

In the mean while, *F. Alfonso de Aragon*,  
and *F. Francis Clavijo*, were forced to fly  
in great distress to the town of the *Concep-  
tion*, among the *Ibitiraquians*, whither the  
news was already brought of *Niezuvius's*  
cruelty; and *F. James de Alfonso* had call'd  
together the chief men of the town to con-  
sult what was to be done. Their com-  
mander, *Nicolas Nanguir*, deliver'd him-  
self thus. *Nothing will do, father, but to  
make use of our weapons with expedition; the  
enemies designs must be speedily prevented,  
lest they run us down while we lose time in de-  
bating. I would have you entertain that opi-  
nion of me and my followers, that we will  
not return to see our wives and friends, till  
having repuls'd the enemy, we revenge the  
death of our dear masters with much blood of  
theirs.* This said, he order'd two hundred  
of his best men to arm and follow him,  
whom he led into the territories of the *Pi-  
ratinians*, thinking it enough if he put a stop  
to the progress of the enemy, till supplies  
could come from further parts. The news  
of the murder of the fathers being spread  
into other towns, caus'd great sorrow and  
consternation, which was increas'd by a re-  
port spread by the enemy, That the inha-  
bitants of all places had conspir'd to slaugh-  
ter their teachers. But when a further ac-  
count came of the death of *F. Castillo*, and  
that *Niezuvius* was stirring up the Indians  
towards the *Atlantick* ocean to war, that he  
might overpower the converts, the terror  
was beyond measure. Therefore express'es  
were sent to the *Spanish* cities, and *Indian*  
towns far and near, to make known the  
numbers of the enemy, how few there were  
to oppose them, and how great the danger  
was. In the mean while, a company of  
soldiers was sent to the *Caasapaminians*  
to bring away father *Romero*, who was next to  
the enemy; but the *Caasapaminians* declar-  
ed they could not part with him, unless he  
would have all the converts return to their  
scatter'd habitations, being forsaken by their  
pastor; but if he stay'd, they would defend  
him from any harm at the expence of their  
own blood. It was necessary to comply  
with their request, for fear of doing wrong  
to such well-deserving people. Whilst these  
things were transacting, three spies were ta-  
ken, and it appear'd they were some of the  
murderers, and came to draw over *Quara-  
cupacatus*, the chief *Cacique* among the *Ibi-  
tiraquians*, to *Niezuvius's* party, on ac-  
count they were kindred. *Quaracupacatus*  
was then present with his men, and being  
ask'd by *F. James de Alfaro*, what he would  
have done with those kinsmen? Answer'd,

There ought to be enquiry made into their *Tucuman*  
actions, and if they were guilty, no notice  
to be taken of their consanguinity; for,  
that from that time, he would look upon  
no man, who was an enemy to religion, as  
his relation. *F. Alfaro*, to try the man, or-  
der'd the chief of the spies to lay down his  
arms, but he refusing, stepp'd back, clap-  
ping an arrow to his bow, and pointing at  
the father, being ready to let fly, had not  
the company seiz'd and bound him. Eight  
hundred men were now got together, with  
which force it was thought fit to set out  
against *Niezuvius*, who was not well provid-  
ed, and the *Tivians* scatter'd about the  
country. Only two men were found in the  
town of the *Tivians*, one of which had like  
to have been kill'd by a zealous convert,  
had not the father prevented him. The  
next morning our men came in sight of the  
enemy, of whom they demanded, if they  
desir'd peace, to have *Niezuvius*, and all  
that were guilty of the murder, deliver'd  
up to them; but receiv'd no other answer  
but by arrows. Thus incens'd, they fell  
on with such fury, that in a moment, they  
routed the enemy, killing many of them,  
with the loss of only three kill'd, and  
about thirty wounded. *Niezuvius* fly-  
ing before the fight, got over the river  
*Urucua*, in a boat made of branches of  
trees, and lay conceal'd, and roving in se-  
veral places, till some years after, falling  
into the hands of robbers, he suffer'd the  
punishment due to his guilt; being long  
formidable under his misfortunes, becau-  
se his condition was not known. His scatter-  
ed houses, being as many as his concubines,  
were all burnt.

Tivians  
routed

Having thus, in some measure, reveng-  
ed a just quarrel, *Niezugurius* leading back  
the conquerors into the *Piratinian* territo-  
ries, found new succours were there assem-  
bled. *F. Emanuel Cabral Apolino*, a noble  
*Portuguese*, had, at his own cost, brought  
a company of *Spaniards* by publick autho-  
rity, from the city of *St. John*, eighty  
leagues distant; and from the *Indian* towns  
subject to the *Franciscans*, *F. Gregory de*  
*Ojuna*, a godly man, had sent two hun-  
dred converts; and *F. John Gamarra*,  
worthy of eternal honour, as many more.  
*Arapisanduvius* and other *Caciques*, had  
brought a considerable number of converts  
from other colonies. These things were  
much forwarded by *F. James Boroa*, re-  
ctor of the *Assumption*, who having unsuccess-  
fully try'd the *Spaniards* in *Paraguay*, drew  
some men together himself, and came with  
great speed to join the *Piratinians*, becau-  
se he acted for the provincial, who was then  
absent. In *December*, *Emanuel Cabral*, who  
commanded in chief, led the forces to the  
territories of the *Caasapaminians*, where *F.*

*Romero*

A general  
Confirma-  
tion.

**TECHO.** Romero was in danger. It was a providence that he was so expeditious; for the next day after his arrival, the *Caaroan* murderers, to the number of five hundred, knowing nothing of our forces, enter'd the borders of the *Caajupaminians*, and were now at hand, threatening the town, when our troops marching out unexpectedly, struck such a terror into the rebels, especially at the sight of the *Spanish* horse, that after the first onset, they never stay'd for a second, but betook themselves to the next woods, *Cabrael* on the one side, and *Nien-gurius* on the other, making a greater slaughter of them. Many fled, and fifty were taken, among whom were the *Caciques*, *Caabure* and *Caarupe*, with others of the murderers. The next day they marched, and made themselves masters of the town of the *Caaroans*, where a consult was held about the punishment of offenders. The multitude was for punishing all, the wiser sort for taking off the heads of the rebellion, and the society for no blood. *Cabrael* order'd it so, as to endeavour to please all, for having given sentence of death against them all, he pick'd out only twelve of the number, by their example to shew what all had deserv'd. *Caabure* and *Caarupe* were hang'd first, and then *Mwangou* in the same place where he had murder'd *F. Gonzalez*. *Potirava*, the author of the conspiracy, having absconded for some time with *Araguira*, the murderer of *F. Castillo*, they were both deliver'd up by the heathens, and put to death. They all desir'd to be baptiz'd before they dy'd, except *Caabure*, who dy'd blaspheming. After punishing the criminals, the bodies of the fathers were taken up, and carry'd in a very honourable manner to the town of the *Conception*, where they were receiv'd in solemn procession. First went the victorious forces leading their prisoners, then the children of the town, next the women, after them the men, and lastly, the chiefs of the nation, attended by variety of musick. On both sides of the biers, were fathers who had resorted thither from all parts. The people had adorn'd the way with triumphal arches, lighted bone-fires, and many other demonstrations of joy. In the church the bodies were placed in an honourable tomb, and *F. Boroa* made their funeral oration. Thus ended the rebellion of those *Indians*, whom we must leave to give an account of others.

Of the *Gualachetus*, where the fathers *Ruiz* and *Diaslanus* venturing upon the *Gualachet*, met with unexpected success. The country of the *Gualachet*, who are also called *Guanianes*, lies between the lands of *Taiaoba*, and the territories of *Umaica* and *Ignasu*, running out as far as the sea towards *Brazil*. All

this nation differs from the *Guaranians* both in customs and manners, and is for the most part at war with them. It would be far more populous, did not the inhabitants continually destroy one another; for when they are heated with their drink made of honey, in their circular drinking meetings, their pleasure turning into madness, they fall upon one another with whatsoever weapons come next to hand, with such fury, that many are desperately wounded, or kill'd, in the height of their drunkenness. These festivals coming about very often, must needs lessen the number of the people. Besides, their numerous forcerers increase the number of the dead, killing many with their charms and poison. They frequently converse with the devil, and live rather upon hunting than upon tillage, dwelling in small villages, not far distant from one another. No body had been among them as yet to preach the gospel; but the borderers came to the iron mines, where a few *Spaniards* wrought, not far from the river *Piqueri*, which falls into the *Parana*. The *Gualachet* hearing the news, that the great *Taiaoba*, with whom they had been at war, had forsaken his barbarous manner of living, and was become a christian, sent several messengers to *F. Ruiz*, to acquaint him that the people of several villages were willing to live together in a great town. *F. Ruiz* was then in the colony of the *Incarnation*, with *F. Diaslanus*, and taking him for his companion, he went away to *Villarica*. From thence, there were two ways to the *Gualachet*; the one by the iron mines, which was five days journey; the other about, up the river *Huibaio*, through the lands of *Taiaoba* and the *Indians* of the plains, who were always at war. *F. Ruiz* took the former, *F. Diaslanus* the latter, but with very great danger, because no man had as yet ventur'd through those lands, which were much infested with forcerers, and this father was the first that got through that way. When he enter'd the country of the *Gualachet*, the sixth day of his journey through the desert, he met with greater danger, being met first with two companies of men-eaters, and afterwards by a greater number, from whom escaping through special providence, he at length came to a part of the country of the *Gualachet*, then infested with the plague, where he baptiz'd abundance of infants, and some men and women, after instructing them by the help of an interpreter. *F. Ruiz* taking the direct road, as was said, came upon the borders of *Gualachet*, the fifth day after he set out of *Villarica*, baptizing very many, because the plague rag'd in those parts. As he was thus employ'd, messengers came to him from the *Chiquitos*, beyond the river *Pique*. The

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Conception  
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ri, desiring to have one of the society sent to instruct them, and make out the plain for a town; whom he dismissed, promising to send a priest as soon as they had gathered a sufficient number for a town. Having spent eight months in baptizing those that were infested with the plague; at length the fathers, Ruiz and Diastanius, met in a convenient place to build a town, which was the residence of Cobe a Cacique, father of five sons, each of which was chief of a village. Besides them, many other little villages were willing to join. The Indians therefore assembling in great numbers, a cross was erected, and the foundation of a town laid, which was call'd the Conception. Curito, the most powerful of the Gualaches, renowned among both Spaniards and Indians, being invited by F. Ruiz, came to him with an hundred followers, promising he would either erect a town in his own lands, or join the people of the Conception. The first of these proposals was approved of, and he sent home with hopes; the Spaniards admiring that a word from the fathers should be of more force than their arms, with which they had despair'd of reducing the great Curito. After he was gone, because the way to the country of Tiaoba was not straight, and through the lands of warlike Indians, F. Ruiz, with incredible labour, open'd another through impenetrable woods, which was but four days journey. F. Diastanius left in charge with the new town, reducing the language of the Gualaches to grammar rules, and committing the elements of christianity to writing, made things easy for those that were to succeed him there in the care of souls. Besides, he gain'd the affections of those people by his skill in mechanics, and especially in smiths work, which he had learnt of himself, and most necessary where there was great want of iron tools. Yet the converts were not very numerous, because of these Indians inclination to drunkenness, and other barbarous customs.

F. Ruiz being come into the lands of Tiaoba, thro' that way he had made himself, bent all his thought upon gaining of the Cacique Guiravera, who did all he could to obstruct the founding of any new towns, and endeavour'd to destroy those already founded: and indeed 'twas no indifferent conquest to reduce him; for Guiravera was the chief of all the man-eaters and forcerers in the province of Guaira, look'd upon by the people far and near as a destroyer of human race, for his greediness of man's flesh, and made it his principal study to contrive to have F. Maceta, who had drawn over many of his heathens, fall into his snares: besides, he had declar'd to all the Caciques, who for fear of his power and forcey adher'd to him, that the greatest service they could do him, would be to seize

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F. Ruiz, and serve him up roasted for him to eat. This cruelty was attended by pride, which made the monster stile himself the high-priest, and commander of all Guaira: and such was his madness, that he assum'd an air of divinity, employing all his power in obstructing people from becoming christians. The fathers study'd all means to reduce or appease this inveterate enemy, and found 'twas something more than a human act to gain, a man who was reported to be familiar with the devil, who laid the way to be taken in his own snare; for Guiravera using to receive oracles from dead bodies, the devil speaking, according to Pythagoras his opinion of the transmigration of souls, is said to have told him, that the soul of Quaracitus, who in former times had been look'd upon as a god, was gone into the body of F. Ruiz, and had transferr'd all his divinity thither. Which being spread abroad, F. Ruiz, among the heathens, was generally reputed to be a god, and the true image of Quaracitus. Which, in process of time, prov'd beneficial to the christian religion; for Guiravera being very eager to see F. Ruiz, whom he took for Quaracitus come to life again, after several messengers sent forward and backward, set out to see him in great state, attended by two hundred Indians. Being come near the town of St. Paul, among the Inianians, he sent in a man to fix the conditions of the interview; but being impatient of delay, enter'd the town after him, proclaiming in a hideous voice, that contrary to his dignity he had vouchsafed at present to tread the ground, to see the foreign priests. Going on with this sort of discourse, he found the fathers sitting in the market-place, and was by them desir'd to sit down upon a low bench. He with insupportable pride order'd his men to cover the bench and ground his feet were to rest on with their garments; then sitting down, and looking more calm, he saluted the fathers after the country manner. They return'd the salutation; and having endeavour'd to introduce some discourse of religion, finding him very uneasy, they put it off to a proper season, and so they parted. But knowing that nothing so much gain'd the hearts of the Indians as feasting, they kill'd two oxen; and having made a plentiful Banquet their exordium or introduction, F. Ruiz finding Guiravera very suspicious of treachery, among many other things he said, ended his speech to him in this manner: *You have no cause, Guiravera, said he, to apprehend any treachery from those who desire nothing so much as to die for the glory of God; you see our innocence is our defence, suspecting nothing, tho' unarm'd amidst your arm'd guards, and only studying to entertain those who are reported to covet nothing so much as to catch and devour*

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**TECHO.** *us.* Our only care being to gain souls, we have never been known to hurt the body, it being our only study to bring all men to worship one only God; trusting in this hope, we despise all dangers: but be not deceiv'd, Guiravera, with the false glittering of an empty name, for you and I are mortal: I arrogate nothing from the impostures of your false oracle; nor do I allow you that divinity you vainly boast of. You and I were made of dust, and to dust we shall return; this was our original, and this will be our end: alay thy pride therefore, dust and ashes, and learn what distance there is between a vile clod of earth and the universal Creator. Why do you boast of having created the world, who have hitherto behav'd your self as if you had been born to be a plague to it? You are not the creator, but destroyer of men; not the bestower of dignities, but a base slave to vice; not the joy of human race, but its devourer, still gorg'd with bodies of men, and gaping after more. You are not the maker of the universe, but an empty product of the devil's: yet believe, God is always so merciful, that he's ready, if they repent, to pardon the transgressors of his laws. Honour this God, unless you will rather chuse to endure his punishments for ever. Return home for the present, we soon will follow you. The barbarian becoming much more complying, made shew as if he approv'd of what was said, but it plainly appear'd he only temporiz'd and counterfeited. Several of the *Caciques* that came with him shew'd an inclination to embrace christianity privately, affirming, if the fathers would come into their country, that many of *Guiravera's* followers would quit him to embrace the true religion. *F. Ruiz*, knowing that the people were all led by their *Caciques* and forcerers, and that all things would be easie when they were gain'd, to oblige *Guiravera*, gave him a rod, such as the *Spanish* Magistrates carry, in the name of his catholick majesty, and caus'd him to be honourably conducted about the town by four hundred arm'd converts, by which means he seem'd to be somewhat oblig'd. After his departure, the fathers consulted about settling a colony in his lands whatever the danger might be. Whilst *F. Ruiz* was upon this design, letters were brought, giving an account that the town of the *Incarnation* was infested by the *Mamelucs*, and therefore putting off the business of *Guiravera*, he hasten'd away to oppose them.

Invasions  
of Mamelucs.

Some companies of *Mamelucs* (of whom we shall give a full account hereafter) had pass'd the river *Tibaxiva*, near the town of *S. Xaverius*, and encamping near the colonies of converts, struck a terror into all the province of *Guaira*; for, besides a multitude of infidels, they had drove away into captivity several converts, whercof *F. Men-*

*doza* complaining, they made a meer jest of what he said. *F. Ruiz* being come, and expecting no civility among robbers, order'd a thousand converts to take up arms in their own defence, and sent two fathers to try those rovers, who kill'd one that went with 'em, and wounded one of those fathers; yet they proceeded, threatening to raise all the province against them, and boldly unbinding the prisoners, carried 'em back to *F. Ruiz*. The robbers still seem'd inclin'd to give battle, tho' *F. Ruiz*, in the name of the catholick king, conjur'd them to peace: however, at last they drew back from the towns of the converts, shewing as if they would be satisfied with driving away the infidels, and forbear infesting the converts; yet it was fear'd, and the event shew'd there was no truth in their pretences, to the ruin of the province; as we shall see in its place. New fathers coming in the midst of the troubles out of *Europe*, found matter to exercise their patience and charity; for the *Coronados* Indians inhabiting the plains, who had been attempted a year and half before without any success, sent now to *F. Mendoza*, residing in the town of the *Incarnation*, to desire they might have priests sent 'em, and towns founded; which they were the more earnest for, when the report was spread abroad, that only those were to be led away captives who would not submit to be instructed by the society. *F. Ruiz* taking *F. Mendoza* with him, went, and found all things in a great forwardness. *Ibitiruna* is a very craggy mountain, three days journey from the town of the *Incarnation*, the inhabitants of which mountain being commanded to demolish their villages, which lay scatter'd up and down, and to build a town in the place appointed, readily perform'd it. In the mean while *F. Mendoza* sent to the *Ibiangués*, a people opposite to the sea, to build a town there, finding they were all dispers'd for fear of the *Mamelucs*, brought an hundred families he could gather, to add to the new town of *Town of S. Michael*, so that there were two thousand souls in it. This place being settled, *F. Ruiz*, at the request of *Pataguiris*, a *Cacique* of note, went a day's journey further, and gathering Indians, laid the foundation of another town, under the invocation of *S. Anthony* the hermit, so many inhabitants resorting to it, that in two months it contain'd two thousand five hundred souls. The fathers were no less successful in the lands of *Taiaaba*, for *F. Diastantius* being sent by *F. Ruiz* from the town of the *Conception*, to look to the colony of the *Archangels* for some time, several *Caciques* of *Guiravera's* faction resorted to him, requesting so earnestly to have a town built, that there was no refusing of 'em. There's an encrease half-

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half-way between the towns of *Archangel* and *S. Paul*, which the *Indians* call the burying-place of *S. Thomas*, having receiv'd by tradition from their ancestors, that the said apostle of the *Indies* passing thro' those countries, buried a great multitude he had baptiz'd in that place. This spot being very commodious, and encompass'd by abundance of villages of infidels, was chosen by *F. Diastanius* to build a town on, and a cross erected; and, what is wonderful, those very men who had contriv'd to murder *F. Ruiz*, and were counted the cruellest of man-eaters, came voluntarily into it. Besides four hundred families that came in of their own accord at first, *F. Diastanius* gather'd four hundred more in the woods and mountains, and call'd it the town of *S. Thomas*. But the plague raging at this time throughout the province of *Guaira*, found the fathers a great deal of employment; but the dread of the infolency of the robbers was more grievous than the distemper, for 'twas now fear'd they had lost all respect to the fathers, and would fall openly upon the converts. The jealousy was encreas'd by the arrival of the new governor of *Paraguay*, who coming thro' *Brasil* the same way the robbers came, and being an enemy to the society, was fear'd would furnish a fearful subject for history.

*Niezuvius*  
persecuted in  
vain.

The province of *Uruguay* was not well settled after the troubles rais'd by the murderers of the fathers, and 'twas much fear'd that *Niezuvius* being still alive, might elsewhere gather new forces, and do the more mischief, because the converts were grown confident of their own strength after their late victory. Hereupon the *Ibitiraguans* calling in succours from all parts, set out a fleet of an hundred boats, with which they ran up the river *Parana*, to the place where *Niezuvius* was thought to be contriving an insurrection. They search'd all the woods to no effect, till they heard he was fled an hundred leagues further. This done, they return'd home without any success, but the baptizing of two old men they found dying in the woods. The territory of *Iguazu* was no better settled. All the heathen inhabitants of the town of *S. Mary Major* had been warn'd, that if they intended to be instructed for baptism, they must put away all their women but one, whom they were to take to wife. Many, who had so much grace, obey'd, the rest fearing they should be compel'd to it, fled up the river into the woods, and sowing in remote places, built a village after their ancient manner, renouncing christianity. *F. Ruiz* sent after them: those he thought the sincerest of the converts, to tell 'em, *It should be no disgrace to them if they would return in time.*

Distur-  
bance in  
*Iguazu*.

These messengers, pleas'd with imaginary liberty, changing their mind, grew more mischievous than those they were sent to, for they not only persuaded those that were fled to stay abroad, but undertook to draw the rest from the town; and 'twas fear'd they might by their ill example debauch other converts, and trouble all the province of *Parana*. To prevent this mischief, after mature deliberation, the fathers *Ruiz* and *Bacha* went to the place where the deserters were, attended by a company of trusty converts, and coming at a time when the men were gone a hunting and to cut wood, with the assistance of the *Caciques* that came along with them, they set fire to the huts, and began to drive the women and children to the town. The deserters returning at night, and suspecting by the fire how the matter stood, for the sake of their wives and children, came and submitted themselves to the fathers, who commending them for returning, instead of blaming their desertion, restor'd 'em to the town, where they continued without ever relapsing, to the great joy of the whole province, most of 'em soon after embracing christianity, quitting their concubines, and marrying lawful wives. Yet the plague ceas'd not to rage throughout the province of *Parana*, and therefore, because the town of *Corpus Christi* seem'd to be seated in an unhealthy place, as drawing the vapours from the river with the rising sun, it was remov'd to a better seat. Next, all the fathers apply'd themselves to repair the damages sustain'd by the revolt of *Niezuvius's* faction. This design was not a little forward by the repentance of the *Caa. ran* murderers, which they were easily brought to by *Tambataius*, a prisoner sent back to them. To testify their penitence, they sent a piece of *F. Gonzalez's* chalice to the fathers, entreating them to come and restore all things to the same posture they were in before; whereupon *F. Romero* and *F. Alfaro* prepar'd to repair to them, notwithstanding the converts us'd all arguments to dissuade 'em; and being upon the spot, erected a cross, and finding sufficient encouragement to undertake the building of a town, return'd in safety. Soon after, *F. Vasquez*, the new provincial, coming out of the province of *Tucuman* to visit those of *Uruguay* and *Parana*, resolv'd to go thither himself well attended to gain the greater reputation. The chief of the *Guarobans*, follow'd by a multitude of people, came out to meet him unarm'd, in whose name *Guarobanus*, who had continued faithful, spoke to him after this manner: *We lay our arms at your feet, great father, being ready to obey all your commands, provided you do not impose it as a punishment of our crime, to be depriv'd of the society: this is the request* of

*Guarobans*  
submit.



**TECHO.** *of all my countrymen, and they have chose me, who am innocent, for their advocate, that the guilty may the more easily obtain pardon.*

This did, they fell down at the provincial's feet, begging of him not to forsake them, *F. Romero* being their interpreter. The women and children, by dismal motions, interceded for their husbands and parents. The provincial return'd a most affectionate answer, laying all the blame on *Niezuvius*, and calling them to embrace him, whereat they all burst out into tears. The next day the provincial baptiz'd several infants, set at liberty some prisoners taken when *Niezuvius* was defeated, bestow'd some garments among the *Caciques*, and appointing *Guarabaius* their commander in the name of the catholic king, went away to the river *Urvaica*. Soon after *F. Oregius* came from the metropolis of *Paraguay*, to take charge of the *Caaroans*, restor'd the town, and baptiz'd many men, women, and children. After the *Caaroans* were settled, *Tuca*, a powerful *Cacique* in that part where the river *Tabatius* falls into the *Urvaica*, seven leagues from the colony of the *Ibitiraquans* eastward, requested of *F. Boroa* that he would send some father to him to build a town. This father hatted thither, and building a little cottage to serve for house and chapel, began to instruct the multitude that repair'd to him. As he was thus employ'd, a great number of naked painted *Indians* came upon him from the neighbouring mountains, but he soon appeas'd 'em with some small gifts, and they went off without doing any harm. Notwithstanding this and other dangers, he gather'd a sufficient number to lay the foundation of a town, in which he was much assisted by a converted *Indian* woman, who running thro' the woods, persuaded many to repair to hear him. Thus soon after a town was built there, under the invocation of *S. Xaverius*, because the *Jaguaitians*, being but a very small number, had left theirs of that name, and were gone elsewhere. Next the *Acaraguaians*, another people on the *Urvaica*, sent to desire fathers might be sent them, but this could not be granted for the present, because there were not enough to supply all parts.

In *Guaira* the fathers having in some measure reconcil'd *Guiravera*, thought it would be for the glory of God to expose themselves to danger, endeavour'd to found a new town in his lands: to this purpose *F. Ruiz* and *F. Maceta*, banishing all fear, went into his territories, by whom they were at first courteously receiv'd, many *Caciques* favouring them, and chose a place to erect a town, which they call *Jesus and Mary*, so many resorting to it from all parts as sufficiently evin'd the general approbation of that undertaking. *F. Maceta* was

left there to carry on the work, and people flocking in great numbers, *Guiravera*, who could not bear to be forsaken by his followers, came attended by some *Caciques* to *F. Maceta*, demanding that long white vestment he wore at mass to be given him, speaking very reproachful words against the virgin *Mary* and the society. *Guiravera's* companions advis'd the father to rid himself of that troublesome man at so easie a rate, but he knowing by experience that giving way to those heathens was an encouragement to them to crave more, boldly refus'd to give it, and laying hold of a little trunk or box the vestments were in, declar'd he would die before he would part with it. *Guiravera* and his company were so daunted at his resolution that they turn'd pale, and had not a word to say; whereupon the father altering his note, spoketo 'em in a loving manner, promising them all favour if they would desist from their enterprise. In the mean while *Guiravera's* aunt and other *Caciques* came in, encouraging the father, and engaging to secure him against any violence. This storm being blown over, a short calm ensued. *Guiravera*, possess'd by evil spirits, was at times put into such a ferment, that he foam'd, his eyes sparkled, and his hair stood an end, till his concubines, by stroaking and caressing, had brought him to himself. In one of these fits, without any provocation, he ran into the middle of the market-place at midnight, waking all the townsmen, and crying out he was a god, and, that there was a man in town whom he must presently devour; but some other *Caciques* coming to him, frighted him out of that raging madness. During the peaceable intervals, the work was carried on so prosperously, that in a short time fifty powerful *Caciques* had engag'd to come in, who would have brought above two thousand others with 'em, besides an infinite number of women and children, so that this would soon be the biggest of all the *Indian* towns. *Guiravera* again conspir'd with a *Cacique* call'd *Apemond*, to murder *F. Maceta*, but the design was timely discover'd, and they disappointed; whereupon *F. Diastanius* coming with a good company of converts to the relief of *F. Maceta*, reprimanded *Guiravera* severely, so that he submitted and begg'd pardon. He was pardon'd, but, to keep him a little under, another commander of the town was chosen, with equal power to him, which did good for some time, he endeavouring not to be outdone in good deeds by his companion. But vice cannot lie long hid under the cloak of virtue; for *Guiravera*, when his fear was over, fell to his old practices, threatening the father by signs, tho' he forbore words. 'Twas his custom, when he

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design'd to be most outrageous, to hang three plates about his neck before his breast; when he would rave in a less degree, he hung but two; and only one when 'twas to be a common madness. *F. Maceta* declar'd, *He had good reason to suspect that one of the plates was a patent, such as priests use at the altar.* After many strugglings between 'em, *Guiravera* was baptiz'd by the name of *Paul*; but tho' he had been a *Saul* in persecuting, he prov'd not a *Paul* in repentance, for he's reported to have fallen again to eating of man's flesh, and so to be kill'd by robbers; yet his being baptiz'd did this good, that none of his followers refus'd to follow his example. Thus much of *Guiravera*, that devourer of mankind, and terror of the converts and fathers.

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Christianity now daily increas'd, and it was to be hoped that all the province of *Guaira* would soon embrace the true religion; when the devil envying this success, either by himself or by his agents the *Mamaluks*, contriv'd the destruction of the new colonies built in *Guaira* by the fathers of the society. The *Mamaluks* being the prime actors in this tragedy, it seems but reasonable we should give an account of their original, country, manners, and allies, that we may afterwards go on without interruption in the relation of their over-running a most flourishing province, so that there was scarce any hope of restoring it, and their plundering other countries. *Brazil*, a vast province of the new world, extends northward as far as the line, and southward to the bounds of the government of the river of *Plate*. It lies all along the sea-coast, and no where runs far up into the country. The kings of *Portugal*, at several times, possess'd themselves of this country, planting colonies in it, and *Afonso de Sousa*, by order of King *John III.* divided it into several governments, and then built the town of *S. Vincent*, in about 25 deg. of south latitude, fortifying it with a castle and tower, in a place where a small bay is shut in by two islands, which serve as ramparts to it. In one of the islands he built another town under the invocation of *All Saints*, that the one might be a defence to the other. From these two towns some colonies were sent up the country, one of which is call'd *Piratinga*. Two years before the death of *S. Ignatius*, *Emanuel Nobrega*, the first provincial of *Brazil*, gave it the name of *S. Paul*, because he came into *Piratinga* on the festival of that apostle. Tho' all the fathers of the society, who founded a college there, labour'd with great applause, yet *F. Anchieta* excell'd 'em all for his wonderful actions and innocence of life; and the *European* planters for a long time preserv'd their native honour, till the *Euro-*

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pean women failing, they began to mix *Tacnois* with that barbarous race, and corrupted the noble *Portuguese* blood. This mixture, in process of time, running through 'em all, and bad sons succeeding good fathers, and worse grandsons, the sons that generous *Portuguese* bred being so often mix'd, degenerated, so that there nothing remain'd among the posterity of those first renown'd conquerors of *Brazil* but their names. The *Portuguese* disclaiming to call this generation by their name (as *Orlandinus*, in his history of the society, observes) gave 'em the barbarous name of *Mamaluks*; that since they are like them in nothing else, they may not be alike in name. This deprav'd race was increas'd by the addition of worse companions, who resorted to them in great numbers from other places, being invited by liberty and the good disposition of the place: for *Piratinga*, as to situation and fruitfulness of the soil, furnishes such as desire to live wickedly and daintily, with necessities and safety. 'Tis fifteen leagues from the ocean, and a little south from the tropick of *Capricorn*. Being therefore in a temperate climate, it produces most things necessary for life, so that it not only furnishes it self, but the rest of *Brazil*, which is so luxuriant by reason of the great heat and moisture, with plenty of corn and cattle. It produces sugar, and is said not to want gold mines. There's but one way thither from the ports upon the ocean, which is over craggy mountains, and very difficult to pass, and so narrow that a very few may keep out any numbers. This fertility of the soil, and inaccessibleness of the place, draws many who are forced to fly for their crimes, or desire to commit 'em, to fly thither out of *Europe* and *Brazil*. Thus men of several nations, and guilty of all crimes, having found out a place suitable to their inclination, and joining in amity with the *Mamaluks*, began to treat the *Indians* after a far different manner from the first generous *Portugals*, who first planted colonies in *Brazil*. The first, and a singular proof of their villanies, as I find it, *Tupiniques*, upon the *Tupinagues*. These people dwelt on both the banks of the river *Aniambi*, which rising out of the cold mountains, and running a long race thro' the province of *Guaira*, falls into the *Parana*: they were computed to be thirty thousand archers, living in three hundred villages; but they destroyed all that nation in six years war, that there scarce remains any token of that multitude, except the ruins of the villages. The *Tupiniques* war with the *Tupinagues* being at an end, they enter'd the territories of the *Tupinagues* inhabiting both sides of the river *Tetico*, in the year 1589, after having spread their terror thro' the neighbouring countries, and

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**T**ENHO, for seven years drove all before 'em; after which follow'd the five years desolation along the river *Parababa*, which falls into the springs of that of the *Amazons*.—King *Philip* abhorring the cruelty of these robbers, set out an edict, which was only the renewing the laws of the emperor *Charles V.* and the kings of *Portugal*, forbidding the *Indians* being made slaves on any pretence whatsoever. The governors and magistrates of *Brazil*, and even those of the town of *Piratininga*, endeavour'd to have the king's commands observ'd; but the *Mamelucs*, breaking thro' all ancient and modern laws, were still more wickedly bent upon the destruction of the *Indians*; yet, lest they should seem openly to violate the laws, they had always specious pretences, and such as seem'd to carry a zeal of the king's service for what they did, palliating their villany under a shew of justice. Thus, under a colour of going to the gold mines found up the inland, they often broke out in great numbers from the towns of *Piratininga*, *S. Vincent*, and the *Saints*, and drove away an infinite number of *Indians* into slavery. But what is most preposterous, they perform all acts of devotion before they set out upon these expeditions, which last three or four years, as if heaven could hear the prayers of miscreants, and give a blessing to villainies; and what is most provoking, these wretches call their robberies *Apostolick Excursions*, saying, they go to ferret the *Indians* out of their lurking holes, to bring 'em to civility and the christian religion. I could give a particular account, having the authentick relations by me, of the persons, times, and places; I could shew how cruelly they wasted whole provinces, who the commanders of the robbers were, and what particular places they utterly destroy'd; but I shall express it more briefly by saying, that all the vast tract of land, from the river *Murannon* to 30 degr. of south latitude, up the inland, suffer'd by their continual excursions. There remain'd a part of *Guaira*, and some other countries famous for the labours of the society in them, which have they plunder'd or damag'd I am now about to set down as acted in several years.

*Don de Céspedes*, a man nobly descended, arriv'd from *Spain* in *Brazil*, in the year 1629, to proceed to *Paraguay*, having obtain'd the government of that province of the king. There are two ways from *Brazil* to *Paraguay*, the one by land, the other by sea; the way by land was absolutely forbid by the king, to prevent the oppression of the *Indians*; yet the new governor thought fit to go by land, alledging he had the king's dispensation. Being at *Piratinunga*, he set out at such time as nine hun-

dred *Mamelucs*, and two thousand two hundred *Tupins* (these are fierce *Indians*, in league with the *Mamelucs*) were preparing to enter *Guaira* to plunder. Their commander in chief was *Antony Raposo*; other men, infamous for enslaving the *Indians*, were captains under him. The governor setting out of *Piratininga* in an ill season, having travel'd some days by land, made the rest of his journey into *Guaira* on the river. Being honourably entertain'd at *Loreto* by *F. Ruiz*, all the return he made was ill language; and having consulted about providing against the *Mamelucs*, he fix'd upon nothing. Tho' he could not but commend the labours of the society, he could never be brought to order supplies to oppose the robbers, declaring he was not strong enough for 'em; but it appears he was faulty in that particular, and therefore, some time after, was fined by the council of *Spain*. In the mean while the troops of the *Mamelucs* drove the lands of the infidels not far from the towns of the converts, attempting nothing upon the converts of the society; yet the fathers did not doubt there was fire hid under those deceitful ashes, which soon broke out into a dreadful conflagration, for 'twas plain that the robbers only wanted a pretence to fall on. The *Cacique Taturana* was the innocent cause of this mischief; he had been once taken by *Simon Alvarez*, a *Mameluc*, but having made his escape with his men, fled to the town of *S. Antony*. This being known, *Simon Alvarez*, commander of one of the troops of *Mamelucs*, demands *Taturana* of *F. Mola*, director of the town of *S. Antony*, who answering, that *Taturana* was free by nature, and therefore could not, contrary to the laws of nature, put him into chains, who had fortunately deliver'd himself. The rover was enraged, and consulting with *Antony Raposo*, chief commander of the *Mamelucs*, order'd his company to arms, resolving in revenge to destroy the whole colony of *S. Antony*. *F. Mola*, on the other side, not questioning he should be attack'd, baptiz'd all the infants in the town. The next day a numerous company of *Mamelucs*, under the command of *Simon Alvarez*, assaults the town, plunders it, spares none, cuts off such as oppose him, secures the prime men, drives away the weak multitude, robs *F. Mola* of all he had, tho' he used all means to move those robbers to commiseration; but finding no humanity among 'em, and despairing of defending the bodies, apply'd himself to procure the health of the souls of those poor people, baptizing, instructing, and otherwise helping them, as occasion would permit in that short time, and this not without danger of his life, one of these miscreants aiming to kill him, had not another of the

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thousand two hundred *Indians*, in were preparing. Their commander *Raposo*; other *Indians* were the governor setting ill season, having el, made the rest *ira* on the river. ind'd at *Lereto* by male was ill lund about provi-ces, he had upon not but command y, he could never plies to oppose the not strong enough s he was faulty in erefore, some time council of *Spain*. roops of the *Mama*-the infidels not far onverts, attempting rts of the society; ight there was fire ashes, which soon onflagrations, for rs only wanted a pre-que *Taturana* was is mischief; he had an *Alvarez*, a *Ma*-his escape with his of *S. Antony*. This *Alvarez*, commander *Mamalués*, demands director of the town uring, that *Taturana* therefore could not, nature, put him in-ortunately deliver'd is enraged, and con-esto, chief comman-order'd his company venge to destroy the *Mama* *Lucas de* *Antony*. *F. Mola*, on tioning he should be the infants in the *S. Antony* a numerous company he command of *S.* the town, plunders it, uch as oppose him, n, drives away the *F. Mola* of all he had, s to move those rob-; but finding no hu-and despairing of de-pply'd himself to pro-e souls of those poor struchings, and other e occasion would pass, and this not without e of these miscreants had not another of the

the gang obstructed him. About two thousand five hundred *Indians* are said to have been taken at this invasion by the robbers; the shepherd was left without his flock, lamenting the loss of his dear children in *God*, whom he saw drove away like sheep before his face, without hopes of redress. Nor was the sorrow of those poor captives less, who still look'd about to see whether there was any possibility of making their escape; and some having found means of compassing it, made their way to *F. Mola*. To these were added some others, who had hid themselves from the robbers, all whom as he was leading to the town of the *Incarnation*, he was again in danger of being kill'd; for several of 'em changing their minds, began to mutiny, accusing *F. Mola* of treachery, and affirming he dealt underhand with the robbers; whereupon they were ready to fall upon him, but that he commemorating the day, he and others of the society had expos'd themselves to for their sakes, diverted 'em for that time, with the assistance of some sincere converts. But the danger was accidentally doubled; for a great number of gentiles, altogether ignorant of the mischief done the day before, coming to the town of *S. Antony* with a design to embrace christianity, finding it abandon'd and strew'd with dead bodies, grew enraged, and dispersing into several companies, fought about for the fathers, as betrayers of their country; but *F. Mola* was got safe to the *Incarnation*, *F. Pastor* having come out to meet and relieve him.

*S. Michael.* The news of the invasion being brought to the town of *S. Michael*, oblig'd *F. Mendoza* and *F. Vanfack*, who resided there, to provide the best they could against it; and because 'twas unsafe to remain in the town, endeavour'd to persuade the inhabitants to fly with them to the town of the *Incarnation*, where, with joint forces, they might oppose the robbers. Many taking the advice, follow'd *F. Vanfack*, and were met and reliev'd by the fathers and converts of the *Incarnation*. Having secur'd them, *F. Vanfack* return'd to the town of *S. Michael*, and persuaded the rest, for fear of the enemy, who were now near, to hide themselves in the woods: he himself stay'd in the town with two youths, to the great danger of his life, for many of the *Indians* were full of jealousies, and some were reported to design against his life; whereupon some converts venturing from the *Incarnation* to defend him, fell into the hands of the *Mamalués*, and were carried away into slavery, notwithstanding he went to demand 'em. Soon after, *Antony Vucado*, captain of another band of *Mamalués*, envying the plunder of the town of *S. Antony*, without any

other provocation, enter'd the town of *Techo*. *S. Michael*, and finding it abandon'd, in a rage search'd all the country for four leagues about, making all slaves that he could meet with. These two towns being destroy'd, there could be no opportunity of attending the conversion of the *Cacivans*, a numerous nation, that desir'd the assistance of the society. In the mean while great numbers fled for protection to the town of *Jesu Maria*, but in vain, for neither could this place avoid the fury of those miscreants. *Emanuel Morato*, captain of a band of those thieves, being inform'd of the multitude there was in the town of *Jesu Maria*, taking some detachments out of the other companies of rovers, and two thousand of the *Tupus* their auxiliaries, in march appear'd before the town of *Jesu Maria*. The chief men of the town going out a little way to discover whether those were profest'd enemies, were presently seiz'd and bound. *F. Maceta* perceiving they acted in a hostile manner, went out to 'em with a crucifix in his hand, and an *Albe* or surplice on, to try whether any respect would be given to his priestly function, but they scorn'd him, calling him fool, and deceiver of the *Indians*. The new-made christians surrounded their father, expressing their affection the best they could, in words or tears; among them *Curuba*, a powerful *Cacique*, complaining to him with a filial confidence of the violence offer'd him, was shot thro' the body with a bullet by one of the robbers. *F. Maceta*, provok'd at this villany, severely reprimanded that wretch, who drawing his sword, threatened to kill him, but was diverted from it. *Curuba* in the mean while wallow'd in his blood, and having not been before baptiz'd, was there at his death made a christian. *Grimazera*, with the rest of the principal men, had their hands bound behind 'em, and were drove away like sheep. *F. Spingosa*, hearing of the danger *F. Maceta* was in, came with some hundreds of *Indians* by night to his assistance, and had like to break his neck off a rock, of which fall he lay three hours as if he had been dead, recovering afterwards with much difficulty. Three hundred more converts came with *F. Dielmanius* on the same account from the town of *S. Thomas*. All the good these succours did, was only to receive some few that made their escape from the hindermost troops, for the robbers were gone off in time. *F. Maceta* went away with *F. Dielmanius*, who advis'd him to pursue the robbers, that if he could not move 'em by entreaty, he might force the prey from 'em in *Brasil*, by the assistance of the magistrates. This being resolv'd on, *F. Maceta* and *F. Vanfackius*, who had been robb'd of

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Тасно. their flocks, follow'd the robbers thro' a vast defart, and soon overtook 'em. The *Mamaluks*, divided into companies as they were, drove a numerous multitude of captives before 'em; and, that none might escape, had secur'd the *Caciques* with fetters link'd to a long chain; the rest were put forward with their hands bound. *F. Maceta* ran among these poor wretches, embracing them, and begging of their keepers for his children in Christ, but they scoff'd at him, saying he was mad; and yet he desisted not till he had mollify'd one of those thieves, and rescued some few of the *Indians*. Encourag'd with this success, he went to another company, where with much entreaty he obtain'd liberty for eight, one of whom was the famous *Cacique Guiraveira*, and with him his wife. He try'd others, but with no success, for cruelty once hardened, is not to be mov'd by any entreaties; therefore, left the rovers should repent 'em, the fathers sent back the *Indians* they had deliver'd with those that carried their portable altar into *Guaira*. After which they follow'd the thieves thro' a vast tract of land, attended by three companions, and feeding on berries or other wild fruit that grew in the woods, with imminent danger of their lives. The *Mamaluks* march'd slowly lest the prisoners should faint by the way if they drove 'em hard, yet very often some dropt, being either spent with sickness or hunger, or failing thro' age or weakness, whom the fathers having prepar'd for death, were oblig'd to leave in the wilderness expos'd to wild beasts, that they might give the same assistance to others. There 'twas frequent to see young men loaded with their mothers, mothers with their children, sons with their fathers, wives with their husbands, and husbands supporting the wives who had their infants in their arms. If any one attempted to make his escape, he was cruelly whipp'd: nor was it permitted any man, if his father or mother dropp'd by the way, to stay behind with them, but whatsoever one sunk, there he must dye alone. Parents were dragg'd away from their dying children, and sisters drove away from closing the eyes of expiring brothers; and, the mothers dying, infants perish'd for want of suck. At length having overcome the difficulties of that tedious journey, they came to *Piratininga*, or the town of *S. Paul*, where the fathers were lovingly entertain'd in the college of their order. The *Mamaluks* returning after an expedition of nine months with one thousand five hundred captives, divided the prey among themselves, owning they never made a better booty.

The two fathers having made their complaint to the judge of *Rio de Janeiro* in *Brasil*, of the *Mamaluks* plundering their three towns, and driving away all the people, and demanding to have the prisoners restor'd, were answer'd, *That we had no power to determine those capital cases, which were all refer'd to the governor general of Brasil*. Upon this they set sail from *Rio de Janeiro* with the provincial of the order, to *Baia de todos los Santos*, the residence of the governor. Where, having made their complaint, they obtain'd an order for all the prisoners to be restor'd to them, and a judge was appointed to go force them from the *Mamaluks*. But this was more specious than effectual, and the governor well enough knew it; for it was plain that so villainous a cause was not manag'd with that severity it ought to be; and it was plain that those robbers ought not to be dealt with by form of law, but force of arms. The connivance was universal, for the miserable captives were sold throughout all *Brasil* as slaves, and many of the principal men bought of them, that so more being concern'd there might be the less hopes of redress. But *James de Vega*, a noble Portuguese, perceiving the business was protracted, without any hopes of success, offer'd *F. Maceta* as much money as would bear his charges into *Spain*, to sollicite this affair before the king, but it being reported that the *Mamaluks* prepar'd for another invasion into *Guaira*, the fathers thought better to return thither with all speed. Having recover'd but twelve of the prisoners at *Rio de Janeiro*, they went away to *Piratininga*, carrying a child of four years of age on their backs up a mountain two leagues to the top. Being come to *Piratininga*, the *Mamaluks* in a tumultuous manner obstructed their entering the college, and, carrying them to another house, detain'd them till the rector of the college deliver'd them by force of intreaties. The judge, sent by the governor of *Brasil*, was in danger of his life, one of those villains firing at him; and some of those miscreants were heard to say, *They would rather renounce their baptism than suffer the governor's order to be put in execution*. Thus the judge, despairing of doing any good, return'd from whence he came. The fathers, after many affronts put upon them, set out of *Piratininga* with a very small number they had rescu'd out of so many thousands; and being plentifully furnish'd with provisions for their journey by the fathers of the college, sail'd down the river *Anambi* into the *Parana*, and out of that into the *Parapana*, returning home after a whole year's toils to little purpose.



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Troubles in Guaira The province of Guaira having suffer'd so much by the incursion of the Mamalucos, was no less rent by jealousies and fears; for many of the converts thought they were gather'd into towns by the fathers, that they might be the better betray'd to those barbarous enemies, giving out, there was no faith to be given to those who had so often affirm'd, That the Mamalucos would only infect those who did not become christians, and submit to the king of Spain. That dis- nial experience had taught them, they spar'd none; and considering what had happen'd, there was less danger in the woods than in towns, for, since the coming of the fathers, more had perish'd in one day, than in many years before. This and much more they alleg'd, and their suspi- cion was increas'd by a report spread abroad, that the wild infidels in the woods had made a notable slaughter of the Mamalucos. The fathers on the other side vindicated themselves, repeating the extraordinary kindnesses they had at all times done that nation, insinuating that they had protect'd the Indians at the expence of their own re- putation and goods. That they had prevail'd with the Spaniards of Villarica not to oppress the natives. That they had obtain'd several laws to be enacted by the catholick king in favour of the Indians; and much more to this purpose; besides all the particular actions of every father in particular, wherein they had serv'd them at the expence of their unspeakable toils, and hazard of their lives. The Indians in- rag'd with misfortunes would hear no reason, but became ungovernable, looking upon all these allegations no better than so many snares. When Guiravera, who had been deliver'd from captivity, as was said above, returning home, and finding the so- ciety traduced, ran among the people, shewing with what danger and trouble F. Macceta had deliver'd him; and how he travell'd into Brazil to secure them against further invasions. This fresh example prevail'd above reason, and Guiravera shew- ing himself in all parts, in some measure took off the false imputation. Yet there was no less trouble at Villarica, for some of the citizens there had the confidence to seize those for their own use, who escap'd the Mamalucos at the town of St. Anthony, which the fathers took care to expose, lest it should produce new troubles. But the most deplorable thing of all was, that the governor neglected in this time of distress to relieve Guaira, a principal part of his province. After the governor departed the province, F. Diasianus discover'd a practice that would have prov'd very per- nicious, which I will set down in this place to divert the reader amidst the relation of

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so many calamities. About one thousand Tecno- five hundred families of inhabitants of the town of the Incarnation, had been so well instructed by F. Mendoza, that they differ'd but little from the ancient converts. But amidst these confusions of war spoken of, the devil set up certain forcerers, who had such influence over them, that they could not endure to come to church, or do any other act of christianity, but look'd like quite another people than they were; and seem'd to have return'd to their former barbarity. F. Diasianus being much concern'd at this change, and having long endeavour'd to find out the cause, when he least expected had it discover'd to him by a youth he had bred at home. He told him, It was all the work of the force- rers, who had seduced most of the inhabi- tants; and built two temples on the tops of the mountains, for men, women and children to resort to. That the devil gave answers, as the oracles us'd to do, through the bones of dead forcerers placed there, to honour which they had appointed priests and priestesses. That even those who had charge of catechising others, were infected, and debauch'd others; and that all sorts of sacrileges were commit- ted there. That the men there making extri- vagant motions, like mad men, fought predictions of what was to come. And the wo- men with dishevel'd hair, set the perpetual fire in honour of the devil. That it was reckon'd a crime to touch the bones of the force- rers, which they pretended had again taken flesh. That they resorted thither on sundays and holy days, to be out of the way of at- tending the christian devotions. The fathers having consulted together, went out two one way and two another, to burn the tem- ples and burn the authors of this mischief. F. Diasianus and his companion coming about break of day unexpected to one of the temples, found all things agreeable to the information given, for it was large, and the forcerers bones were in a private part of a hammack hanging by two pillars, and wrap'd up in blankets and adorn'd with feathers of several colours, and worship'd with extraordinary ceremony. Without it were several little huts, in which those that were newly admitted to the religion fasted and revell'd; from the roof hung an infi- nite number of offerings made to the devil, who on his part distracted his worshippers with monstrous lies. Having examin'd all things, they set fire to the temple and all that was in it, and to all the little ho- vels about it, which done they return'd home. F. Ruiz and F. Mendoza under- standing, the way they went, that the bones were carried out of that temple, pursu'd and brought them back, burning all toge- ther as the others had done. The next

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**T**ICHO. day the fathers gather'd the *Indians*, and checking them severely for relapsing into this superstition, soon brought them all to repentance. This done, the fathers apply'd themselves to repair the damages caus'd by the *Mamaluks*, and *F. Cataldinus* built a town among the *Gualaches*, five days journey from that of the *Conception*, which was the 13th they had founded in the province of *Guaira*, and call'd it the town of *St. Peter*.

*Jesu Maria town rebuilt.*

*Town of S. Paul plunder'd.*

The fathers searching the woods, gather'd those that had fled for fear of the *Mamaluks*, and with the assistance of *Guiravera*, who, as has been said, was return'd from *Brazil*, drew such multitudes as was sufficient to rebuild the town of *Jesu Maria* in the same place it was before, where it was accordingly begun; but *F. Maceta* coming from *Brazil* with the news of the obstinacy of the *Mamaluks*, it was, for more safety, remov'd to a place near the precipice of *Huibaí*. Thus was the province of *Guaira* beginning to be restor'd, when the dismal news was brought, that the *Mamaluks* had destroy'd the town of *S. Paul*, and drove all the inhabitants away into captivity. The inhabitants of the *Incarnation* hearing of the destruction of *S. Paul*, fled some of them to the town of *S. Xaverius*, and some to *Huibaí*. Thus one town was destroy'd by the barbarity of the robbers, and another only by the dread of them, without any hopes of being restor'd. *F. Ruiz* halting from among the *Gualaches*, to remedy these misfortunes, could find no better expedient, than to gather the remains of the inhabitants of both towns, and to send them toward *Villarica*, where the track of *S. Thomas* remains, there to build a new town. But this was running them into fresh disasters, for other stealers of *Indians* lying in wait for booty, seized all they could for their own use, and drove them a vast way into *Paraguay*. *F. Ruiz* sent *F. Suarez*, and *F. Racionero* to complain thereof at *Villarica*, and finding no redress, but that new danger threaten'd from the *Mamaluks*, he sent away *F. Diasianus* into *Paraguay*, to acquaint the governor with the whole matter, and beg some assistance to support the sinking province. The governor having heard the account *F. Diasianus* gave of the invasion of the *Mamaluks*, the destruction of the towns, and destruction of the province of *Guaira*, was as much intrag'd as if some affront had been offer'd him, and told the father, he was well assur'd by letters from *Villarica*, that the fears of the fathers were groundless, and that the society magnify'd every thing to misrepresent him. But *F. Diasianus*, lest the conniving at this behaviour might afterwards be a reflection on

the society, drew up a petition, and presented it to the governor before a publick notary, praying relief for the province of *Guaira*; but no answer being return'd, he hasted away to consult the provincial upon that point. At the same time *F. Asaro* was sent thither, because the same governor, had made a law, forbidding any person, without his leave, to go through the province of *Parana*, into that of *Guaira*, but through *Paraguay*, which is two hundred and fifty leagues about; and though the society represented the ill consequences of that law, which cut off the sending any timely supplies to those distressed people, yet they could not make him alter his resolution. *F. Vasquez*, the provincial, was extremely concern'd at these calamities, especially when he receiv'd further news from *Guaira*, that there were people there, who made slaves of those poor *Indians* who had escap'd out of the hands of the *Mamaluks*. These things mov'd the provincial to send *F. Diasianus* to the supreme council in *Peru*, and he himself went up the *Parana* to *Guaira*, to comfort the afflicted, and be an eye-witness of other calamities. But having stay'd so long in this province of *Guaira*, it will not be amiss to look back into the others, before we proceed upon the rest of its calamities.

About the end of the year 1630, and the beginning of the next, the province of the *Calchaquines* began to be infested with war, which might have been avoided, if the people had been satisfi'd when they were well. The *Spaniards* inhabiting the towns on the borders of the valley of the *Calchaquines*, had, some years ago, been offended at the society, for having settled in two places of the said valley, saying the respect they had for the fathers, hinder'd them from subduing those fierce people. The fathers, tho' they had long labour'd in vain to reduce the *Calchaquines*, yet thought they did christianity, and the publick, good service, in baptizing the children, and keeping that savage nation from plundering the rest of *Tucuman*. Yet for other reasons, as has been said before, the valley was forsaken. After which, the citizens of *Salta* and *Rioxa*, living in greater security than was convenient among faithless and offended people, till'd the lands as they used to do upon their borders; and *Urbina*, a rich man, was so bold as to build a stately country house like a castle, at the very entrance into the vale. But the fathers being once gone, as if all bands were broken, their ancient hatred prevailing, the barbarous *Indians* broke out, falling first on what was next at hand, and then further off. Then joining with their neighbours, they take *Urbina's* country house, and killing him,

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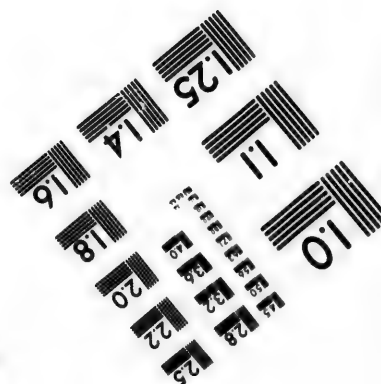
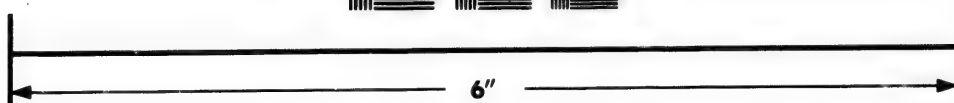
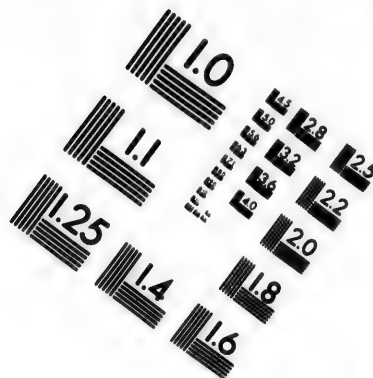
him, with his wife and servants, carry'd a-  
way his daughters, who were afterwards re-  
cover'd by the citizens of Salta; destroying  
all the country houses of the Spaniards. The  
*Andalgales, Famentines, Andarales, Capa-  
res,* and other barbarous *Indians* in league  
with them, came into their assistance. The  
*Indians*, bred under the *Spaniards*, murder  
their masters, and force their way into the  
vale to recover their liberty. *Albornes*, go-  
vernour of *Tucuman*, elder brother to the  
cardinal of that name, falling upon the  
*Indians* before they could joyn their whole  
force, defeats them, and builds a fort at  
the entrance of the vale, but the enemy  
uniting, kill the commander of the fort  
and all his garrison that had ventur'd with-  
out their works, and taking the fort, de-  
stroy the city of *London*, killing many of  
the inhabitants, lay siege to *Rioja*, and  
strike a terror throughout all the province  
of *Tucuman*. This war lasted above ten  
years, and was not ended till the society re-  
turn'd to the vale.

Of the  
Cauaguas. In the province of *Parana*, an excursion  
was made from the town of *Acarai*, to  
bring over the *Caiaguas* to the faith of  
Christ. The nation of the *Caiaguas* is  
small, and the most savage of all the *Indi-  
ans*. They live scatter'd in woods between  
the rivers *Parana* and *Urubica*, whence they  
had the name given them; for *Caiagua*  
signifies a wood. They have a par-  
ticular language of their own, not easily to  
be comprehended; for in uttering their  
words, they seem rather to whistle, and to  
make a confus'd noise in their throats than  
to speak. They live in wretched huts,  
made of the boughs of trees, far distant  
from one another, without making any  
more provision for food than the wild beasts,  
for they neither mind husbandry nor trade.  
They kill both beasts and fish with their  
arrows; and for the most part feed on  
worms, snakes, mice, pismires, and such  
ready kind of food, and eat the flesh of  
tygers. The elks, which the *Spaniards*  
call great beasts, they fight with and eat.  
As for monkeys, they creep after them from  
tree to tree, as if they were monkeys them-  
selves, and it is the nature of those creatures  
to carry their young ones along with them,  
as they fly from one tree to another; so  
that if they happen to slip down, the inha-  
bitants catch and devour them. Wild ho-  
ney is one of their dainties, and they make  
a liquor of it, which warms and defends  
them against the cold. They are continu-  
ally at war with the tygers, nor can they  
give any other reason for their being so few,  
but that they are continually destroyed by  
those fierce creatures. They look upon  
madness as valour, and are unacquainted  
with any other endowments of the mind.

Many of them are deformed to a prodigy; *Techo*,  
as like monkeys as men, especially if you  
look upon their noses, which are more like  
snouts. They are generally hunch-back'd,  
and wry-neck'd; yet there are some a-  
mong them well shap'd, especially the wo-  
men, who being born and bred in the  
shade, are colour'd much like the *Europe-  
an* women. Both sexes have but very lit-  
tle use of reason, which they so deprave by  
their food, fierceness, and libertine life,  
that they differ but little in their ways  
from the very beasts. The women cover  
themselves from the waist to the knees with  
nettles, which they steep like flax, and  
combing them with their fingers, weave  
them together like nets. The men wear  
no cloaths but skins, which are so little, that  
most of their bodies are naked, and yet their  
skins are so hardened, that they creep like  
snakes, through briars and brambles with-  
out the least concern. If any of them are  
taken in war, it is harder to tame them  
than the wild beasts, for they will bite iron  
fetters, foaming all over like mad men;  
and even the children, when taken, can  
hardly be brought to be sociable and  
tame. If they are kept long bound, they  
soon starve themselves to death, like crea-  
tures that cannot live out of their element.  
There is another sort of warlike *Caiaguas*,  
whose military exploits are more like the  
follies of wild beasts, than the fighting of  
men. These falling out of their woods,  
surprize travellers as they lie asleep, and  
murder them; not out of any revenge or co-  
vetousness of what they have, but to eat their  
flesh, or satisfy their own cruel temper;  
which inhumanity they call war. They are  
so much concern'd to be overcome, that  
tho' sometimes they are spar'd by their en-  
emies, they will neither eat, nor suffer their  
wounds to be dress'd. The fathers in  
*Guaira* had at several times got some  
numbers of both these nations out of the  
woods, but most of them, as soon as they  
were shut up in the town, died like plants  
that grow in the shade and cannot bear the  
sun. The fathers of *Acarai* had done the  
same, and were desirous to find some expe-  
dient to provide for the salvation of those  
wretched creatures, with more safety to their  
bodies. *F. Alvarez*, with incredible la-  
bour and danger, made his way through  
almost impenetrable woods to these people,  
and having got eighteen of them together,  
he return'd to the town, where he instruct-  
ed them the best their stupidity would bear;  
and having baptiz'd them, they all died.  
The rest of the province of *Parana* was  
peaceable, and the heathens daily came o-  
ver, and were baptiz'd.

The province of *Urubica* was still more  
prosperous, and yielded a more plentiful  
harvelt,





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TACHO.  
Town of  
Assump-  
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harvest, for above three thousand souls were there baptiz'd, a new town built, and the foundations of two others laid. The river *Acaragua* falls into the *Urvaica*, seven leagues above the colony of *St. Xavierius*. The provincial *Vasquez* had promised the people, dwelling on its banks, to send them a father, in hopes whereof, they had so gather'd their scatter'd houses, that they seem'd seriously to desire to be civiliz'd and become christians; and the society thought it a matter of great consequence to secure that post, which would open a way to the upper part of *Urvaica*, and obstruct *Niezuvius* from raising new troubles. *F. Romero* repairing thither, and finding three hundred and fifty families already assembled, and as many more ready to meet, erected a cross, appointed magistrates, and baptiz'd the children. *F. Altamarinus*, well skill'd in the Indian language, govern'd this new town, call'd the *Assumption*, twelve years, with such success, that four thousand two hundred were there baptiz'd. It was here I learnt to express my self in the language of *Guaira*; and having gain'd some skill in it, through God's great mercy, was able, tho' unworthy, to employ my little talent for twenty years through the towns of *Parana* and *Urvaica*. The infidels of the inland of *Urvaica* towards the south, were no less forward to ask for fathers, and particularly the *Caapians* and *Caasapans*, mov'd to it by *Apicabija*, and *Mbocarata*, the lords of those numerous nations. But *Ibapirius*, a fierce man, oppos'd their designs. He being grown famous by his skill in forcery among the heathen people about the river *Igai*, rais'd the neighbouring people, declaring he would revenge *Niezuvius* his quarrel, and crush the *Caapians* and *Caasapans*, that they might do no harm by their example. The multitude ran to arms, and march'd towards the *Caasapans*. This being known, the *Ibitirapans*, *Tabativians*, *Piratinians*, *Caasapanimians*, *Acaraguans*, and *Caarvans*, drew out their forces, left the new candidates to christianity should suffer, and meeting the enemy, put them to flight, and pursuing, overtook them again two days after, but they slipped away over the fords of the river *Igai*, before they could be engag'd. There *Ibapirius* recruiting his forces, making many more fires about the fields than were necessary for his men, to strike a terror, and putting on the vestments *F. Gonzalez* formerly us'd at the altar, with a piece of the chalice he had, carry'd himself as vainly as *Niezuvius* had done. Then affecting divinity, he threatened to destroy all those that follow'd the fathers. The converts, frighted at these things, had certainly fled, but *Alfonso Querrana*, a man of note among them, having

*Ibapirius*  
robbed.

spoken some words to encourage them, bid them follow him, and then with father *Romero*, tho' the season was cold, ran into the water up to the neck, where the ford was, the rest following his example, made their way over, attack'd and plunder'd *Ibapirius* his houses. Then marching with diligence, overtook, and routed the enemy. *Ibapirius* fled with such precipitation, that there was no hopes of reaching him. The conquerors alledging, it was requisite to hang some for a terror to others. *F. Romero* advised them to hang one of those that had been kill'd, which was accordingly done. *Cunamipita*, the promoter of this war, *Ibapirius* his son, and four of his concubines were taken, and afterwards became christians. *Ibapirius* himself, after he had lived some years in banishment, wandering about, desir'd to be carry'd to a town of Indian converts, but died by the way. *F. Romero*, before he dismissed his forces, mark'd out the ground for a town among the *Caasapaguans*, and being inform'd that *Apicabija* had gather'd a sufficient number, laid the foundations of another among the *Caapians*. The first of these towns was dedicated to *S. Peter and Paul*, the other to *S. Charles Borromeus*. Not long before, *F. Rua* sailing up the river *Ibicuit* from the town of *Japeire* to the province of *Jape*, invited the inhabitants of three villages to go with him to the colony of the *Three Kings*, then very thin of people. They all refus'd saying, *That if the society would build a town among them, they would all consent and become christians*; and the chief of them shewing that they and their neighbours could make a populous town, the father promis'd care should be taken of them, and return'd, priests being yet wanting to supply so many places. The plague now raging, destroy'd many hundred of *Indians*, who lying much dispers'd, because when towns were first built, the fathers gave them leave at times to return to their villages to sow, till there could be corn enough about the new colonies; the said fathers had an endless fatigue, continually running through woods, rivers and marshes, and over hills and mountains, to assist those that were infected. It being therefore impossible for so few to attend them all, some of the best of the converts were entrusted, after being well taught by the fathers to let blood, prescribe purges, bring the sick to town, and in case of necessity to baptize. *Vincent Japuias*, a *Cacique*, who formerly had a hand in the death of *F. Gonzalez*, was now one of the most zealous and diligent in performing all charitable offices to the sick, carrying them to the town, supplying the need, assisting those that were dying, instructing the ignorant, rebuking those that re-  
tained

The colonies of *S. Xavierius* and *S. Joseph* destroyed.

tained anything of their former superstitions, and doing all things that could be serviceable to body or soul; till the infection seiz'd him, and he dying happily, was succeeded in the employment by *Marcellus Maendius*, another *Cacique*, no less zealous. Some of the wild people, call'd *Caiguas* beforementioned, perceiving that the *Iguazans* their ancient enemies, troubled them no more since their conversion to christianity, ventured with a *Cacique* to the town of *S. Mary Major*, the people running to see them as if they had been monsters. They gave ear to what the fathers said to them by an interpreter, eat what was offer'd them, and felt the father's garments and shoes with admiration, thinking they had been born with hats and shoes; so very ignorant were those wild creatures. It was pleasant to see how they start'd at the ringing of the bell, as if it had been thunder, and to hear them ask, *How so little a thing could talk so loud*. But it was much pleasanter to see those barbarous men, only us'd to the noise of tygers, leap about when they heard the musick, and striv'd to imitate the converts, who danced to it. They return'd to their woods, giving some hopes they would come again, but tho' the fathers us'd all means to gain them, very few were converted. The bishop of *Paraguay*, visiting the province of *Parana*, was receiv'd in the towns with triumphal arches, and in the churches with musick; confirm'd many thousand converts, and applauded the labours of the fathers. All this joy was alloy'd by the coming of *Emanuel Correa*, a man of quality out of *Brazil*, with the news that vast numbers of *Mamaluc* and *Tupus*, were setting out to destroy the province of *Guaira*, the governor of *Paraguay* shewing no manner of concern at it; which draws me away, tho' with horror, to relate what happened there.

*F. Viquez* the provincial, after visiting the towns of *Parana*, went by the way of the famous precipice, before spoken of, into the province of *Guaira*; for tho' the governor of *Paraguay* had forbid going that way, the royal council of *Peru* had vacated his order. Proceeding up the rivers *Parana* and *Huibai* to *Villarica*, he there receiv'd the news that the town of *S. Xavierius* was besieg'd by the *Mamaluc*. Having therefore encourag'd the inhabitants of *Villarica* to defend the country; he went the shortest way with all the speed he could to succour those in distress. *F. Pastor*, who had charge of the town of *S. Xavierius*, hearing that the *Mamaluc* were driving the *Indians* from the further villages, ran out among them, and contemning all danger, prevail'd to have some few of the prisoners restor'd to him. But the next day those robbers exercis'd their cruelty upon

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the houses nearest to the town. There the father thrust himself among them to save one of his converts, and the *Mamaluc* flocking about him, gave occasion to the *Indians* to think they had murder'd him, which prov'd advantageous to many, who upon that notion immediately fled to the old towns of the province. *F. Pastor* pick'd up three hundred, whom he delivered to *F. Suarez* to be convey'd to places of safety; the *Mamaluc*, in the mean while after their manner, securing their prisoners within an enclosure made of stakes, or palisadoes, or else fastening them in long chains. The inhabitants of *Villarica*, coming up at this time, fell upon the *Mamaluc*, but one of their men being wounded, and another kill'd, gave way, and could never be persuaded by the provincial to make another onset with them, to rescue the prisoners. *Pindovius*, captain of the colony of the *Nivatuquians*, which had been destroyed, drawing along with him a multitude of people, deliver'd himself up to the robbers, after which the town and church of *S. Xavierius* were destroyed, which had contained one thousand five hundred families, whereof scarce five hundred souls were sav'd, and sent down the *Tibaxiva* to the old town. Nor did the invasion stop here, for the colony of *S. Joseph* lying in the mid way between *S. Ignatius*, and *S. Xavierius*, was destroy'd with only the dread, the inhabitants running away for fear of the *Mamaluc*, or else falling into their hands. Because the remainders of so many towns destroyed might be burthensome to others, the provincial order'd a new town to be built near *Loreto*, that they might assist one another. Having thus order'd affairs, he hasten'd away to relieve other towns of the faction of *Taiaboa*; for there was a report, not altogether groundless, that the *Mamaluc* and *Tupus* were coming in great numbers to destroy the rest of *Guaira*. The society had erected three towns about the lands of *Taiaboa*, one of which call'd the *Archangels*, contained above a thousand families, that of *St. Thomas* eight hundred, *F. Maceta* had gather'd such a multitude in that of *Jesu Maria*, rebuilt by him, that it was little inferior to what it had been at first. The provincial being there, was again inform'd by their spies, that the *Mamaluc* were not far off; therefore calling all the fathers together, he consulted what was best to be done in that danger: They answer'd there were two ways of afflicting those people, which was either to encourage them to oppose their enemies, or lead them away to safer places; which latter advice the provincial inclining to, because the *Indians*, who were almost naked, and fought with arrows made of long reeds, which did

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but

The colonies of *S. Xavierius* and *S. Joseph* destroyed.

**T**echo. but little execution upon the *Mamalucs*, who had coats stuff'd with cotton to resist them, could not, tho' more numerous, withstand those enemies, who had swords and fire-arms, he resolv'd the three aforesaid towns should be remov'd out of hand, near to the precipice of *Guaira*, that their great distance might be a defence to them, and in case of need, they might pass the precipice, and repair to the towns in *Parana*. Having so order'd affairs, he went away himself for that province, in great anxiety of mind for these calamities. No sooner was he gone, but news came that the enemy drove all the country before them, whereupon the project of removing was hastened. Accordingly the fathers took care to save all that could be carry'd away, and convey the inhabitants to the places appointed. *F. Ernotus* was sixty days marching with those committed to his charge, and brought all safe without the loss of one creature. The others met with greater difficulty; want of provisions, and the hardships of the way, prevail'd with many of the *Indians* to turn back to their native country. Of these, some were kill'd by the *Gualacbes*, and others made slaves. Three days after they were gone, the *Mamalucs* entering the lands of *Taiaoba*, found a greater booty than ever they did before; the people surrendering themselves of their own accord, and voluntarily running themselves into fetters, for fear of death. All those, who forsook the fathers, ran the same fortune. But the *Mamalucs*, not satisfy'd with so great a booty, understanding that great companies of the converts had been conveyed away, through the lands of the *Gualacbes*, they pursu'd them in several troops.

Towns of  
S. Peter  
and the  
Conception  
destroy'd.

The society had founded two towns in the country of the *Gualacbes*, the one call'd the *Conception*, and the other *S. Peter*. A troop of the *Mamalucs*, falling unexpected into the latter, bore down all before them, without any respect to the priests. The *Mamalucs* do not like the *Gualacbes* for slaves so well as the *Guarans*, because of their natural fierceness; and therefore passing them by, they made it their whole business to overtake the people of *Taiaoba*, that fled with the fathers. Thus the town of *St. Peter* was destroy'd, the inhabitants retiring to their lurking places, and the fathers, all the *Guarans* being taken from them, retiring to the river *Piquiri*. The town of the *Conception* fared no better; for tho' the *Mamalucs* did no harm there, but the carrying away of two women, the inhabitants were so intrigu'd at it, that they fell upon *F. Salazar*, plunder'd all he had, and forc'd him to fly through the woods to the other fathers. When such multitudes

of people, from so many towns as were destroy'd, met almost in the same place, provisions failing, and even the hopes of any, both the *Indians* and fathers were in a miserable condition, scarce keeping themselves alive with herbs, and wild fruits, and berries. Every one had the misfortune of another to bewail besides his own; fathers lamented their children, children their parents, husbands their wives, wives their husbands carry'd away by the robbers. The fathers, who were in care for all, agreed to sown in that place, till such time as other means could be found to relieve those people; tho' it was plain there could be no settling there, or in any other part of the province of *Guaira*, because no place was safe against the *Mamalucs*. *F. Ruiz*, who had been to attend the provincial to the precipice, returning to visit the distress'd *Indians*, received news that the *Mamalucs* infested the villages, under the jurisdiction of *Villarica*, on the river *Huibai*; and that fresh troops of robbers were coming from all parts of south *Brazil*, full of hopes of a mighty booty, to destroy all the towns of *Guaira*, and little cities of the *Spaniards*. Hereupon he made made all possible haste to the towns of *Loreto* and *S. Ignatius*, in the greater consternation, because *F. Salazar* writ to him, that a *Mamaluc* in the town of the *Conception*, being oblig'd to him for some former kindness, had assur'd him, that when they had plunder'd the country of *Taiaoba*, the robbers had resolv'd to fall upon the old towns of the converts; which the provincial foreseeing, had before his departure order'd a great number of boats to be built, which would be useful to remove when the enemy was near. The *Spaniards* of *Villarica*, having been in due form of law, requir'd to defend the country, and owning themselves too weak, *F. Ruiz* order'd the people of *Loreto* and *S. Ignatius* to make ready to remove. These two colonies built twenty years before this time, were by the industry of the fathers so improv'd, that they might compare with the best *Spanish* towns in those parts. The churches in them were more stately and better adorn'd than any in *Tucuman* or *Paraguay*. *F. Vaz* had brought up such choirs of musick in those places, that they differ but little from those in *Europe*; and the behaviour of the converts was scarce inferior to that of the most polite nations. There began to be a good increase of kine and other cattle, brought thither with much trouble by the society. There grew enough cotton and corn, not only to supply the natives, but to furnish the *Spaniards*. All these things, it was fear'd, would make the people averfe from removing, and the more, because they would consider the miseries that must attend

Colonies  
of *Loreto*  
and *S. Ig-*  
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bandon'd.

tend them in perpetual banishment. They had a journey of an hundred and thirty leagues to the place, whither they were to be conducted, nor was it likely that the women and children, sick and aged, who would soon feel the want of necessaries, could pass that vast precipice and solitude. But on the other side the enemy press'd, who, besides reducing them to miserable servitude, would bring their soul into danger. Finding themselves in this condition, they all unanimously promis'd, to follow the fathers whithersoever they pleas'd to lead them. Saying, *They would never forsake their teachers, and if any perish'd by the way, they should have the satisfaction of knowing they dy'd for the faith; and did not doubt but God would have a providential care over them.* F. Ruiz, not to slip this opportunity, orders all to make ready; accordingly all that could be carry'd away was put into boats, there call'd *Balsas*, and having laid in provisions, they set out much better pleas'd than such as are going into banishment us'd to do, running down the river *Parana*, never to see their country again. They went very slowly for fear of leaving any boats behind them for the enemy. Being out of the *Parana*, they held on their way on the *Parana*, against the will of the inhabitants of *Cuidad Real*, and came without any considerable loss near to the great precipice; where, on the further bank, all those *Indians* we said came from the other towns expected their coming. F. Maceta, an eye-witness, affirms, there departed from the town of *Loreto* nine hundred families, and eight hundred out of that of *S. Ignatius*; besides four hundred families that joined them from other parts. How many met in all at the precipice from all parts, I cannot affirm, because the fathers, who were present, differ in their accounts. This is certain, that it was an unspeakable grief to them to consider how many thousands of converts out of thirteen colonies, had been either drove away by the *Mamelucos*, or fled to their ancient lurking places; besides that there remain'd no hopes of ever being able to assist so many thousands of infidels as they left behind; or of recovering the scatter'd converts. But now they were to consider of passing the precipice, that the multitude might then be convey'd down the *Parana* to the place appointed, which was still twenty leagues off; lest these remains should fall into the hands of the *Mamelucos*. For news was brought that the robbers, three days after the departure of the inhabitants, came to the towns of *Loreto* and the *Conception*, and finding them abandon'd, in a rage had threatened further destruction. The difficulty was in finding boats for such a mul-

titude, after they were down the precipice; **Techo.** for there was no hope that of all that number of boats, any could escape shipwreck, if they were let run down from the top of the precipice to the pool at the bottom. Yet because they would try all experiments, they turn'd almost all the boats loose, after taking out their lading; which in a moment were shatter'd into chips and vanish'd, beating against the rocks, and being swallow'd by whirl pools. The next hope was to have boats brought to the foot of the precipice, from the towns of the converts in *Parana*; but they were therein disappointed in a great measure, the chief of the fathers of *Parana*, being at that time call'd away to the chapter at *Cordoba*. Therefore the best advice was, when they had march'd down the precipice to the plains, to build new boats.

For the better conveniency of their descending, F. Ruiz divided the multitude into troops, placing a father at the head of each, to lead, encourage and assist them. They all march'd loaded with their provisions, and other small utensils, meeting every now and then with brooks, to pass which they were forc'd to cut down trees and make some sort of bridges. Sometimes the steepness of the rocks, sometimes the hot burning sands, and sometimes impassable woods, obstructed their passage; which made not only the sick and aged, but the women loaded with their children, and healthy persons, faint by the way; wherefore any one fail'd, he was forsaken by the rest, the fathers not being able to relieve them, but only taking care of their souls. It is certain that a great number perish'd in the descent of that precipice, which I have describ'd before. That descent, if they went strait forward is but fourteen leagues, but they are forced to take so much compass, as makes it almost double that way. Having spent eight days in coming down, when they arriv'd at the plain, all fell to work at making of boats, which the *Indians* being us'd to make of trees hollow'd out; and there being no large timber at the foot of the precipice, they were forced to make boats of very small burden. The fathers of *Parana*, had with great labour, and the loss of many, sent a few boats laden with provisions to the foot of the precipice, to relieve the *Indians* after their march; but being so few among a multitude, they signify'd little. For these reasons all the multitude was divided into four parts. The first troop was order'd to march along the banks of the *Parana*, under the leading of F. *Spinosa*. Two others took their way through the woods up the country, on both sides, towards the towns of *Acurai* and *Iguazu*, under the conduct of F. *Con-*

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**T**RENCHO, Iruera and F. Suarez. The last troop went down the river under F. Ruiz, and he not having vessels enough to carry so great a number, F. Maceta was order'd to stay at the foot of the precipice with the rest of the people, till the vessels could return from Acarai, and other conveniences be provided. F. Maceta and his company liv'd there three months upon wild fruits; and F. Salazar, liv'd four months on the other side among the rocks with six hundred Indians, in great want of all things; till F. Gallego came from the town of Iguazu to relieve them. But whether they went by land or water, abundance dy'd; some fainting with hunger, some with weariness and other misfortunes. Those on the river, the boats being small, and the furies great, were often overlet and many drowned. Many had made boats of canes, fifty foot long, and thicker than a man's leg, bound together, in which several were lost. One of these was stay'd, and dropt all it carry'd into the water, before the fathers; but all that were in it swam ashore, except one woman, who chose rather to be drown'd with her children, than quitting them to get off with the rest; but the other Indians sav'd both her and the infants. Another boat being swallow'd up by the river, all the men and women were sav'd, and eleven children lost. Those that surmounted all these dangers, were first reliev'd by the converts of the town of Iguazu and Acarai; nor is it easy to express how charitably the fathers and converts of Parana receiv'd and entertain'd so many thousand strangers, reducing themselves to extremest want to supply them. Before it was propos'd to build towns, the whole nation dispers'd itself among the colonies of Parana and Urvaica; which colonies, by reason of the ill crop the year afforded, being ill provided to supply the natives, involv'd themselves in wonderful calamities. It is well known that the inhabitants of the town of S. Ignatius on the river Paraguay, distributed two thirds of the provisions they had, in alms among the strangers. The Itapians bestow'd three thousand oxen among them. The inhabitants of Corpus Christi slaughter'd a great number of cattle to relieve them; and yet soon after plague and want destroy'd many of them. Six hundred were bury'd in the town of Acarai, in a short time after some thousands of these pilgrims came thither. Those that surviv'd having consumed all the food there was about the town; labour'd to protract life, dispers'd about the woods, killing what came in their way. F. Alvarez ranging the forests to take care of their souls, was reduced to such extremity, that he had nothing but the skin upon his bones, and look'd like a ghost, being just ready to eat

a pair of old shoes, he had softened by long boiling, when some small supply was sent him by the other fathers. The Iguazuans for four months maintain'd one thousand five hundred of those Guairaneans, for which they afterwards suffer'd famine. The plague soon after destroy'd five hundred of them. In the town of S. Mary Major, the tygers first flesh'd on the dead bodies, devour'd twenty Indian converts. The people of Urvaica, whither a part of these strangers were sent, were profusely bountiful to them; notwithstanding all which some dy'd of the plague and for want. To be brief, of the remains of thirteen towns of Guaira, scarce four thousand surviv'd the first year after their transmigration; all the rest either dying in the way, dispersing themselves about, or perishing by hunger or famine. When the pestilence was a little abated, F. Ruiz, gathering the survivors from all parts, apply'd himself to rebuild towns. The river Jabeoir is about half way between the towns of Itapua and Corpus Christi; on its banks, not far from the Parana, into which it falls, were laid the foundations of two towns, under the old names of Loreto and S. Ignatius. That the people might not perish with hunger whilst they were building; the fathers, out of the money the king allows them yearly, and what they could raise by sale of the goods of the towns destroy'd, bought ten thousand oxen; which, with some other helps, kept them from starving; and those transplanted colonies, through the industry of the fathers, began to regain some part of their former lustre. Hither were brought the remains of Guaira, where the fathers had spent twenty three years with incredible labour in reducing those people; having founded thirteen towns, besides the Spanish city of Villarica, which was also abandon'd. The province of Guaira, through their indefatigable labours was thus improving, and it was hop'd the whole would embrace christianity, and submit to the catholic king; when that plague of the Mamalucos, as has been said overthrow all, cutting off the hopes of any return thither; for after plundering the towns erected by the society, the robbers first ruin'd the villages under the jurisdiction of the Spanish city of Villarica, and then without any respect to the bishop of Paraguay, who came thither in person, overthrow that and the city of Guaira. Some of the Spaniards of Villarica were remov'd to the river Paraguay, and some took up among the Mamalucos. The two towns being settled, F. Ruiz was appointed to have charge of them: where we must leave him to look a little into the province of Urvaica, and some other parts.

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of *Tape*.

When *F. Romero* had made some pro- vision for the poor *Guairanians*, being strengthened by the accession of the fathers come from that province, he seriously ap- ply'd himself to propagate christianity be- yond the bounds of *Urvaica* in the province of *Tape*, wherein *G o d*'s special providence was visible, which, after the destruction of so many towns, furnish'd a new province for that of *Guaira*, which had been utterly ruin'd. Under the name of the province of *Tape* is comprehended a ridge of moun- tains running an hundred leagues from east to west, but the extremities of which moun- tains are eight days journey from the river *Urvaica*, and twice that distance from the *Atlantick* ocean. The vales below it are excellent pasture for cattle; the land will bear any grain, and is water'd by abun- dance of springs and brooks. In the marshy grounds, towards the sea, there is often found an amphibious creature very like a sheep, but that it has teeth and talons like a tyger, and is reported to be so fierce that it does not spare lions. Nor do the natives dread any creatures so much as these, which sometimes come out of the water in flocks, and do much mischief. There's no way to escape 'em but by speedily climbing of trees, and even that will not do sometimes, for those sheep either root up the trees, or stay so long about 'em, till fear or hunger makes the people drop off. If ever they happen to kill any of these creatures, which is very rare, they wear their skins; whence the *Guairans* call a garment *Ab*, taking its name from the beast, or giving the beast the name from the garment. These monsters really are in sheeps clothing, but are them- selves ravenous wolves. There's also a fa- mous white bird, which, tho' it have but a small body, has a voice that sounds like a bell, which therefore the natives call *Guirapo*, or the sounding bird. The woods pro- duce a low sort of palm-trees, not unlike the *Indian Juncos*, of the bark whereof they make bow-strings, stronger and finer than if they were made of silk. There's plenty of shining stones, which doubtless might be curiously polish'd if there were *European* artists. The tree *Ecapis*, which is also found in other parts, when the sun rises, weeps or sweats out a plentiful flower, which appears to be no dew, because the other trees about it are dry. This tree seems to put us in mind, that men should weep when the sun of prosperity shines on them. The people of the province of *Tape* differ not from the rest of the *Guairans*, either in customs or language, only they seem to be of a milder temper, and less vicious; and experience has taught, that no nation in south *America* sooner embraces christianity, or retains it more steadily. Loving their ancient liber-

*Ab*, a fierce  
amphibi-  
ous crea-  
ture.

*Guirapo*,  
a strange  
bird.

*Ecapis*, a  
notable  
tree.

ty, they were utter enemies to strangers, *TECU* and could not easily have been subdued by force of arms, had not the power of the cross prevail'd. They liv'd after the man- ner of the *Guairans*, in little villages, built either on the tops of mountains, or in woods, near to springs or brooks. Of all those villages, *Tape*, which gave name to the province, was the biggest. *F. Gonzales* had been there before his death, but, the people being not well dispos'd, retir'd with some danger. But, in the year 1631, *F. Ruiz* coming hither up the river *Ibrinit*, and *F. Romero* by land, they found, that by con- versing with the converts many of the peo- ple were become inclinable to the christian religion, and particularly *Guamica*, *Jabico*, *Cuniambo*, *Aracao*, and some other *Caciques*, earnestly entreated they might be furnish'd with teachers of the true law. Their re- quest was now granted this year 1632, be- cause the province of *Guaira* being ruin'd, the fathers that came from thence did not only know the language, but knew how to deal with the *Indians*, and were zealous to retrieve their late losses. *F. Romero* having sent two other fathers before, and follow- ing himself with two more, was honourably receiv'd there by *Guamica* and his confede- rate *Caciques*, and conducted to a house and church they had built for him. *F. Men- doza* and *F. Bernardes*, left there to take care of that new colony, within the space of a year gather'd seven hundred and fifty families. The town had the name of *S. Mi-* Town of *chael* given it, where above eight thousand S. Michael four hundred souls have been baptiz'd. In another part of the same province *F. Rome-* ro was receiv'd with abundance of bonfires, where there was also a fort of church ready built, and huts about it, to shew their readi- nesses to obey whatsoever the fathers should command, and in three months time twelve hundred families settled in that place. This And St. town had the name of *S. Thomas* given it, Thomas and was two days journey from that of *S. Michael*; in the mid space between both which places there were abundance of scat- ter'd *Indians*, who assembling of their own accord in a place call'd *liquatia*, built their houses in order as for a town, with a habitation and church for the fathers, send- ing some men to *F. Romero*, to desire he would not slight them any more than others, for they were resolv'd to become christians. *F. Romero* blessing *G o d* for this wonderful success, hasten'd to them, call'd the town *S. Joseph*, and promis'd to send 'em a priest. The same was done in another place call'd *Ararica*, on the top of a mountain, where six hundred families met together, and had the name of the *Nativity of the blessed Vir-* gin given it. Another town was erected near the wood *Ibitarana*, and call'd *S. Te-* reja

TECHO. *refa* ; of which more may be said hereafter.

Of the marriages of the Guairans.

Nothing bred more frequent troubles, and made the *Indians* fly from christianity, so much as the confining them to one wife ; which gives us occasion to say somewhat of a controversy that arose among the fathers concerning the marriages of the *Guairans*, not unworthy to be here mention'd, with the decision of it, because 'twas nice and curious. The chief men of this nation were wont to keep as many concubines as their lust inclin'd 'em to, or their authority could obtain among their people ; and 'twas a great discouragement to them to embrace christianity, when they were warn'd to be satisfied with one woman. This was in some measure heighten'd by the too austere nicety of some of the fathers, who would oblige these men to take to wife the first of their women. Others, without any scruple, allow'd the new converts to chuse any one they pleas'd of their women for a wife. These different opinions having continued and been maintained for some time, the decision of it was at length referred to the Pope, who was then Pope *Urban VIII.* and the whole controversy sent him in writing by *F. Lugo*, who was afterwards a cardinal, which, because it shews the barbarous practice of those people, and several particulars worth observing, I will set down at large ; his words are these : " *Most holy Father*, there arises a mighty difficulty in the conversion of the *Indians* of the province or kingdom of *Paraguay*, in the *West Indies*, on account that some of our missionaries will oblige them to take to wife, and stick to the first consort they had, during their infidelity ; for this nation, according to their barbarous custom, turn away at every foot their wives, if they may be so call'd, as we do our servants ; and this only because the wife is sick, and cannot dress the meat, or sew the garments, or look to the house, or because she grows old. Nay, very often a man takes not only one wife at once, but with her all her daughters, or sisters, if she has any, of which he afterwards bestows some on friends or servants, and then takes 'em again if the servants go away. Others leave their wives only because they remove to another place, and will not take 'em with 'em. For this reason many are of opinion there's no true matrimony among 'em, but that these are all concubines ; and therefore, when converted, they're allow'd to take a wife or husband that is baptiz'd. Others are scrupulous, and oblige these men to stick to their first wife, which causes many inconveniencies : first, because many, on this account, take

" an antipathy to baptism ; secondly, because they lye, saying, they had no other wife, and thus deceitfully marry another ; thirdly, because they pretend to return to their first wife, but in reality have another, and value not the first ; fourthly, because 'tis often a difficult matter to know which was the first, because amidst a multitude, they scarce remember which was the first ; and when they have found her, enquiry must be made again whether she had any husbands before ; and again, whether those men had any prior wives. Besides all this, they use no outward ceremony at these marriages, more than they do when they take a concubine for a week or a month ; so that very often there's no exterior sign to be found to express their giving consent to that marriage. Therefore, considering their practice and manner of proceeding, many learned and godly men are generally of opinion, that there's no true contract of matrimony among 'em. But, to remove all doubts and scruples, and to take away this mighty impediment to the conversion of that nation, we do humbly pray, that since, according to the judgment of learned men, the see apostolick can, upon urgent causes, annul the marriage of infidels, as your holiness has declar'd in your brief of the 20th of *October*, and again, in another of the same date, the 17th of *September*, in these words, *We observing that such marriages of infidels are not look'd upon as such, but that they may, in case of necessity, be dissolv'd*, &c. " And in this case the motives are very great, or rather an absolute necessity, for the conversion of those infidels ; we therefore pray as before, that your holiness will be pleas'd, in your apostolick goodness, to grant power to the provincial of the society of *Jesus*, that he and such of the society as are employ'd in the conversion of that nation, and are fit to be entrusted with it, may, when occasion offers, upon due examination, and there being a doubt of the validity of the marriage contracted in infidelity, or a great difficulty of discovering the truth, or of finding the first consort so parted from, that they may, I say, for the more ease of their conversion, or for the retaining of those already converted in the faith and obedience to the church, dispense with such converts, that after baptism they may contract a real marriage in the face of the church ; for by this means your holiness will open a way into the church for those infidels, which the devil endeavours to shut up, as our duty obliges us to hope of your holiness, whom *God bless*."

Pope

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Pope Urban VIII, having consulted learned men upon that point, declar'd he did not believe there was any need of his special dispensation, there being the probable opinions of doctors on both sides; and therefore they should follow those opinions, which, according to the nature of the places and people they had to deal with, they found most favourable to them, still leaving learned men the liberty of believing according to their judgment. 'Twas therefore the general opinion of most of the fathers residing in these countries, that the marriages of these infidels were void, for the reasons above alledg'd; and, that the *Indians* converted might lawfully take any one woman that was baptiz'd to wife, and cast off the rest; yet this they always acted cautiously in, as the matter requir'd.

Province  
of *Itatina*.

The province of *Gudira* being totally overthrown, as has been said, some amends was made for it by the reduction of that of *Itatina*, whereof we will here give a perfect account. The mighty rivers *Paraguay* and *Parana*, as was declar'd in its place, run thro' large countries for above three hundred leagues from their source, before they join their waters. A long ridge of high mountains divides the land lying betwixt those two rivers, out of which mountains several rivers and brooks run down, some east to the *Parana*, and others west into the *Paraguay*, with this notable difference, that the waters flowing into the *Parana* running along high lands, preserve their original clearness, the mountains where they have their birth stretching themselves out with a gentle descent till they reach the banks of the *Parana*: but on the other side being in a manner upright, precipitate their waters into a low marshy ground, where drawing the mud along with 'em, they continually defile the *Paraguay*, and overflowing in several places with the said river, make a little sea; which makes some compare this winter-inundation with that of the *Nile*. In this low part lies the province of *Itatina*, upon the borders of the *Torrid* and *Temperate Zones*, extending from the 19th degr. of south latit. beyond the 22d. On the south its boundaries are the villages of *Indians* within the jurisdiction of the city of the *Assumption*, on the north the river *Bututeo* hems it in. The inhabitants differ but little in language and manners from *Paraguays* and *Uruguays*, being also alike in this, that they have small parties of different languages about 'em, with whom they formerly waged endless wars. They used to try their strength (as *Lipsius* writes of the *Chilenians*) by carrying a great piece of timber, which whoever could first run with to a place appointed, gain'd a reward or honour. The women deform, rather than

*Paraguay*  
river, why  
so muddy.

paint, their bodies, pricking their bodies in streaks, which they daub'd with a dirt-colour. They honour'd the funerals of their kindred by casting themselves from high places, and sometimes with lots of life. The rebounding balls of *Itatina*, made of the gum of trees, are famous all the world over, and, being toasted, are used for curing the flux. The whole nation, considering the great extent of ground, and variety of people, is not very numerous, the place, which is hot and moist, being naturally sickly, and consequently thin of inhabitants. Yet it was hoped, that when the province of *Itatina* was once subdu'd, the light of the gospel might be carried beyond the *Paraguay*, as far as *Peru* one way, and the other way to the lands about the river *Maranon*, all famous for multitudes of *Indians*. The provincial had, in the year 1631, order'd *F. Ruiz*, then residing in the province of *Gudira*, to repair thither, but he being busy about transplanting the colonies of that province, sent *F. Rancionieri* in his stead; who repairing to *Xerez*, a *Spanish* town on the borders of *Itatina*, after serving those inhabitants, went away into the lands of the infidels. At his first coming the *Indians* shew'd rather jealousy of him, than any affection; the reason of it was, because one *Acosta*, a *Portuguese* priest, having brought together many of the *Itatinians* into a town, on pretence of religion, endeavour'd to drive 'em away into *Brazil*, to make slaves of 'em; which he had wickedly perform'd, but that the *Indians* discover'd the fraud, put him to death, and now they fear'd lest *F. Rancionieri* should prove another *Acosta*. Their fear was increas'd by the indirect saying of an *European*, whether in jest or earnest; for meeting some *Itatinians* on the road, he told 'em, that all those who receiv'd *F. Rancionieri* should afterwards serve the *Spaniards*. To this was added the knavery of their forcerers, who gave out, that the stranger priest was come thither that he might gather the multitude in the churches he built, and burn 'em. The calmest among 'em taking up arms, as it war had been proclaim'd with the *Spaniards*, openly declar'd, that the peace could not be kept as long as *F. Rancionieri* was there, for he was the fore-runner of slavery and other calamities. But whether the misfortunes that fell upon some of his chief opposers, or some other providence, prevail'd with them, the *Itatinians* soon chang'd, so that they not only allow'd him free liberty of preaching, but invited him to their villages; and he, making use of his time, set out to view all the country. Some, for joy of his coming, went out to meet, and carried him home in their arms. Famine now raging, they liv'd upon the pith of palm-

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**T**he trees, call'd *Palmits*, ground into meal, and sometimes eat locusts. The father, by his discreet and religious behaviour, so gain'd the hearts of those people, that they were absolutely at his disposal; when three other fathers came to his assistance, and they all apply'd themselves to building of towns. The first there founded was call'd

Towns  
built, S.  
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The An-  
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Incarna-  
tion

*S. Joseph*, and put under the care of *F. Enartius*, who presently gather'd two hundred families. The second was the *Angels*, under *F. Martinez*, who gather'd the like number of families. The third the *Incarnation*, not far from the borders of the *Guarambarazans*, formerly famous for the labours of the society, whither *F. Vanjuck* drew five hundred families. Near to this town was a village, the chief whereof very opportunely order'd the father not to apply himself to any thing but instructing his people, for he would plentifully supply him with all necessities. The fourth town under the direction of *F. Rancionieri*, appointed by the provincial superior of this mission, was built in the lands of *Nianduabufavius*, who did not only boast himself to be lord of the *Itatinians*, but extending his imaginary power beyond the bounds of his country, pretended all the *Indians*, as far as the city of the *Assumption*, ought to be subject to him. It appear'd he was almost ador'd by the *Itatinians*. The *Spaniards* had, for many years, used endeavours to have a sight of him, but in vain; for, to deceive them, he always appointed another *Indian*, who represented his person. The same deceit he made use of towards *F. Rancionieri*, receiving him into his dominions by another who personated him, having strictly enjoin'd his people not to discover him to the stranger priest, till he had observ'd his life and conversation; he, in the mean while, having given another his ensigns of honour and attendance, went about like a private man. After four months spent in making this discovery, perceiving that the father truly favour'd the *Indians*, and that he alone, 'twas to be hoped, would protect them against their enemies, he took off his disguise, promising for the future to be favourable to him. Thus all things seem'd to favour the father, who baptiz'd many of *Nianduabufavius's* followers, and call'd the new town *S. Peter* and *Paul*, it being seated three leagues from the river *Paraguay*. On the opposite side of that river is the nation of the *Paiguas*, which, from the first coming of the *Spaniards*, had continued its ancient cruelty, infesting all the neighbourhood with rapine and slaughter, so that those people were accounted as bad as the *Guaiacureans*. Some converts, either of their own wicked inclination, or else provok'd by

S. Peter  
and S.  
Paul.

Paiguas.

hard usage, had fled to them at several times, and given 'em an account of the fathers, informing them, that they only sought the good of souls without any prejudice to the body; whereupon they resorted to *F. Rancionieri*, affirming they would build a town. As they said, they did, setting up their mats after the country fashion not far from the town of the *Apelles*, after the manner of a town; but being naturally fickle, they soon after slipped away to their old lurking places beyond the river *Paraguay*. The fathers in their four towns labour'd to convert those people with good success, not omitting to attend the *Spaniards* of *Xerez*, whom *F. Enartius* serv'd so diligently in the *Lent*, that they writ to the council and bishop of *Paraguay* to desire the society would settle among them. Besides, not far off were the *Guatians*, *Gualacians*, and other people of sundry languages, who seem'd inclinable to receive the light of the gospel, if there were any body to convey it to 'em. Beyond this province, in the lands towards the great river of the *Amazons*, there were pigmies, remarkable for the smallness of their stature; and *Amazones*, so call'd because living in war all their lives, they are reported every year, for a very short time, to call men from the neighbourhood to get 'em with child: besides, other nations, so numerous that *F. Rancionieri* writing to his superiors, affirm'd there might be many towns built at once up the country, if there were fathers to serve 'em. Thus considering the state of the province of *Itatina*, this alone with its neighbouring countries was sufficient to blot out the memory of the unfortunate *Guaira*. But another storm overturning the present state of affairs, and in a great measure eluding the hopes conceiv'd, will almost represent to us another *Guaira* in the province of *Itatina*.

For the fathers had not been long settled in their new towns, before they receiv'd the dismal news that the *Mamaluces* were broke into the province. They after destroying the province of *Guaira*, being join'd by a numerous company of the *Tupus*, took the same way the fathers had done into the country of *Xerez*, and joining with some other robbers, consulted about the means of plundering the new towns; which that they might do with less trouble, they sent messengers to *S. Joseph's* in the absence of *F. Enartius*, fraudulently to insinuate to the people there, that they were not come to plunder, or do any mischief, but to revenge the wrongs done to *F. Rancionieri*, by the *Indians* further up the country, that if they join'd their forces with them, it would oblige the society.

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ty. The chief of the town innocently giving credit to the robbers, order'd his men to go out arm'd to take revenge, and led them directly to the *Mamaluc* camp; where when they came they were all disarm'd and bound; the women and children thus depriv'd of all defence being after this easily convey'd from off the town to the camp. *F. Enartius* returning, and finding the town empty with the tokens of the enemies fraud and cruelty, run to the *Mamaluc* camp, where, instead of any favour, he was threaten'd with death, which he slighting, they forced him from among them, giving him abusive language, tearing his cloaths, and treating him in an outrageous manner. Another party of *Mamalucs* invaded the colony of the *Angels*, but found it in a great measure abandon'd, for *F. Martinez* being inform'd of their coming, had taken care that most of the inhabitants should hide themselves in the woods; yet many were taken, the captain of those thieves having order'd the father to be bound, if he made any opposition. They drove those they found to their camp, whither *F. Martinez* following them, he was there confin'd three days, that they might carry no intelligence, or advise those in the woods. At the same time another company of these rovers plunder'd the lands of *Nianduabusevius*, where they deluded the people after this manner, in the absence of *F. Rancionieri*. Having drawn the chief of the nation to a conference, they gave out, that they were not come as enemies, but to gather the *Indians*, who liv'd scatter'd abroad, into a great town, for instructing them in religion, and if they would lend their helping hand, they should all live friendly together. The poor people deluded by this pretence came in crowds to them, whom the *Mamalucs* cruelly bound, secur'd *Nianduabusevius*, and appear'd as open enemies; but then prosecuting their deceitful villany, they told the principal men, they had no way to escape being made slaves, but by delivering up their people; who being produced, were perfidiously secur'd without releasing the *Caciques*. As *F. Rancionieri* having heard of the invasion, was hastening to assist his convert, he was met by about five hundred *Indians* of *Nianduabusevius* his faction, who were to be deliver'd to the robbers for him and other *Caciques*; which the father understanding, he encourag'd them to stand upon their defence; but before they could make head, the *Mamalucs* fell upon them, and did some harm. Seventy of them, who were arm'd, having join'd *F. Rancionieri* in the abandon'd town, bravely withstood thirty *Mamalucs*, and seventy *Tupus*. These towns being de-

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stroy'd, the fathers flew to all parts, where they might relieve the captives, or scatter'd *Indians*. *F. Rancionieri* in vain begg'd of the *Mamalucs* for his flock; for they fearing lest the *Gualaches*, *Paiguas*, and *Spaniards* should unite to revenge the *Itatinians*, driving away about a thousand captives, hasten'd away to join the plunderers of the other towns. Before they departed the province of *Itatina*, *F. Enartius* going to them, by many intreaties obtain'd liberty for *Nianduabusevius*; and following after them, assisted many that made their escapes; among whom he found the chief of the town of *S. Joseph*, and sav'd him from some pursuing *Mamalucs*. Some of the *Tupus* in hatred to the *Mamalucs* deserted to *F. Enartius*, but the *Itatinians* suspecting some treachery, slew them all. The *Mamalucs* going off declar'd, they had met with no nation of *Indians* so brave as the *Itatinians*, and magnifying the dangers and difficulties of the ways, protest'd they would never return thither to plunder; like seamen, who in a storm vow they will never go to sea, but are always forsworn. All the *Caciques* of the *Itatinians* were drown'd in passing a river, they being all in a chain, and a sudden storm arising. The rest of the prisoners, provisions failing, were reduced with the *Mamalucs* to eat snakes, and other vermin. After the departure of the *Mamalucs*, *F. Rancionieri* sent *F. Martinez* to the city of the *Assumption* to demand supplies of the governor of *Paraguay*, and ask advice of the rector of the college. Which done, he travell'd to all parts of the province, very often in danger of his life; for the *Itatinians* grown jealous, kept in mind the words of some of the *Mamalucs*, who had the impudence to say they had been call'd in to plunder the province by the fathers. This so intrag'd them, that a company attempted to murder him, saying he was the forerunner of them, and they had come in the same way he did, yet by great providence he escap'd. The *Indian* villages every where smok'd, the inhabitants being hid, or running about like madmen; and because the *Mamalucs* had given out, that another troop of them was gone to destroy the villages of *Paraguay*, neither the fathers, nor the *Indians*, knew which way to turn themselves, yet by degrees these jealousies vanish'd, and things were in some measure restor'd. After all the mischief had been done, the governor of *Paraguay* sent two troops of *Spaniards* to defend the country; but they coming late, and the soldiers being eager to make slaves of the *Indians*, did more harm than good; for returning to the town of the *Assumption*, that they might with more freedom enslave

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**T**echo. the *Indians*, they told the governor, he would do well to give the charge of the *Itatinians* to the clergy, and not to religious men. The governor was about embracing this ill-contriv'd advice, had not *F. Vazquez*, the provincial, interpos'd. Hereupon *F. Rancioneri*, who was come to the city of the *Assumption*, was sent with two other fathers, and full power to take care of his *Itatinians*. They with great labour, this year 1633, gathering those that had been dispers'd for fear of the robbers, and calling in other *Indians*, founded two towns, the first upon the river *Tepotho*, under the care of *F. Vaufluck*, the other an hundred leagues from the city of the *Assumption*, not far from the river *Paraguay*, under the direction of *F. Rancioneri* and *F. Enarthus*. To speak of the hardships they endur'd is needless, being much the same as we have mention'd on other accounts. All obstacles to the conversion of the *Indians* were remov'd by the catholic king's letters, wherein he declar'd all converts free from any service of private persons, and immediately tributary to himself. It was no small hindrance to the proceedings of *F. Rancioneri* that the *Paiguas* happen'd to report, that the *Spaniards* of *Paraguay* were about making war on the *Paiguas* and *Itatinians*. Which made such an impression on the *Indians*, under the fathers, that four hundred of them under the leading of *Mandubusevius* the elder, crossing the river *Paraguay*, fled away to the mountains that run out a vast length, and were by this means made pervers to the excursions of the fathers, who the following year brought back many of those people.

The fathers troubled by the governor and bishop.

The chief heads of the province of *Paraguay* who should have forwarded it, for a while stopp'd the speedy course of the advancing gospel. For the governor imprison'd a convert *Cacique* of the province of *Parana* and his followers, only because he had made some canoes, or boats of the body of a tree hollow'd out, less than he was order'd, adding scurvy words to his ill usage, threatening he would go with arm'd forces to the new town of *Parana*, and make all the converts of that country slaves to the *Spaniards*. This so incens'd those people, as yet not inur'd to subjection, that it was much to be fear'd they would have revolted, had not the authority of the fathers prevail'd. But the bishop provok'd them much more, for he forgetting the commendations he had given the society, studying his own private interest, conceiv'd that his revenue would be much greater, if the care of the new towns of *Parana* was taken from the *Jesuits*, and bestow'd upon the secular clergy, over whom his power was more absolute. Therefore pretending

some reasons for what he did, and particularly the converts under the fathers not paying the fourths and tithes, he interdicted all the fathers in the province of *Parana*. Both the governor and bishop would have proceeded further, had not *F. Romero*, superior of those fathers, halted to the city of the *Assumption*, an hundred leagues from where he was, to oppose them. The governor he soon persuaded not to oppress those people, and force them to revolt before they were well subdu'd; but he had more to do with the bishop, who stood obstinately to what he had undertaken. To convince him, he produced the grants of the catholic kings, and briefs of popes in favour of the society, by which it appear'd the bishop had no power to interdict them upon that account. Whilst the controversy was still depending, *F. Vazquez*, the provincial, coming to town opportunely, seconded *F. Romero*, and put by the bishop from attempting an innovation, by shewing him the king's repeated orders, forbidding any person whatsoever upon any pretence to molest the society in the care of their converts. The governor, who was before reconcil'd now also interposing, at length the bishop comply'd, and following *F. Romero* into *Parana*, again visited the new towns and confirm'd the converts. These troubles were follow'd by rumours of war, and the transmigration of two towns. *F. Contreras* had been seen by his superiors up the river *Parana*, to bring away the remaining people and goods of the ruin'd province of *Parana*. When he was pass'd the famous precipice, some *Mamelukes* met him, diligently inquiring about the towns of *Iguazu* and *Acarai* leat-towns of Iguazu and Acarai abandoned. ed on the river *Parana*, and telling him there were three troops of *Mamelukes*, with the booty they brought from the province of *Itatina*, not far off. This gave occasion to suspect another invasion, and therefore *F. Contreras* returning from whence he came, went himself with all speed to acquaint the inhabitants of *Iguazu* and *Acarai* with the danger, and sent letters of it to *F. Romero*, who sending messengers to all the towns of *Uruguay* and *Parana*, call'd together as many fathers as he could. Being altogether, they all unanimously agreed to expose their lives for their flock, and encourag'd the converts to take arms. In the mean while the *Acaraians*, upon fresh reports of the approach of the robbers, abandoning and burning their town, went away and joyn'd themselves to the inhabitants of *Iiapua* and *Corpus Christi*, some days journey distant from them, where they still continue, having laid aside all hopes of returning to their country. Hereupon *F. Romero* apply'd himself altogether to deli-

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ver the *Iguazumans* from danger. It was manifest that town could not be secur'd but by removing it to another place; for besides that it was thirty leagues from any other colony of converts, there was an easy defect to it either by land or water, out of the province of *Guaira*. The transmigration being resolv'd on, the next debate was to what place it should be. There was a plain on the river *Urueica*, about half way between the towns of the *Concepcion* and *S. Xavierius*, fit to build a town in, but the way was round about, and fifty leagues in length, and the fathers were afraid, left, as a great part of the transmigrators out of the province of *Guaira* had perish'd by the way, the same might happen to the people of *Iguazu*; but the fear of the enemy soon took off this apprehension, reason pleading it was better a part should suffer than the whole. Besides, *F. Romero* render'd the matter easier, having order'd provisions to be furnish'd by the other towns, and gather'd boats from all parts, directing the fathers to attend the transplantation. Thus two thousand two hundred inhabitants of *Iguazu* were transplanted without any considerable damage, and building a town on the banks of *Urueica*, still retaining the name of *S. Mary Major*, they began to be reckon'd among the *Urueicans*. Many, as is usual in such cases, were against this removal, hiding themselves in the woods, whom the fathers and faithful converts at several times brought away. Afterwards the town was increas'd by the accession of many *Indians*, where I resided two years. The inhabitants of *Iguazu* being thus transplanted, there were ten towns then built by the society in the province of *Urueica*.

Yet as great as their success was there, still the province of *Tape* exceeded it, for in the town of *S. Michael* eight hundred forty four were baptiz'd, and in that of *S. Thomas* one thousand five hundred of adults; besides far greater numbers that were still instructing. About a day's journey from each of these towns, that is, half way between them, was a woody mountainous place call'd *Ilaquatia*, whose heathen inhabitants had left no stone unturn'd for the obtaining of one of the society. *F. Romero* had promis'd to fulfil their desires when the provincial came from the capital of *Paraguay*. They not satisfi'd with this promise, and understanding that the provincial was in the province of *Parana*, sent the chief of them to him, to desire he would not deny their request. But the provincial having been inform'd of their desires, had already sent away *F. Cataldinus* the first founder of the towns of *Guairá*, to lay the foundations of a town among them, which took the name of

*S. Joseph*. The *Inaguayan* meeting him, *Teco-*  
were wonderfully pleas'd, and laid aside  
the design of going to the provincial. *F. Catalinus*  
being come to the place, and  
having fitted a church and house for the  
fathers, lay'd the foundations of a town  
successfully, that at the first he found three  
hundred families all earnestly desirous  
to become christians. They daily flock'd  
to church at the ringing of the bell to be  
catechis'd, as well knowing it was in  
vain to ask baptism till they had learnt the  
rudiments of christianity. About the same  
time were laid the foundations of another  
town on the top of a high mountain call'd  
*Ararica*, which is reported to have hap-  
pen'd thus. *F. Alminca* residing among the  
*Guaroans*, and after him *F. Romero*, by  
some courtesies had gain'd the affection of  
*Cuniambo* brother to *Mboipea* a famous *Cacique*  
; who returning into his country per-  
suaded the people to call in the fathers. In  
order to obtain some of them, they of their  
own accord built a church and house for  
them, and sending frequent messengers to  
the fathers, seem'd rather to demand, than  
sue for a teacher of the true law; and they  
were so eager as to consult, whether in jest or  
earnest, about taking away forcibly one of  
the two that resided in the town of *S. Michael*  
; so hot was their desire to embrace christi-  
anity. The provincial hearing their request,  
sent thither *F. Alvarez* with power to found  
a town, and dedicate it to the *Nativity* of  
the blessed virgin. His first labour was to  
baptize nine hundred twenty seven chil-  
dren, the next to catechise those that were  
of age, and the third to fencile the woods  
to increase the other town; wherein he was  
so successful, that the first year it contain'd  
eight hundred families. Of these people  
among whom I liv'd three years, they be-  
ing remov'd to another place, the society  
to this time has baptiz'd nine thousand  
eight hundred. Nor did the fathers zeal  
stop here; for about the same time they  
pass'd beyond the river *Igai*, which divides  
the mountains of *Tape*, at the request of  
*Ilaparia*, a powerful *Cacique* in those parts,  
who coming to *F. Romero* and *F. Mendoza*,  
then in the town of *S. Michael*, assur'd  
them if they would go over the river *Igai*  
with him, they would find all things re-  
quisite for building a town. Both of them  
going thither, found much more than the  
*Cacique* had promis'd, for four hundred  
families forsaking their villages had flock'd  
together, shewing as forward a zeal as  
could have been expected from people  
who had been long intructed. A cross  
was set up in solemn manner, infants bap-  
tiz'd, and the town founded under the in-  
vocation of *S. Anne*. This place was com-  
mitted to *F. Martinez*, who had gain'd re-  
putation

Town of  
S. Joseph  
built.

**TACHO.** putation in the provinces of *Guaira* and *I-tatina*, and before the end of the year gather'd eight hundred families.

**Town of S. Teresa founded.**

Whilst these things were carrying on at the top of the mountains of *Tape*, two other towns were founded in the opposite part of those same mountains, concerning whose original, situation and progress, take this short account. About the springs of the river *Igai*, there are vast plains, divided at intervals by great woods. Among which woods were particularly those of *Ibitiruna*, *Ibitirabebo* and *Mondeca*, very full of pines, which trees, when they come to their full growth, are said to be a hundred and twenty foot high; and they are so very strait, that they seem rather made by art than nature. As they grow, they cast out their boughs at equal distances in the manner of garlands, which falling off by degrees of themselves, so as only the signs of them appear, leave knots behind them, so very hard, that when artificially wrought, they look more like bones than wood. The inhabitants of this country feed a considerable part of the year on very large pine-apples, which differ little in taste from the walnuts in *Europe*. Here is also found the herb of *Paraguay*, the delight of the *Indians*, and a vast number of wild boars and wild goats, so that with a little tillage the natives have enough at home to maintain them. *F. Romero* had made an excursion to these woods two years before, in hopes of reducing the people to the town of *S. Charles*, two days journey from thence; but finding the natives could not easily be drawn out of their native soil, which was very fruitful, he thought of founding a town. To this purpose *F. Mola*, by order of *F. Romero* the foregoing year, erected a cross in the lands of *Quarareo*, a powerful *Cacique*, which were opposite to those of *Ibitizuna*; from that time the said *Quarareo* and *Tupaminio*, the *Cacique* of the forest of *Mondeca*, us'd all their endeavours to obtain one of the society. *F. Ximenez*, sent thither to lay the foundation of a town, satisfy'd the desires of them both. At his coming *Quarareo* receiv'd him with an elegant speech, wherein he mention'd all the parts of his body, and affirm'd they were all so overwhelm'd with joy, that he could not express it. The plan for the town being mark'd out, abundance of *Indians* flock'd together with great alacrity to build the church and houses, insomuch that the cold frosty season did not move them to desert from their work. These children from their childhood stick long stones into their chins instead of beards, which custom the fathers condemning, alledging it was indecent to deform the bodies God had made by those unbecoming additions, the young lads pul-

ling out those stones cast them all into the fire, fearing lest that barbarous custom should be any obstacle to christianity. The women brought in their children to be baptiz'd, knowing the fathers would not forsake those whose spiritual fathers they were. Having laid these foundations, both the fathers were oblig'd to return to their charge of their towns in *Urvaica*, whence they came, till this year 1623. *F. Ximenez* was sent thither again with orders to remove the town to a nearer and more commodious place, which he soon did, having mark'd out a place for it in the lands of *Tupaminio*, to build which *Quarareo*, tho' very unwilling to leave his native mountains, resorted with his followers and great numbers of the neighbouring people.

This town, at the request of the governor of *Rio de la Plata*, was call'd *S. Teresa*, and put under the care of *F. Ximenez*, who with the assistance of his companion *F. Salas*, within the first year drew eight hundred families to it. At the same time *F. Romero* went away over the mountains of *Tape*, to the town of *S. Teresa*, to make the way fit for the provincial who was ancient, and coming thither. When he was past the mountains *Carvaio*, a powerful *Cacique* met him with some followers, acquainting him he was desirous to become a christian, and found a town, and would find inhabitants enough in the neighbourhood, if a priest were assign'd them. *F. Romero*, embracing him, blessed God, for that he inspir'd those barbarous people, of their own accord to seek salvation. Having view'd the place, and seeing the inclination of the *Indians*, he could not but grant his request; for besides his desire of the conversion of so many souls, it was very convenient to secure this place in the province. For the better uniting the town of *S. Teresa* with the other colonies planted upon the other ridge of the mountains, he erected a cross, baptized the infants, call'd the town *S. Joachim*, and, till a priest could be sent for, committed the care of it to *F. Ximenez*, who coming thither soon after from the pine groves, built a church for present use with the assistance of a multitude of people flocking in from all parts. Afterwards *F. Suarez* built a house and church fit to contain the multitude, and gather'd a sufficient number of *Indians*, to make a reasonable town. The provincial having now visited *Parana* and *Urvaica*, came to see the new towns of the province of *Tape*, and hurting his leg in the way to *S. Teresa*, was forced to be carry'd by *Indians*. Being past the mountains, other *Indians* came to him, desiring to have a priest to instruct them, and build a town, he gave them hopes, appointing *S. Cosmas* and *S. Damianus* their patrons, and went down

Town of S. Joachim founded.

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down the river of snakes to the *Ibicuit*. Another parcel of infidels that came to him upon the same account, he persuaded to join themselves to the *Tapevians*, as they afterwards did, there not being fathers enough for so many places. All the way he went he still gave something to the *Indians*, inasmuch that not one convert of so many thousands mis'd of some little gift. After his departure out of the province of *Tape*, the fathers founded another town under the invocation of *Jesus* and *Mary* in the furthest corner of the mountains of *Tape*. The place was call'd *Ibiticairain*, whither so many inhabitants resorted, that the first there were four thousand reckon'd under the care of *F. Mola*, a man of an excellent disposition, and notable for his art of managing the *Indians*. Thus in less than two years there were eight towns built by the society in the province of *Tape*, and places appointed for founding of others, which made sufficient amends for the loss of the province of *Guaiara*. About the latter end of the year 1633, *F. Vasquez*, the provincial, receiv'd orders from *Rome*, ordering him to resign that dignity to another, when he had held it five years with various success; for in his time eleven towns of *Guaiara* were destroyed, those of *Acarai* and *Iguazu* remov'd, the converts of *Urvaica* and *Parana* swept away by the plague, the province of *Cbagua* twice attempted in vain, and the towns of *Itatina* almost ruin'd in their first rise. On the contrary he was successful in restoring the town of the *Caaroans*, building others among the *Caajapaguacuans* and *Caapians*, those of the *Assumption* and *S. Xaverius*, eight in the province of *Tape*, and two in that of *Itatina*, besides opening the way to preach the gospel in other parts. He left to his successor nine colleges in the *Spanish* cities, and twenty five seats of the society in the *Indian* towns built by them.

We now enter upon the year 1634, under the new provincial *F. James Borea*, a man in great reputation of sanctity, for his austerity of life; he had formerly been servicable to the *Calchaquies* in the province of *Tucuman*, and the *Guarambareans* in that of *Paraguay*, reduc'd the *Indians* on the *Parana*, and the *Iguazians* to towns, and founded the colony of *S. Xaverius* on the river *Urvaica*. To make short, he was receiv'd with general approbation. His first action was to send out *F. Martinez* and *F. Valera* out for four months along the banks of the rivers *Dulce* and *Salado*, or the sweet and the salt, where they were successful, undeceiving many who deny'd the immortality of the soul, and therefore like atheists liv'd in all manner of lewdness; others who profanely dedicated the matter of their debauches to the devil, and others who had to do with *Incubus* spirits, or dealt with

forerers. The new provincial having visited all the province of *Tucuman*, being a journey of four hundred leagues, halted a way to the towns of the converts of *Parana*, to be a witness to the labours of the *Chiriguans* fathers, and order the expedition to the *Chiriguans*, a most fierce nation, concerning whose original take this short account. After the *Indians* of *Paraguay* had cruelly murder'd *Alexius Garcia* (before the coming of the *Spaniards*, as was related at the beginning of this work) in his return from the borders of *Peru*, joining in confederacy with the *Paranians*, either for fear of punishment, or for the liberty of plunder, they forsook their native soil, and went away to the same place where they had been with the said *Alexius Garcia*. Having appointed the time of transmigration, the *Paranians*, travelling along the country adjoining to the river *Picolmayo*, came to the mountains about the *Spanish* town call'd *Tarica*. The *Paraguayans*, taking another way, having travers'd a vast tract of land, settled in that place where the town of *S. Laurence* is seated, not far from the banks of the river *Guapaio*. Then consulting together, and fixing their villages on the tops of the mountains, they plunder'd all about them far and near so incessantly, that it is reported, these *Chiriguans*, of whose name I know not the original and etymology, in less than a year, either kill'd or drove away into captivity an hundred thousand *Indians*. For some time after their transmigration, it was a solemn feast among them to eat the bodies of the prisoners they took; but having afterwards settled an underhand trade with the *Europeans*, they forbore eating of man's flesh, taking prisoners to sell them as slaves. Yet they dealt after such manner, as not to forbear doing the *Spaniards* a mischief, if occasion offer'd, so that they had several battles with them, and they carried it so far, as publicly, and without any damage to defy *Francis de Toledo*, the viceroy of *Peru*; and they do not yet cease to infect *Tarifa*, *Pasmaia*, *Pilaia*, *Molina*, *Misca*, the towns of *Peru*, all the province of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, or the holy crosses in the mountains, and the borders of *Tucuman* and *Paraguay*. So that there is no nation in the inland of south *America*, more terrible to the *Spaniards*, or more destructive to the *Indians*, than these *Chiriguans*, encourag'd by the desire of gain, and enur'd to constant robbing. What is most to be admir'd, it is reported that only four thousand of them transplanted themselves at first; but in process of time having brought some prisoners to follow their course, and increas'd by procreation, they spread abroad beyond their mountains, and scatter'd the terror of their name far and near. Hitherto no endeavours had been

Wicked  
practices  
of Indi-  
ans.



TECHO. of any force to bring these people to christianity, the bishops of *Peru* had in vain try'd all expedients; *F. Ortega*, an excellent man, had in vain attempted thirty years before this to dispel their darkness by the light of the gospel; in vain had several others labour'd among them, so that they had been quite abandon'd for several years, as people altogether desperate. Till at this time, *F. Diaslanius* being solicitor the affairs of the society with the king's council in the town of *Chuguisaca*, some of these *Chiriguas* came to him, declaring their country people would easily be brought to embrace the faith, if there were any fathers that understood the *Guaran* language sent to them. Hereupon *F. Diaslanius* and another priest were sent by *F. Torres*, late provincial of *Paraguay*, who was in the same town, and had receiv'd a great sum of money of *Guzman*, a rich man, and the yearly allowance of five hundred pistoles for that mission; these I say were sent to try the temper of those people. The consequence of which expedition was that *F. Torres* writ to the general, to acquaint him, he thought it would be an advancement to christianity, if two fathers, well vers'd in the mission of *Paraguay*, were sent into *Peru*, to labour for the salvation of these *Chiriguas*. When the general's consent was obtain'd, and the approbation of *F. Durand*, provincial of *Peru*, as also of the king's council; *F. Boroa* the provincial hasten'd away to *Parana*, to choose out fathers fit for that expedition. *F. Alvarez* and *F. Martinez*, men renowned for their extraordinary labours, were pitch'd upon; who setting out from the towns of the province of *Tape*, travelled six hundred leagues, and came that same year they set out into the country of the *Chiriguas*, where for some years they labour'd much without any great success, as the annals of *Peru* will make appear.

Distances  
of Places.

The new provincial at this time set out from the college of the *Assumption*, to visit the towns of the provinces of *Parana*, *Urvaica* and *Tape*, whom I design to follow, to shew the distances from place to place, which is a matter of great consequence, and will at once insert whatever occurs that is memorable. The first town of *Parana* is thirty leagues from the city of the *Assumption*. Thence he travell'd twenty leagues to *Itapua*, and was receiv'd with great demonstrations of joy by the converts, many of whom he had formerly brought to the faith. Fifteen leagues above *Itapua*, is the colony of *Corpus Christi*, built by himself twelve years before, and therefore his reception was accordingly. Between *Itapua* and the colony of *Corpus Christi*, the provincial with no little compassion saw the small remains of the province of *Guaira* in two towns. Having visited the *Parana*,

he struck over to the first town of *Urvaica*, call'd the *Conception*, sixteen leagues distant. Three leagues from thence the *Iguazuans* lately remov'd thither, entertain'd him with joy, they having been first converted by him, and brought to live in a town, nine years before. Hence sailing up the river *Urvaica* to the town of *S. Xavierius*, he was shipwreck'd in that short passage of four leagues. His companions being parted from him by the storm, thought he was lost, because the stream carry'd him violently away, and therefore sail'd fast for his soul; but the next day they rejoiced at the news of his being safe, especially when they understood he must have perish'd, had not the *Iguazuans*, upon notice of his being wreck'd, with great danger of their own lives, struggled through the swelling waves to save him. He found two thousand inhabitants in the town of *S. Xavierius*, which he had founded himself. Thence he held on a whole day's sail to *Acaragua*, or the new colony of the *Assumption*. From this colony he travell'd sixteen leagues to the town of *S. Nicholas* in the province of *Piraina*, in building of the church of which place it was remarkable, that the mothers not satisfy'd with carrying earth themselves, made baskets for the sucking infants they had in their arms, that God Almighty might be favourable to them, since they wrought for his worship. One day's journey distant was the town of the *Purification* in the same province, where, against the coming of the provincial, *F. Dominicus* had introduced the custom of carrying the blessed sacrament in procession, which that it might be done with more decency in that poor country, the converts erected fifteen hundred arches of boughs and flowers, and made four altars of the same sort, in the four corners of the market, about which they hung all sorts of wild and tame creatures, which was much admir'd both by the other converts and infidels. Next he went to the town of the *Caaroans*, or of the martyrs of *Japan*, then to that of the apostles *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, and then to that of *S. Charles*, all of them about a day's journey one from another. From this last he travell'd a day's journey to the town of *S. Teresa* on this side of the mountains. Thence to the colony of the visitation of the blessed virgin is eight leagues. The distance from it to *S. Joachim* I do not find, but that the place was a craggy mountain, beset with vast rocks, among which rocks and the thick woods the natives dwelt, and were to be drawn thence with great labour to be brought to a sociable life, and a very great number was so gain'd. The manner of burying here was to throw a great heap of stones on the body. The way was very bad from *S. Joachim's* to the town of *J. J.*

*Jesús Mary* beyond the mountains, which *F. Arenas* took great pains to mend, felling many trees, and removing abundance of great stones. From *S. Joachim's* the provincial went two day's journey over the mountains of *Tape*, to the town of *Jesús Mary*, built the year before by the fathers *Mola* and *Arena*. Two leagues from the town of *Jesús Mary*, was a place appointed for building a new town, whither some hundred families had resorted, desiring they might be allowed a priest. *Caraicure*, a heathen, sent by his country people to request this favour of the provincial, came fifty leagues to meet him, and would not desist till he order'd *F. Contreras* to go lay the foundations of a town accordingly, and to call it *S. Christopher*, which prosper'd better than any other colony, for within a year and a half four thousand six hundred *Indians* resorted to inhabit it. The colony of *S. Anne*, beyond the river *Igai*, was in a prosperous condition, being increas'd to eight hundred families. The provincial passing the river *Igai* proceeded to *Ararica*, or the colony of the nativity of the blessed virgin, less than a day's journey from *S. Anne*. The town of *S. Cosmus* and *Damianus* is but a few miles from *Ararica*, founded this year by *F. Formosus*, who gather'd to it out of the neighbouring woods a thousand families. Not far from it was the colony of *S. Michael*, then at a small distance that of *S. Joseph*, and lastly that of *S. Thomas*, the true distances between which places I do not find. The provincial having run through his visitation, sail'd away to the port of *Buenos Ayres*, whence he sent *F. Diastanius*, who had been four years soliciting the king's council of *Peru* in favour of the *Indians*, into the province of *Tape*, to take care of the town of *Jesús Mary* against the *Mamelucs*, for now the report ran, and not without reason, that the *Mamelucs* design'd to invade that province. *F. Romero*, giving an account of the actions of the fathers under his jurisdiction, says they baptis'd thirteen thousand eight hundred this year 1634; which was a small number in respect of the many that desir'd it, and could not be dispos'd and instructed for want of fathers, there being more harvest than labourers. For now in these beginnings, every single man of them was taken up in marking out the ground for the inhabitants, in building churches and houses for themselves, ordaining their civil government, inviting the infidels to the towns, receiving those that came in. One of plague to seek them out in their lurking places, assisting those that continu'd in the towns in all their wants, catechising, administering sacraments, comforting the afflicted, disappointing the artifices of the forerers, curing the sick, letting blood, pre-

paring medicines, dressing sores, tilling the *Techo* ground, and dressing their garden, so that adding to this their priestly duty, they had scarce time to eat or sleep. Nor was this all, for they labour'd under great want of bread, wine, and most necessities, were forced to accustom themselves to strange diet, and bear with the loathsome customs of those people, living always in miserable solitude, for it is rather a pain than any comfort to converse with barbarous men. And the *Spanish* towns, where things necessary for their cloathing were sold, were an hundred and fifty leagues off, whereby their sufferings were much the greater.

The two towns of the *Guairanians* after <sup>A sad accident.</sup> their transmigration were in great want of cloaths, because the fields and woods near the river *Parana*, were not proper for producing of cotton, the damps of the river destroying the flower before it was ripe. To supply this defect, *F. Ruiz* sent *F. Spinosa* with a choice company of converts to the town of *Santa Fe*, or *S. Faith*, an hundred and fifty leagues distant, to bring sheep through a vast desert. They were about half way when a dismal accident happen'd. A few days before, some *Spaniards* travelling that way, had offended the *Guajalabes*, a wandering sort of *Indians*, who being upon revenge, as soon as they perceiv'd a smok in the fields, near the *Parana*, and the footsteps of travellers, thinking they had been the same *Spaniards*, stole very gently to the place where *F. Spinosa* lay, as the custom is there, in the open air, and at first onset murder'd five of his converts. Next they fell upon the father himself, then awak'd, and asking what was the matter. As soon as they heard his voice, the *Indians* concluding he was one of the *Spaniards* they had resolv'd to kill, stripp'd, and then beat him till they thought he had been dead; but he coming a little to himself, and calling upon *Jesús Mary*, brought them on him again, and so they made an end of him. They tore off one of his arms and left the rest of his body to be devour'd by the tygers. When it was day, and they perceiv'd they had kill'd a priest, they are reported to have repented, it being said they only sought to destroy those *Spaniards* that had offended them; yet others affirm they knew he was a priest before they killed him. In the year 1635, the seminary the fathers had in the metropolis of *Tucuman* was dissolv'd, the canons of the church having writ to the king that it was useless, and thereupon the society quitted it. About the same time the college of the city of *Es-* Several *teco* was dissolv'd, the town being left almost pathless, desolate by the plague, and the goods of the society perishing for want of servants to look after them. The general sent or-

**TECHO.** ders that all the villages of *Indians* in the province of *Tucuman* should be visited at least once a year, which oblig'd the fathers of several colleges to make many excursions into the country, not without a considerable gain of souls. The provincial himself, to give a good example, travell'd thro' the plain by the port of *Buenos Ayres* an hundred and twenty leagues, inviting the troops of wandering *Indians* to embrace the faith and be civiliz'd, but without any great success. He held on his journey with three other priests, serving all the *Indians* in the villages between *Cordova* and the metropolis of the province of *Tucuman*, whence he went on in the same manner to the territories of *S. Michael*, *Salta* and *Rioja*. The fathers at *Salta* long exercis'd their function in private house, their college having been the last year, as was then mention'd, destroy'd by a flood, and another inundation now carrying away their house, they betook themselves to another out of town. *F. Herrera* this year made an excursion among the *Pullares*, but to little advantage, the war diverting them from any care either of soul or body. In the port of *Buenos Ayres*, the great employment of the society was to instruct and catechise the *Blacks* brought from *Angola*. Many things are here related concerning an image sweating in the port of *Santa Fe*, and other miraculous matters happening thereupon, which I omit here, as is done in all other places.

A conspiracy detected.

Some things remarkable happen'd in the province of *Urvaica*. Among the rest *Cbemombeus*, a wicked impostor, being call'd by some forcerers from the country near the sea to the town of *S. Xaverius*, gain'd great authority among the multitude by his voluble tongue, and prevail'd so far as to carry on a conspiracy for murdering *F. Cespedes*. Some of the townsmen had built him a large house without the town, where the plot was laid for the murder amidst drinking and dancing, and *Easter-Eve* was pitched upon to be the day, when they had perform'd the villany, but that a youth, bred under the fathers, discover'd the design which being known, the faithful converts, a little before *Cbemombeus* came with his arm'd followers, convey'd *F. Cespedes* away into a den in a rock. Whilst he in vain searches about for the prey, which had slipped out of his hands, the inhabitants of *S. Mary Major* having notice of what was doing, came to the father's assistance in great numbers, and having secur'd *Cbemombeus* and other conspirators, sent them away into banishment. *F. Cespedes* brought out of his concealment continu'd in the town of *S. Xaverius*, where he reckon'd above three thousand that had been made christians since the colony was founded. The plague devour'd

Plague.

five hundred of the converts of *Accragud*, whose places were fill'd up by great numbers of infidels soon after brought over to christianity. This plague extended to the province of *Piratinia*, where processions were made, the converts carrying great crosses to appease God. Nor was it less destructive among the *Caaroans*, where it swept away eight hundred and fifty two souls. About eighty converts of the town of the *Three Kings* of *Japeiva*, going out to gather in the cattle that stray'd about the plains, without any certain master, fell among certain fierce people, and fighting with them, lost half their number; and at the same time the plague carry'd off many more, so that in a short time the third part of the inhabitants was missing, yet the town was recruited by fresh *Indians* brought in. Having briefly mention'd these things in the province of *Urvaica*, let us now remove to

The province of *Tape*, where there is <sup>Excursion</sup> much matter worth relating. *F. Boroa*, the <sup>to the ri-</sup> provincial, at his going away into the province of *Tucuman*, had order'd excursions to be made into the countries of the heathens, towards the sea, as well to gain opportunities of founding new towns, as to invite those *Indians* to repair to the towns already built; as also to contract friendship with those people, to oppose the coming of the *Mamaluks* into the province of *Tape*, for there were many tokens of a new invasion. The first that went from the colony of *S. Teresa*, attended by a small, but faithful, company of converts, was *F. Ximenez*, whose chief design was to bring as many *Indians* as he could to the colony of the *Visitation*, which was begun to be built, but as yet wanted a priest. The fifth day after his setting out, he came to the river *Caapibaris*, and having sail'd on it two days, came to another call'd *Mbocariro*, and out of that in two days more came into the *Tebiquar*. Searching the rocks, woods, and forests along these rivers, he found many men desirous to embrace christianity, and was every where receiv'd with great joy, and conducted by the *Indians* from village to village. Sometimes he was met by thirty canoes at a time, all resounding with mirth and jollity, and the *Indians* desiring him to erect crosses, and build towns, where they would readily obey all his directions, so they were not oblig'd to quit their native soil; yet some consented to remove, whereof fifteen hundred went to the town of the *Visitation*, and three hundred to that of *S. Teresa*. Having spent twenty-five days in this expedition, *F. Ximenez* return'd home, having found that some towns might be built upon the river *Tebiquar*, if there were fathers to attend 'em. When he was at home, understanding that the heathens all about

Fear the missionaries.

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about were much distress'd for want of provisions, he sow'd a vast tract of land, to the end that hunger might draw those people to him, to receive the nourishment of the soul, as well as that of the body; which succeeded accordingly, for great numbers came in to him. The plague raging at the same time, swept away above nine hundred souls; one thousand and thirty of all sorts were baptiz'd. *F. Suarez* travelling into those same parts, from the town of *S. Joachim*, over rocks and dismal places, having suffer'd much by hunger and weariness, brought a considerable number of infidels to the town; which he and *F. Arenes* practising afterwards by turns, they made that colony of *S. Joachim*, which was inconsiderable in its beginning, almost equal to any other for number of inhabitants. Amidst these successes, many things happen'd that caus'd dread and fear, and the fathers apprehensions were all of the *Mamaluks*; for there were several reports spread abroad in the towns of the converts concerning the designs of those robbers; for the better opposing of whom, *F. Romero* going away upon business, appointed *F. Mendoza* to be superior over the rest in the province of *Tape*, and to be watchful and ready to oppose those bloody villains. *F. Mendoza* accordingly provided the best he could for his defence, as soon as he came to the town of *Jesus Mary*. The *Mamaluks* had used, for many years past, to run along the coasts from the south parts of *Brazil* in small barques, to the mouth of the great river of the *Holy Ghost*, which is compos'd of the rivers of the province of *Tape*; then going some way up this river, they traded with the *Indians* along the shores, giving them iron tools, apparel, and other things for slaves. The *Indians*, allur'd by these commodities, sometimes sold their own countrymen seiz'd by force, or made irruptions up the country to take prisoners to sell. These were generally call'd the friends and confederates of the *Mamaluks*, who about this time had the boldness to drive away many out of the villages that were subject to the town of *Jesus Mary*. This being made known, who had made their escape out of captivity, struck a great terror into the *Indians* of the province, and perplex'd the fathers, as well knowing the *Mamaluks* would highly resent having their wicked trade obstructed by the fathers, and rather chuse to break out into open war, than be disappointed of buying slaves. Thus the alarm was given for all to stand upon their guard, but especially the townsmen of *Jesus Mary*, who, provok'd by the late wrong, took up arms, and march'd out that way their people were reported to be carried off. The fathers *Mendoza* and *Mola* went along

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with them, and overtaking those robbers, took 'em, set the prisoners at liberty, and banish'd the takers to the river of *Parana*, that they might be out of the way of doing mischief for the future. This action was not only the cause of converting those thieves, but gain'd the hearts of the infidels all about, seeing the fathers took care to defend the *Indians*; and therefore they earnestly desir'd to have towns founded in their lands, or to remove themselves to those already built.

The principal care of the fathers was, to invite the people towards the sea to the faith, lest being deluded by the *Mamaluks*, they might unite their forces to ruin the province of *Tape*. Yet tho' *F. Mendoza* had taken as much care as could be to solicit 'em by messengers, and oblig'd many of 'em with gifts, yet many still persisted in their obstinacy; among whom *Jaguacaporuus*, look'd upon as a good man by the neighbouring people, relying on his allies, durst talk publicly of murdering the fathers. The business therefore not being so well manag'd by messengers, *F. Mendoza* travel'd several days journey to the river *Tebiquar*, to draw over the infidels to his side, endeavouring to persuade the people not to trust to the *Mamaluks*. After his return home, he set out towards the *Caaguas*, because 'twas fear'd the enemy might break in thro' their lands. *Caagua* is a populous country in the mid-way between the province of *Tape* and the *Atlantic* sea, as yet not enter'd by the *Europeans*, but design'd to be attempted as soon as there were priests to supply it. To this purpose the *Caaguas* that came to the province of *Tape* were kindly receiv'd by the fathers, and handsomely presented. It happen'd, about this time, many of them were come to the town of *Jesus Mary* to trade, with whom *F. Mendoza* easily prevail'd to take him along with 'em into their country. He took along with him a numerous train of converts to stand by him in case any violence was offer'd; and, after some days travel, entering the country of the *Indians*, where *Jaguacaporuus* resided, found many seemingly favourable, for they promis'd, by that time he return'd from the *Caaguas*, abundance of their people would be got together to receive the gospel. With this hope he proceeded to the *Caaguas*, where all things succeeded according to his desires, those people readily hearkening to the account he gave of the behaviour of the *Mamaluks*, and to the affairs of christianity: but whilst he was there employ'd, the *Indians* consider'd to kill him, at the instigation of *Tainubius*, a crafty man, and enemy to the christian religion. He had formerly endeavour'd to exclude the society of the province of *Tape*,

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**T**echo, and also he still endeavour'd to debauch the new converts, setting up for a deity; he was punish'd with one day's imprisonment by the procurement of *F. Mendoza*, in the town of *S. Michael*. Some time after, flying to the infidels, he used all his endeavours to oppose christianity; and now understanding *F. Mendoza* was gone to the people up the country, he gather'd the heads of the *Ibians*, and with many words persuaded them to murder him in his return.

The *Ibians* murder *F. Mendoza*.

They were easily persuaded, and sent to *Jaguacaporuus* to join with 'em. A day being appointed, the principal men, with their followers in arms, laid an ambush in a convenient place, which the father's company discovering, many of 'em fled to hide themselves; some few fought, but overpowered by numbers. The father mounting on horseback, for he had alighted to dine, rode about to strike a terror into the enemy, but endeavouring to baptize one of his catechumens that was desperately wounded, as he rode to fetch water, his horse stuck in a bog, where the enemy hemm'd him in, and gave him many wounds, till he fell off his horse almost dead. One of the *Indians* cut off his ear, to keep as a monument of his cruelty; but the weather being rainy, they soon betook themselves to the woods, thinking he had been dead, deferring the burning his body and cutting up his belly till the next day. When they were gone, he crept to another place, which surpriz'd them the next morning, but they soon found him by the track, and then exercised many barbarities on him till he died, almost cut and mangled in pieces. This done, they feasted on the bodies of two youths that used to attend the father. When the news of his death was spread abroad in the towns of the province of *Tape*, the converts were all inflam'd with the desire of revenge; those of *Jesus Mary* would have taken the field immediately, without expecting the assistance of other towns, had not *F. Mola* stopp'd 'em, protesting he would have no revenge; yet, soon after, fifteen hundred men of that and other towns assembling, could not be hinder'd from going to seek the body. As soon as they enter'd the territories of the *Ibians*, the enemy met 'em, forbidding them to proceed any further, shewing a part of *F. Mendoza's* garment in scorn, and behaving themselves so insolently, that they oblig'd the converts to come to a battle. At the first encounter the converts, being encompass'd by their enemies, receiv'd much harm, till gaining a better ground, they enclos'd the others, and killing many of them, obtain'd a glorious victory. Not one of the victors was kill'd, and all the wounded recover'd. Most of those who had a hand in the murder of

Punishment of the murderers.

the father were slain, and among them the ringleader of 'em all, *Tainubacus*. At the same time the inhabitants of the town of *S. Joseph*, upon the same provocation, pierced thro' almost impassable ways into the country of those murderers, and meeting with a great body of the enemy, overthrew them, taking many prisoners, three hundred whereof, afterwards, became converts.

After the death of *F. Mendoza*, new troubles ensued in the province of *Tape*; the first was caused by the cruelty of the forcerers devouring many children that were baptiz'd, and threatening ruin to the new towns. This mischief proceeded from the *Ibian* murderers, who not being sufficiently punish'd, and relying on their numbers, conceiv'd hopes of extirpating the christian religion. The ringleaders were three *Caciques*, who being skilful in their old impostures, held forth to the multitude in great houses, baptizing infants after a wicked manner, prophaning the priestly ceremonies, and commending their ancient practices with great applause of the people. Seven hundred *Indians* flock'd together from several parts, and among them twelve forcerers, one declaring himself a god, and threatening the converts with darkness when they should engage; another, that he would take the shape of a tyger to destroy them, and such-like follies. At first they dispers'd about the villages, eating all they took, without sparing the heathens, till fearing they should join with the christians to defend themselves, resolv'd to spare all that would suffer themselves to be baptiz'd by the forcerers. That this might be known, they sent out dancers, whose business 'tis to impose upon the people; these having wrought themselves into the villages subject to the town of *Jesus Mary*, so debauch'd many of the inhabitants, that the town began to grow thin, the fathers being still ignorant of the cause. *F. Diastanius*, sent to supply the place of *F. Mendoza*, having got information of the whole business, secur'd two notable forcerers, and expos'd 'em to publick shame, some converts of authority gathering their arm'd followers, repairing to the places where the dancers were doing all the mischief. When several of 'em were taken, news was brought that *Cemorseus* was drawing near with seven hundred men, and many of the converts of the town of *Jesus Mary* were in his interest. The sudden floods stopp'd the coming of the enemy till supplies could be brought from other towns. When five hundred men were got together, they pass'd the river, and fell upon one part of the enemy, killing many, and so pursuing their success to the other body, utterly routed them, obtaining a complete victory.



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victory. Seven forcerers were kill'd, three taken, and two fled; many prisoners made here, afterwards became christians. Another trouble was rais'd by the governor of Paraguay, and citizens of the Assumption, who being still covetous of enslaving the Indians, pretended to bring all those of Pirana, and the remains of Guaira, under their danger; but the fathers of the society, and some of the Franciscans, oppos'd 'em so vigorously, that all their designs were disappointed; whereof I will not give more particulars, because 'tis a subject has been often mention'd. Some comfort amidst these adversities, was the arrival of F. Terricus with twenty fathers of the society, to recruit those parts, who were all presently dispers'd as was most for the publick good.

Mamaluces  
destroy the  
town of  
Jesus  
Mary.

F. Romero, who had been superior of the provinces of Parana, Urvaica, and Tape, having discharg'd that office, was appointed to take care of the town of Jesus Mary, which being much expos'd to the enemy, the converts had, by appointment of the governor of Paraguay, begun to throw up a work about it. Whilst they were thus employ'd, the Mamaluces with fifteen hundred Tupus, and a great number of heathens they had got together by force in the way, on a sudden invaded the place. Four hundred Indians oppos'd them with much bravery, the rest, as the custom is there, being abroad about tillage or hunting. The fathers appear'd every where, shunning no danger to assist those that were wounded. An Indian woman, call'd Mary, whom the author knew, habiting her self like a man, fought with a lance, kill'd a forward Tupu, check'd the enemy, and encourag'd her own party; but the enemy having the advantage in numbers and weapons, and firing the church where the women and children were, at last made themselves masters of the town upon certain conditions; yet they exercis'd their rage upon those that had surrender'd, without any regard to their articles, or to sex or age, burning the town, and killing many of the inhabitants. The town being taken, the robbers spreading about the neighbouring villages, drove all they could find into captivity, so that of such a numerous colony not the fourth part escap'd by flight. Of the enemy fifty-five were kill'd in the fight, besides the wounded. The fathers were detain'd four days, lest they should repair to other towns to advise the people what to do. Thus the town of Jesus Mary, where the fathers had baptiz'd five thousand fifty-seven, besides a greater number preparing for it, was destroy'd three years after 'twas built. The remains of it, remov'd to another place, are a doleful remembrance of that once

flourishing colony, to all that knew it, but Techo, especially to me, who had for several years, and still have, the care of them. Two That of leagues from the colony of Jesus Mary was S. Christo-pher.  
that of S. Christopher, very populous, tho' founded but two years before; whither when the news of the invasion was brought, F. Contreras, who had charge of the place, led away all he could to the town of S. Anne. No sooner were they in safety than the Mamaluces came into the empty town, and finding it abandon'd, presently fell to searching all the country round, plundering the houses, and driving away all the people they found. In the mean while F. Romero having gather'd sixteen hundred converts, of those that fled from the town of Jesus Mary, those of S. Anne and S. Christopher, and other places, he went with them to the town of S. Christopher, whither, four days after his arrival, came one hundred and twenty Mamaluces, the prime of their gang, with fifteen hundred Tupus, who coming to a battle, tho' at first they gave way, defeated, yet at last, by the advantage of their weapons, got the better. Many being thus carried away into slavery, F. Ruiz return'd with the remains to the town of S. Anne. This place then contain'd above three thousand souls, and was in a flourishing condition, but, being beyond the river Igai, lay expos'd to the enemy, and therefore it was propos'd to remove it. As they were consulting, F. Ruiz the superior came, and the general opinion was, that the remains of Jesus Mary and S. Christopher's, and the inhabitants of S. Anne, were all to be removed over the river Igai, so the town of the Nativity, that they might defend themselves with the river and the nearness of the other towns. This being done with great confusion, all the boats were brought together under the defence of a work cast up like a castle, that the converts flying over the river might be secured, and the robbers obstructed. Besides, this guard was placed in several places where the river was fordable, and ambuscades were placed beyond the river, in the neighbouring woods, whence the converts falling out by way of surprize on the straggling robbers, slew many of 'em without any loss. By this time those of the town of Jesus Mary that fled, spread the terror abroad, reporting much more than truth, saying, all the towns of the province of Tape were destroy'd, many of the fathers murder'd, and the enemy ready to invade Urvaica. F. Ruiz increas'd the dread, ordering the fathers of Urvaica to burn the towns, and retire to the Parana; which the Caasapaminians immediately perform'd, tho' the enemy was forty leagues from them. The Tapians and Caasapaguans were about doing the same, when or-  
ders

S. Anne's  
colony a-  
bandoned.

**TECHO.** ders came from *Boroa*, the provincial, that none should stir till he came to see what occasion there was for it. He heard the news of the invasion as he was travelling from the city of the *Assumption* to the *Parana*, and in his way met fifteen hundred *Caasapaminians*, who refusing to return to the town they had burnt, were recommended to the *Itapuan*s. A little further he met the *Caaroans*, whom he sent to the other colonies of *Parana*, till safe places could be appointed to rebuild their towns. He sent to desire assistance of the governor of *Paraguay*, but the answer was, that the *Mamaluc*s on another side had invaded the *Itatinians*, and 'twas not convenient to divide those small forces he had. The governor of the province of *Rio de la Plata* his son, who was commander of the forces, made other excuses; and the city of *S. John* refused any assistance. Having lost all hope of foreign helps, he hastened to the province of *Tape*, gather'd the scatter'd converts, order'd the bravest of all the *Indians* of several towns to be call'd out, with whom he ventur'd over the river *Igai*, that this shew might in some measure curb the insolency of the robbers; but they were gone with their booty, and he found nothing but ruins and dead bodies: he buried the dead, and sent a particular account of all to the king of *Spain*. Then he sent the people of the towns destroy'd into the lands of the *Caaroans* and *Caasapaminians*, with priests, there to be kept in the villages till things could be better order'd. 'Tis well known that at this time the *Mamaluc*s carried twenty-five thousand *Indians*, as well converts as heathens, into *Brazil*, to be sold for slaves, besides all that died by the way. Thus the fathers lost all hopes of doing any good beyond the river *Igai*, and began to dread further losses; which we shall soon have occasion to speak of.

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*Mama-  
luc*s,

The year 1637 being now advanc'd, the provincial chapter at *Cordova* made choice of *F. Diasianus* for procurator. The bishop of *Tucuman* at the same time writ to the fathers thus assembled, entreating them to take charge of the *Indians* of *Tucuman*, who wanted all spiritual assistance, giving the provincial ample powers for such as he should appoint. Besides, he writ to the king most honourably concerning the society, desiring forty of them might be sent to supply his diocese of *Tucuman*. In this same chapter *F. Ruiz*, who had been an eye-witness of the mischiefs done by the *Mamaluc*s, was order'd to go into *Spain*, to sollicite the king and his council, whilst the other went to *Rome*, to relieve the distressed province of *Paraguay* against those robbers. *F. Ruiz* arriv'd safe in *Spain* with *F. Diasianus*, where he found king *Philip*

the 4th very favourable to his pretensions: for, having appointed a committee of the councils of *Castile* and *Portugal* to consider of that affair, 'twas by his majesty and them enacted, that those eruptions of the *Mamaluc*s were contrary to the laws of *God* and of the kingdom, and a scandal to the christian religion, and therefore the punishment of them was committed to the inquisition, all the *Indians* by them taken to be set at liberty, and the *Mamaluc*s that took 'em to be look'd upon as guilty of high-treason, and accordingly to be punish'd with loss of life and goods. *F. Ruiz* further obtain'd, that all the *Indians* reduced by the industry of the society in the provinces of *Parana*, *Guaia*, *Urvaica*, and *Tape*, should be exempt from serving private persons, and only tributary to the king; and, that the new converts should not pay any thing till twenty years after they had been baptiz'd. At *Madrid* he printed a dictionary, grammar, and catechise, compos'd by himself in the *Guairanick* language, which was very useful. Having finish'd the business he came about, and being in his way to *Lisbon*, to set out for *America*, he receiv'd letters, giving him an account of another irruption of the *Mamaluc*s, the mutiny at *Rio de Janeiro*, the expulsion of the fathers at the town of *S. Paul*, and the driving away of our converts; whereof I shall speak in its place. Therefore returning to *Madrid*, he obtain'd more positive orders to the governors and magistrates to defend the converts; with which he sail'd for *Peru*. He was detain'd some years at *Lima*, to defend the society of *Paraguay* against its enemies.

After the departure of *F. Ruiz*, *F. Al-* Colony of  
*faro* was appointed superior of the provinces *S. Joacim* trans-  
of *Parana*, *Urvaica*, and *Tape*, where many  
disasters happen'd. The first was, the  
abandoning the town of *S. Joacim*, in the  
province of *Tape*, which was done with  
much difficulty, the *Indians* abhorring to  
be thus transplanted, many of 'em slipping  
away to other places than were design'd for  
'em, and some meditating the death of the  
fathers. At length the houses being fir'd,  
they all retir'd to other towns, and new  
troubles ensuing, could never rebuild a  
town, so that it quite ceas'd to be, the  
third year after its foundation. But the  
*Mamaluc*s invading the town of *S. Teresa*,  
was a much greater calamity. This town  
contain'd above four thousand inhabitants, destroy'd  
was still encreasing, and there was hope  
of founding several other colonies along  
the river *Tebiquar*, and others; when the  
*Mamaluc*s, with a great number of *Tupus*  
and other *Indians*, breaking into the place  
about the end of this year 1637, destroy'd  
all that had been gain'd with so much la-  
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bour, and all hopes of future improvements.  
 The townsmen being inferior to the rob-  
 bers in number, arms and courage, for  
 the most part delivered themselves up.  
 Some few fled, others were bound, and o-  
 thers kept under my dread. Yet these  
 villains upon Christmas-day had the impu-  
 dence to go to church in a solemn manner,  
 and scoff at F. Ximenez who reprov'd  
 them. The small remains of this town  
 were added to the Itapuas, where they  
 still continue much improv'd. The new  
 founded town of the Visitation, was dissolv'd  
 with only the dread, and the inhabitants of  
 the other colonies of the province of Tape,  
 fearing the like fortune, either fled or pre-  
 par'd for their defence. The people of the  
 town of S. Anne, beyond the river Igai,  
 hearing that another company of Mama-  
 luc was near, without expecting the ad-  
 vice of the fathers, dispers'd themselves  
 whereforever fear, or love of liberty dicta-  
 ted. It was now frequent to rail at the so-  
 ciety, saying the fathers gather'd the peo-  
 ple into towns the better to betray them to  
 the Mamaluc ; and this opinion was confir-  
 m'd by those robbers, who told the con-  
 verts they held intelligence with the fathers,  
 so that many contriv'd to murder them.  
 F. Contreras had like to have been kill'd by  
 a Cacique enrag'd with this jealousy. The  
 Araricans plunder'd F. Alfaro and fled to  
 the woods, declaring they would rather  
 deliver themselves to the Mamaluc, than  
 be transplanted to Uruaica. Nor was the  
 province of Uruaica any quieter. The  
 Caasapaminians, who for fear of the war  
 had remov'd to the river Parana, having  
 no hopes of returning home, with the as-  
 sistance of the Itapuas, built a new town,  
 three leagues from Itapua, still retaining  
 the name of the Purification. The Caa-  
 roans, aided by the inhabitants of Loreto  
 and S. Ignatius, founded another town on  
 the same river. The Caasapaguacuans and  
 Caapians continuing to behave themselves  
 in a tumultuous manner, many of them be-  
 ing dispers'd, and many taken by the Ma-  
 maluc, put the fathers to much trouble ;  
 whose principal care it was to keep toge-  
 ther and cherish the remains of the towns  
 destroy'd the first irruption, the Indians be-  
 ing much distracted in their thoughts be-  
 twixt the love of their native soil and the  
 fear of slavery. Though they be the acti-  
 ons of several years, let us go on with the  
 Mamaluc, that the account of them may  
 not be too much dismembre'd.

Towns of  
 S. Charles,  
 and S. Pe-  
 ter and  
 Paul de-  
 stroy'd by  
 Mamaluc.  
 In January 1638, the dreadful news  
 was brought that great troops of Mama-  
 luc and Tupus were marching through the  
 lands of Caama and Caagua, and design'd,  
 when they had carry'd away the heathens,  
 to divide and attack the colonies of Uruai-

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ca and Tape, and so proceed to destroy all Ticho.  
 the province of Parana. The alarm thus  
 given, F. Alfaro the superior in those parts,  
 encourag'd all the Indians to defend them-  
 selves, and having list'd men in every co-  
 lony, order'd the rendezvous at the town of  
 S. Peter and Paul, whither the enemy  
 seem'd bent, and where the men in a pan-  
 ick fear, abandoning the women and  
 children, were fled to the woods. This  
 being known, the troops of the other con-  
 verts not confiding in their own strength,  
 retir'd disorderly. The enemy in the mean  
 while drawing near, had certainly drove a-  
 way the women and children, but that F.  
 Alfaro getting them over the river in some  
 measure secur'd them. The robbers dis-  
 appointed of this booty, falling upon the  
 towns of S. Peter and Paul, and S. Charles,  
 and the villages about them, seiz'd many  
 Caapians and Caasapaguacuans, destroying  
 those two colonies. In seven years space  
 the society had baptiz'd four thousand three  
 hundred thirty seven souls in the town of  
 S. Charles, and five thousand eight hundred  
 forty five in that of S. Peter and Paul.  
 Scarce the third part of these numbers was  
 afterwards gather'd to settle in the other  
 towns. After destroying these towns, the  
 robbers bent their force against the lands  
 of the Caaroans and Caasapaminians. The  
 inhabitants of both those places had, dur-  
 ing the former invasion, transplanted them-  
 selves into Parana, whose towns had been  
 in some measure restor'd by the remains of  
 the colonies of the province of Tape, to  
 defend whom one thousand five hundred  
 armed converts were brought together from  
 several parts, and stood the enemy in the  
 lands of the Caaroans. Coming to a bat-  
 tle and many being wounded, and some  
 kill'd on both sides ; before the action was  
 over, some converts in a consternation, fled  
 as if the Mamaluc had got the day, and  
 as the custom is there, set fire to the town,  
 to signify they submitted themselves. The  
 women and children seeing the fire, and  
 knowing the cause of it, appear'd in a most  
 lamentable condition. The fight was dif-  
 mal, yet neither side got the victory, each  
 party after the fight retiring. The next  
 day the women and children were by the  
 fathers conducted away to the colony of the  
 Caasapaguacuans, six leagues distant, whi-  
 ther our men retiring, were opportunely  
 recruited by some hundreds of converts  
 from Parana, for the enemy appear'd soon  
 after. The converts perform'd their devo-  
 tions before they engag'd. Fifteen hun-  
 dred of them engag'd with such bravery,  
 that they soon drove their enemies into the  
 wood, taking some colours and a rich  
 booty. The Mamaluc, having secur'd  
 themselves there with palisadoes, put out  
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**T**echo. their fires at night, and lay very still, that it might be thought they were gone. The converts deceiv'd by this false appearance, and thereupon presuming to go plunder their fort, pay'd for their rashness, for the robbers firing on them kill'd one of the principal men, and wounded others, the rest fled, and being seiz'd with a panick fear, could not be brought to face the enemy again. Most of them never stopp'd till they came into the territory of *Piratina*, the rest follow'd them by the advice of *F. Alfaro*. Of five towns built in the province of *Urvaica* beyond the river of that name, only that of *Piratina* was left standing, out of which *F. Alfaro* in very good time sent all the women and children over the river, for but a few days after news was brought that the *Mamaluks* seeking for more booty, still continu'd between the territories of the *Caafapaminians* and the *Caaroans*. Many of the converts, after the late fight, believing the enemy was gone away into *Brasil*, return'd to their towns, whom it was hard to call back; yet about a thousand *Indians* drawn together in haste gave the enemy a check, till more forces could be gather'd. The fight lasted five hours, with almost equal damage, about eighty being wounded on both sides, and some few kill'd. After the fight the enemies strew'd the way our men were to go with crows feet, which might have done harm, but that they were discover'd. Then they sent a woman gaudily dress'd to allure the chiefs of the converts, to go over to the *Mamaluks*, who was turn'd away with scorn. Before this *Cheomombeus*, that famous impostor, had gone over to the *Mamaluks*, drawing some converts with him, and to do them some signal service, now by their consent, pretended to desert, but being taken endeavouring to debauch some converts, he was put into irons, and afterwards truly repented. All frauds failing, the robbers fell again to open force, and drawing out their forces, furiously charg'd the right wing of the converts, which was led by *Nicholas Nienguirius*, a man no less skill'd in war than peace. They had been easily repuls'd, but that he who commanded the left wing, being offended at *Nienguirius* for having forced him to put away a concubine, refus'd to second him; so that *Nienguirius* being inferior to the robbers, was forced by this treachery to give way, and leave the victory to them. The enemy having taken the town of *S. Nicholas*, and not daring to pass the river, drove the prisoners into the territory of the *Caafapaminians*. Thus the colony of *Piratina*, remarkable for its stately church, and the number of converts, was drawn back over the river *Urvaica*, and forced to build

*S. Nicholas town abandoned.*

new houses a little below the town of *S. Xavierius*.

This done, the chiefs of *Parana* and *Ur-Mama-vaica* joining their forces, drew together the greatest army that had ever been there in the field, that they might either recover the booty, or oppose the enemy, if they durst attempt to cross the river *Urvaica*. Having cross'd the river, drift parties that came to the ruin of *Piratina*, found letters writ by *Mamaluks* in the church, full of virulentanders on the society. But the converts understanding the robbers were marching away for *Brasil*, ceas'd not to pursue till they overtook them. The first day they fought with indifferent success, still with greater loss on the enemies side than on ours. Fifteen hundred fresh men now brought by *F. Romero* encourag'd our men, and quite dismay'd the enemy. These having just rested themselves, fell furiously on the *Mamaluks*, who were ready to fly, doing much harm, and had utterly routed them, had they not defended themselves within their palisades set up before. The converts throwing up their works, drew them out to battle, in which the loss was equal on both sides, but the confusion greater on ours. But now eleven *Spaniards* sent two hundred leagues by the governor of *Buenos Ayres* coming up, the enemy quite desponded, for when they drew up four thousand five hundred converts in military order, the robbers were so astonish'd, that despairing of success, or so much as being able to escape, they humbly su'd to be allow'd to article. A conference being granted, *F. Alfaro* after severely reprimanding and making 'em swear they would never return nor send any of their gang to disturb the towns of the converts, sent them away unpunish'd, to the great regret of the converts. Other troops of *Mamaluks* were picking up the dispersion of the ruin'd towns, and threaten'd the others, but the provincial gathering other regiments of converts, repuls'd them and secur'd the province of *Tape* for that time. However those towns being sixty leagues from those of *Urvaica*, it was plain they could not continue there with any security, and therefore it was resolv'd to transplant them, and the place appointed for it was between the two rivers *Parana* and *Urvaica*, because they being but fourteen leagues distant from one another, would serve as vast trenches to secure the great multitudes of people in the several towns, who might draw together the easier to stand upon their own guard. Ten towns, as has been said, had been built in the province of *Tape*, whereof four being destroy'd, there remain'd six, which could not all be transplanted at once, abundance of the inhabitants planted.

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habitants choosing rather to run the hazard of being made slaves, than forsake their native soil. The work was begun by some hundreds of people of the town of S. Cosmus and Damianus, who with great difficulty drew them over the mountains and river Urvaica to the Parana, where they rebuilt their own under the invocation of the same saints, between the colonies of Loreto and the Purification. The Araricans, or town of the Nativity of our Lady had been rebuilt between those of S. Mary Major and S. Xaverius, but many of the inhabitants had fled to the woods, whence they could not be drawn, till now become sensible of their danger they submitted themselves and went where the provincial order'd them. Of the townsmen of S. Anne dispers'd for fear of the Mamalucs, F. Contreras gather'd as many as built a town first on the river Urvaica, but afterwards on the Parana, where they still continue. The people of S. Joseph, were as obstinate as the rest against removing, but being at last wrought upon, had the woods of Parana, between the towns of Corpus Christi and S. Charles allotted them. In the mean while the inhabitants of S. Thomas, setting fire to their town, went away part by land, and part upon the rivers Ibiacit and Urvaica, under the conduct of F. Ernot and Bertot, and settled fourteen leagues below the town of the Conception, on the latter of the two last named rivers, where building their houses, they prov'd more fortunate than the others; for though at their first coming they were not assist'd by other colonies, yet in process of time they enjoy'd many conveniences the others wanted, because of the vast plains about them, fit either for pasture or tillage, so that at this time I am writing, after so many calamities, there are computed in this colony four thousand souls. The colony of S. Michael transmigrated as well as the rest, and in its new seat took the name of the Immaculate Conception. Thus above twelve thousand souls were brought with little loss through a barren solitude for sixty or seventy leagues to the places where they settled on the rivers Parana and Urvaica. Woods were cut down to make room for this multitude to sow, feed fetch'd at a great expence, cattle bought, houses and churches built, and all other necessities provided. After they were settled, the fathers passing the rivers that lay in the way, gather'd many thousands of converts and infidels that lay lurking in the woods, and brought them over to increase the aforesaid towns. All things being thus settled the Caciques of Parana and Urvaica sh'd to the provincial, begging he would for the future make some provision for the safety of so many

thousand souls, as were expos'd to the fury Ticho. of the enemy, unless they would allow 'em the use of fire arms. *For how can we, Five arms said they, who are naked, fight with those that are in armour, or have stuff'd Coats? How can we defend our selves with arrows of reeds, which scarce do any execution, when the enemies attack us with guns that sling bullets a vast distance? Let us have equal arms, and we will shew as much courage as our enemies, and make it appear we can as well defend our wives and children, as the Mamalucs hunt for slaves.* Thus the Indians pleaded, and the provincial thought there was reason enough to furnish them with weapons equal to the Mamalucs, who else would never desist till they had depopulated all south America, and it was much to be fear'd, lest if ever there was a war betwixt Spain and Portugal they might break into Peru. Having therefore receiv'd letters out of Spain from men of great note employ'd by the king, directing him to provide for the safety of those miserable people for the future, he us'd all possible means to get them fire arms; and though the governors and civil magistrates alledg'd that the use of fire arms had never been allow'd any Indians for fear of a rebellion, yet after weighing all circumstances, they all agreed with the provincial, and granted they should be allow'd fire arms. Which resolution the royal council of Peru, and afterwards the king himself, approv'd. Musquets were accordingly bought up and made, and granted to the converts, upon condition they should make use of them in time of war; but in peace, to avoid tumults, they should be lock'd up; which I find has been very useful in war, and it is certain the robbers have not since been so bold as before. Therefore to give every man his due, there is no doubt that the liberty of the people of Tape and Urvaica is in a great measure owing to F. Boroa, the provincial, but for whom the Indians would not have consented to be transplanted, nor had there been fire arms obtain'd to defend them for the future.

Let us after so many calamities and troubles look back into the province of Tucuman, where the fathers made excursions from their colleges to convert and instruct the scatter'd Indians, with success in the valley of Paspama, and in the villages subject to the jurisdiction of the city of London, late a barbarously rebuilt, but advancing further to a most barbarous nation, they made no improvement, for those people being wholly devoted to drunkennels and extravagant superstitions, would give no ear to better advice. It is the custom among them to hire women to commend their dead. They do not close



**TACHO**, close but open the eyes of their friends departed, lest they should miss their way to the other world, which abounds in delights. The same error makes them place their best goods and store of provision about the dead body, which they dress in its best apparel, and do not bury, but lay in an open grave on some high ground. They sprinkle the corn when it first comes up with the blood of beasts new kill'd to obtain fertility. By the persuasion of their forcerers, they think they shall dye presently, if they give ear to our priests, and therefore having this horror of them, it is no wonder the fathers could do no good among them. But *F. Ojorius*, in the year 1638, happily attempted the nation of the *Ocloias*. These people lye between the borders of *Peru* and *Tucuman*, within the precinct of the city of *Xuxui*. The *Franciscan* fathers had formerly preached among them, but for many years past they had been wholly abandon'd and left to their old customs. *Ochoa*, a powerful *Biscainer*, to whom the *Ocloias* had been given, as is the custom of the *Indians*, recommended them to *F. Ojorius* in hopes a way might be made through them to the province of *Xuxa*. He taking *F. Medina* along with him, travell'd over the mountains till they came to the *Ocloias*. Inquiring into their disposition, they found they were peaceably given, enemies to forcerers, and continu'd their native errors only for want of christian priests to undeceive them, and therefore it was plain they would all embrace christianity if instructed. Many were baptiz'd in *Sicaia*, the first village of them, and so in other places. *F. Ojorius* going on to the *Guiparas*, and *F. Medina* to the *Guarcontes*, found those *Indians* well inclined towards them, and so returned through the lands of the *Homoguacas*. *F. Ojorius* coming again to them with *F. Riparius*, they us'd all their endeavours to bring those scatter'd people to live together in one place, that they might be the better instructed in the faith. As soon as their design was known the neighbouring *Caciques* offering to remove, began to lay the foundations of a town eleven leagues from the city of *Xuxui*, and others resorting to them by degrees from further parts, having built a church, they placed their houses regularly, to the great satisfaction of the *Spaniards*. Thus six hundred *Ocloias* were baptiz'd and given in charge to *F. Medina*, who being about to proceed, the *Franciscans* interpos'd, alledging they had first preached the faith there, and consequently that province belong'd to them. The provincial, to avoid all controversy, resign'd the new built town to them. Yet *F. Ojorius* and *F. Riparius* having in vain attempted to make way through the province of the *Ocloias*, into

The Ocloias  
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that of *Xuxa*, took another way through impenetrable woods. Such *Indians* as they met they endeavour'd to catechise, and gain their affections with some small gifts, as they did some of those the *Spaniards* call *Palomos*, and another fort known by the two names of *Labradillos* and *Pintadillos*. Their provisions falling short, they sent back *Sebastian Marcon*, a youth born in *Paraguay*, who desired to be admitted into the society, with some of the *Labradillos*, to fetch supplies from the city of *Xuxui*. They, the second day after they parted from the fathers, murder'd *Marcon*, and having eaten his flesh, as was report'd, took the skull along with them, and returned to the place where the fathers pass'd the night, to repeat their cruelty. That night they plunder'd their baggage, and the next morning murder'd the fathers, cutting off their heads, and carrying them away in trophy. The *Indians* that were then returning to *Xuxui* gave an account of their death.

The fathers in *Parana* and *Urvaica* were now employ'd in rebuilding the towns destroy'd, and discovering the designs of the robbers, and because they could not altogether confide in the converts, who were easily carry'd away with groundless fears, *F. Alfaro* so order'd it, that two fathers in their turns passing the river *Urvaica*, should observe the motions of the enemy, and bring to the towns the wandering *Indians* they could meet with. The fathers *Palermo* and *Vivero* being out upon this design, two young converts that attended them going too far, fell into the hands of the *Mamaluc*, by whom being found they lay among the prisoners, till they perform'd a notable exploit, which was, that at night, when all the robbers were asleep, they held their hands which were ty'd behind them so long to the fire, till the cords were burnt asunder, and being thus loos'd, they made their escape flying through by-ways fourteen leagues till they came to the fathers, and were very useful in discovering the designs of the *Mamaluc*. Not long before, *Peter Lugo*, governor of *Paraguay*, had receiv'd letters from the catholic king, signifying it was his will, that he should employ all his force in defence of the *Indians* reduced by the society, and infected by the *Mamaluc*, and it fell out opportunely that the said governor himself was taking a view of the convert's towns in the province of *Parana*. At the instance therefore of *F. Alfaro*, he drew together four thousand *Indians*, with his own *Spaniards*, and march'd with all speed into the territories of the *Caasapaminians*, where the enemy had settled. *F. Alfaro*, and some other of the society follow'd him, to encourage the men, and help those that were in danger of death, and they were

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settled. *F. Al-*  
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and help those  
s, and they were  
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Alamo  
Inc. 1000  
St.

all in hopes the robbers might be easily routed, when a dismal accident happen'd. For *F. Aljara*, superior of the other fathers having advis'd them not to expose themselves rashly, and encourag'd the converts in some small skirmishes to defend themselves manfully, going out a little way from the camp to discover the *Mamaluks*, was shot dead by one of them, who lay in ambush. His death being known, the *Indians* fell furiously upon the enemy, and totally routed them. Many of the *Mamaluks* and *Tupus* were taken in this action. The governor having severely rebuk'd the *Mamaluks*, put them into the custody of the converts, till it should be determined what punishment was to be inflicted on them for so many villanies. The *Indian* prisoners were happy in that being deliver'd from bodily slavery, they were adopto into the liberty of the sons of God, being baptiz'd, and made equal in the new towns to their conquerors. The body of *F. Aljara*, was carry'd four day's journey to the town of the *Conception*, and there honourably buried. His death undeceiv'd many converts, who were still jealous that they were gather'd into towns, to be the better betray'd to the *Mamaluks*. The governor carry'd the *Mamaluks* taken fourcore leagues back to the city of the *Assumption*, and was blam'd for being afterwards too favourable to the worst of men; for tho' he sent them to the governor of the river of *Plate* to be punish'd, yet it came to pass that by favour those miscreants were suffer'd to slip away safe into their own country.

**Cavacava**  
lakes.

*F. Ruiz* succeeded *F. Alfaro* as superior of the *Jesuits* in those parts. He at the request of the governor of *Rio de la Plata*, lent *F. Romero* with a band of four hundred chosen converts to the lake of the *Caracas*, about an hundred leagues distant. The *Caracas*, *Capafacas* and *Menepes*, a fierce sort of people, being part heathens and wild, and part bred in the town of *S. Anne*, but fled thence and in open rebellion, dwelt about this lake, which is forty leagues in length ; and fallying thence upon travellers, either by land or on the river, carry'd away their booty into inaccessible lurking places, amidst the reeds and rushes ; and not long since had made an excursion and burnt the church of *S. Lucy* ; besides, the murderers of *F. Spinola* were retir'd thither. Long impunity made them bold to attempt any thing, because it was hard to come at them, the lake which runs to the *Parana* having but one entrance, choak'd up with mud and bushes, and the further part of it being full of floating islands, like those of *S. Omer* in the *Low-Countries*, which were dangerous for strangers, but a secure retreat for the natives. But the con-

verts encourag'd by *F. Romero*, broke *TECHO*, through all difficulties, and dragging those barbarians out of their faltnesses, killing some, forced the rest to submit. All the prisoners were deliver'd to *John Garay*, commander of the *Spaniards*, who highly commended the converts. This victory caus'd the town of *S. Lucy* to be in some measure restor'd, made the ways safe to travel, and secur'd the *Spanish* and *Indian* towns. The provincial, having visited the province of *Itatina*, cross'd the river *Pirapuis*, then much swell'd, in a boat made of canes, which are thicker than a man's leg, and being well knit together, cannot easily be sunk, but these being green when they receiv'd a weight, could scarce bear up above water, so that he was in great danger; but much more the next day crossing another river in a bull's hide, only fasten'd in a hollow form with hoops, which there the *Indians* use to carry passengers in over rivers, swimming about and bearing them up, but too many officiously flocking about it he was almost drown'd. He pass'd the river of *Xuxui* in a boat made of the barks of trees. Which things I have here mention'd to shew what sort of boats are us'd in those parts.

*F. Dianthianus* sent, as was said before, Favours procurator into *Europe*, having finish'd granted some business at *Madrid*, went on to *Rome*, the procurator, where he easily obtain'd leave of the general to gather supplies of fathers out of the provinces of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Sardinia*, the *Low Countries* and *Spain*. Pope *Urban* the eighth granted him a bull, allowing all the *Indians*, *Blacks*, and those of a mixt race, in *South America*, all the time between *Septuagesima* and the octave of *Corpus Christi* to perform the duty of receiving the blessed sacrament about *Easter*. And another, by which he excommunicated all such as upon any pretence whatsoever should enslave the *Indians*, whether christians or heathens. Many other favours he bestow'd on *F. Dianthianus*, who returning to *Madrid*, obtain'd of the king passage for thirty fathers at his majesty's expence. The king also put out an edict, by authority of his council of the *Indies*, forbidding the *Mamelukes* to insult the *Indians*, and ordering those so taken to be restor'd to their country and liberty, and the takers to be punish'd. Then gathering the *Spanish* fathers that were to go with him, he went away to *Lisbon*, where he found six, long since come thither out of the *Low Countries*, and they altogether sail'd on the eve of the *Purification*. By the way several of the fathers fell sick, and two dy'd. The weather proving very stormy, after being drove away almost as far as the cape of *Good Hope*, they were forced to stand for *Brazil*,

TECHO, and at length arriv'd in the port of *Rio de Janeiro*, where they were generously entertained by the governor of the province, and the fathers of the society. After the mutual ceremonies of the reception, *F. Diaſtanius* being intent upon his buſineſs, undertaking to proclaim the pope's bull againſt the enſlavers of the *Indians*, tho' he did all things regularly, brought much trouble upon himſelf. For when the bull was ſolemnly read in the church of the ſociety, the *Mamaluſes*, many of whom live in the territory of *Rio de Janeiro*, and their friends grew ſo inrag'd, that the fathers were in danger of their lives; theſe mutineers breaking open the college gates, and ruſhing into the court, giving the new converts very opprobrious language, and reſolving to murder them. Their chief rage was againſt *F. Diaſtanius*, who had procur'd the bull, and they had perhaps executed their bloody deſign, but that the governor drawing them artiſicially to the church, put ſome check to their fury by the holineſs of the place. The next day all the chief men and religious men meeting at the church of the *Carmelites*, the *Jefuits*, to lay the tumult, contented the *Mamaluſes* ſhould appeal to the pope againſt his bull, and thus the buſineſs was put up. Whiſt this was doing at *Rio de Janeiro*, it was much worſe at the town of *Santos*, where *Ferdinand Rodriguez*, vicar of the place had proclaim'd the ſame bull in the great church; no man preſuming to mutter againſt it, till a turbulent fellow promoting it, there was a conſpiracy carry'd on againſt the vicar. Having laid their deſign, one of the conſpirator's appeals to the king for the pope's bull, and the vicar excommunicating him, all the reſt fell upon him with their drawn ſwords, trampling on him, and exerciſing more barbarity than can be expreſs'd in the very church, the vicar ſtill perſiſting reſolute in maintaining the pope's authority. But they appealing, and requiring the vicar to allow of their appeal, he answer'd, he allowed of it, as far as in him was, and the laws would allow. When they demanded the bull to be deliver'd to them, he ſent them to the ſuperior of the *Jefuits*. The ſaid ſuperior, to give ſome check to the mutiny, put on the prieſtly veſtments, and coming out to a porch with the bleſſed ſacrament in his hands, warn'd them as they drew near, not to be the cauſe of their own ruin, and eternal infamy; and earneſtly requeſted them to be obedient to the vicar of the ſon of God for his ſake. Hereupon ſome falling on their knees, and others ſtanding, couſedly cry'd out, that they ador'd God preſent in the bleſſed ſacrament, but could not conſent to be wrongfully depriv'd of their goods by him, who defended the

Mutiny  
at Rio de  
Janeiro.

And of  
the town  
of Santos.

pope's decrees. Others in a tumultuous manner requir'd to have the bull deliver'd to them, and having got it, and in vain requir'd the vicar to abſolve them from all cenſures, they went away to other religious men, ſome of whom being ignorant of the matter, declar'd they had not incur'd the cenſures of the bull, becauſe pope *Urban* expreſs'd it ſhould be publiſh'd, if there were no lawful impediment, and that the general diſlike was ſufficient impediment, but all this was palliating wicked deſigns, which nevertheleſs appear'd too bare-faced. Nothing was more frequent among the mutineers, than that the ſociety was to be expell'd the town, left by their favouring the *Indians*, they ſhould be reduced to beggary. The ſtorm was ſtill more violent againſt the fathers in the town of *S. Paul of Piratin-Paul*, that being the chief reſidence of the *Mamaluſes*; for over and above all the infolencies mention'd in the town of *Santos*, the fathers here were forced out of their college, and baniſh'd the town; ſome of whom reſorting to *Rio de Janeiro* gave an account of their uſage. But to give every man his due, the governor of *Rio de Janeiro* deſerves to be commended for his reſolution, in cauſing a fellow who had behaved himſelf inſolently before the bleſſed ſacrament, to be publicly whip'd, and a maſter of a veſſel to be puniſh'd for giving the news of the expulſion of the fathers of *S. Paul*, in a joyful inſulting manner. Many citizens were alſo praiſe-worthy for their reſolution in ſtanding by the fathers, and thoſe fathers in aſſerting the pope's bull, but none more commendable than the pope himſelf who granted it, and king *Philip* the IV. and his council, who ſent repeated orders to the governors to protect the *Indians*; and doubtleſs the *Mamaluſes* had been cruſh'd, but that the war breaking out between *Spain* and *Portugal*, diſappointed his majeſty's deſigns. About the end of this year 1640, the *Mamaluſes* contemning the king's edicts and pope's bulls, gather'd their forces to invade the converts, which made *F. Diaſtanius* haſte away from the port of *Rio de Janeiro*. The twentieth day after he ſet ſail he arriv'd at the port of *Buenos Ayres*, where the provincial receiv'd him and the new-comers with muſick of the converts, come two hundred leagues to that purpoſe. The fathers that came now were thirty three, all whom *F. Acosta*, the reſtor at *Rio de Janeiro*, maintain'd ſeven months at his own expence, and being deſir'd to give an account of the expence, that the province of *Paraguay* might refund it, he answer'd there had been ſix hundred pilloles ſpent, but that he would not accept of the leaſt return, expecting his reward from God. But having brought the fathers to *Paraguay*,

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Valley of  
Calchaquima pa-  
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gray, let us return to those parts to see what was done there.

Peace being restor'd, as was mention'd in its place, between the people of the province of *Tucuman*, and those of the valley of *Calchaquima*, the *Spanish* governor prevail'd with the provincial to send two fathers thither to continue and improve the good correspondence. They attempted to pass through the country of the *Diaguilas*, but in vain, and were forced to return to the city of *S. Michael*, whence they took their way over vast mountains, and being courteously receiv'd by the principal men, travell'd over all the valley. This done, they returned to give the provincial an account of what they had done, who sent them back with orders to endeavour to build towns. At first those people receiv'd them with much affection, and built them a chapel for present use; but this kindness was not lasting, for some of the *Spaniards* of *Rioxa*, having fallen upon a village of the *Diaguilas*, the *Calchaquines* their next neighbours, soon took the alarm, saying, the war was declar'd, and consequently the fathers ought to be made away. They having obtain'd leave of their superior, went away to *Salta*, whence the provincial caus'd them to go back again, and the former jealousies being remov'd, they began to rebuild the town of *S. Charles* in the same place where it stood before, with hopes of its continuance. Yet the progress of christianity has not been very considerable, because those people mind nothing but their ancient superstitions. The boys, who under the care of the fathers seem to be good and pious, as soon as ever they return among their own people, fall immediately to the customs of their parents. The prime men endeavour to hinder the fathers learning their language. Thus little hopes appear'd of gaining many to the faith; yet those people permitted the fathers to erect crosses, build chapels, and exercise their function before them; and some of the *Caciques* have shewn them extraordinary civility, which is all yet gain'd, and so we must leave them, having no more to add concerning them.

The people call'd *Abipones* seem'd to afford copious matter for conversions, and therefore *F. Pastor*, rector of the college of *Espejo*, with a companion, undertook them this year 1641. He set out of the metropolis of the province of *Tucuman*, and travell'd through deserts, till he came into the territories of the *Indians* call'd *Matarans*, about eighty leagues distant from the place where he set out. The nation of the *Matarans* being addicted to drunkenness, us'd to have daily drinking bouts, the people inviting one another in their turns.

*Matarans*  
their cus-  
toms.

Besides these daily debauches, they had o-  
thers more solemn, which they call'd funeral drinkings, being dedicated to the ghosts of their departed ancestors; whose anniversary was celebrated by the heirs, with feasting, where the chief pleasure was drunkenness. When the guests were all come together, they presented him that treated with an ostrich, carry'd by a handsome young maid upon her head. If it happened that the anniversary of several dead persons was kept the same day, they kill'd and presented as many ostriches. Each person was oblig'd to make the master of the feast some particular present, upon condition he was to make a suitable return when they celebrated the anniversaries of their ancestors. There were scarce any bloodier quarrels among them, than what grew upon breach of this contract; the duty of performing whereof, did not only extend to those present, but to their children and grand-sons, it being hereditary. Having spent three days in the funeral feast, they forced themselves to weep for a whole hour, which was follow'd by laughing, dancing and drinking. But the worst was, that they follow'd those customs, and pretended to be christians, alledging they had receiv'd the faith from the fathers *Barfena* and *Agnasco*, and they had a curate, who baptiz'd the infants, and instructed children, but as soon as they were grown up they fell again to their ancient till customs. They all us'd the language of *Tonocota*, in which *F. Pastor's* companion was expert, who prevail'd with many of them to confess their sins, which was look'd upon as almost a miracle. Having staid a few days among the *Matarans*, they continu'd their journey towards the *Abipones*, still sixty leagues distant from them, the curate of the *Matarans*, their chief *Caciques*, and very many *Indians*, attending them; for tho' there were wars of long standing between them and the *Abipones*, they hop'd the fathers by their authority might produce a peace. No sooner were they out of the town but they fell into thick woods frightful for the many dens of wild beasts, the track of tygers and other things of that nature, every where threatening death. The prickly boughs of the trees sometimes lash'd their faces, and tore their garments. The greatest hardship was want of water, for tho' they were dry'd up with heat and weariness, there was none but rain water, which lay stinking in ditches, and was rather a plague to the nose, than any comfort to the mouth. About half way, the thickness of the woods and want of water was succeeded by lakes and marshes, caus'd for four leagues together by the overflowing of the *Red* river. The *Matarans*, discourag'd at the sight of so much water, would certainly have

**T**echo. have return'd, had not the fathers encourag'd them to proceed with good words and presents. Having pass'd the lakes, they had a better way through a plain, till they pitch'd their tent two leagues from *Abiponia*. The *Matarans*, considering here, they were going to put themselves into the hands of their enemies, without any retreat or house of succour, were by much ado stay'd by *F. Pastor*, who set out with his companion and two others to discover the best way to enter *Abiponia*. When he was a little advanced, a troop of two hundred *Abipones* on horseback came out and hem'd him in. They were naked, and the horses bare; the men tall, broad shoulder'd, shewing their inconstancy by the rowling of their eyes, and their fierceness by their long flying hair. When they levell'd their arrows at him, he spoke to them in the language of *Tonocota*, telling them it was his love to them brought him, without regard of life, for their good, and therefore advis'd them not to be guilty of a crime they might have afterwards cause to repent. The *Indians* thus appeas'd, threw down their arms, after their manner, to betoken peace, and saluted the father courteously. Being informed that another father of more worth was behind, the commander sent his son well attended to conduct him. At the first village he was receiv'd with several sorts of sports, the women shouting, and as they did so, often clapping their mouths with their hands. After the first salutation, they spread a hide on the ground for a carpet, in token of honour, and placed trunks of trees for seats. The fathers return'd their kindness, distributing hooks, pins, needles, and glass-beeds, which the *Abipones* valu'd above the richest metals. Then being invited to eat upon a table, not unlike their stools, they had such meat laid before them, as would soon qualify hunger; yet lest they should be offended that their meat was despis'd, the fathers did eat against stomach. The next day they erected a cross, and the father rector telling them he would stay among them, *Caliguila* the chief man of the nation carry'd them to his village, where they were joyfully receiv'd. Having told the cause of their coming, the same *Caliguila* promis'd for all the people, that they should not be hinder'd from baptizing the children, and building a church after the christian manner, provided the youth were not obliged to come to church morning and evening, which would render them unfit for war; but the father soon convinc'd him that it would be no prejudice to the youth, by the example of the *Spaniards*, who are never the less brave for resorting to church and school. *Caliguila*, so satisfy'd, desir'd at least that the boys might be permitted to go

into the church with their bows and arrows, and that they should not be punish'd, which was readily granted. Then they all desir'd, that if any *Caciques* should embrace the christian faith, it might be lawful to bury their bodies after the manner of their ancestors, on the tops of mountains near the tombs dedicated to their deities; but this could not be allow'd, as being superstitious. When the assembly broke up, a great cross was erected, and the christian doctrine explain'd, which some of the *Indians* in a very short time grew so perfect in, that the curate of the *Matarans* was for baptizing some of them underhand; which the rector perceiving, he sent him back to the place from whence he came. After his departure he built a church with clay and straw, began to write a dictionary of the language of the *Abipones*, instructed the youths, and there was hopes that a great multitude might be converted in a short time to the faith, when he was forced by the provincial's order to quit that undertaking. Thus the conversion of those people was put off for want of fathers, and therefore we will here in a few words set down the account *F. Pastor* gives of their manners. Generally the *Abipones* are of a large stature, well made, brawny and looking big. In summer they go naked, in winter cover'd with skins. About their necks hang their clubs, and quivers on their shoulders. They always carry a bow in the left, and a spear in the right hand, staining all their body with several colours like tygers, to be the more terrible; and look upon those as most honourable who make most holes in their bodies, and stick ostriches feathers in them; which they wear in their nostrils, lips and ears, as if they design'd to fly. A beard they look upon as dishonourable, and therefore pluck up the down that grows in their youth. They make themselves bald by way of ornament, and none may let his hair grow, but he that has kill'd an enemy in war or in duel. Manslaughter among them is the proof of their being soldiers, and no man is allow'd military ensigns till he has committed it. They have also their nobility and heroes, to which honour they are advanced by degrees of excessive cruelty; for he that desires to be accounted a hero, must give proof of his bravery by enduring most horrid tortures, piercing their legs, thighs, arms, tongues and other parts of their body not fit to be nam'd, and then tearing off the skin of all those parts with a rough stone. Five of the elders exercise this butchery on the candidate, who if he gives the least token of feeling the pain but by never so inconsiderable a motion, is not admitted into the order of noblemen. But if he carries himself resolutely in the torture, rowling himself

*Abipones*  
first seen.

*Manners*  
of the  
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himself in his blood to denote his satisfacti-  
 on, then the ensigns of that honour are con-  
 fer'd on him. That they may be the secu-  
 rer of obtaining this honour, they enure  
 themselves from their infancy to prick and  
 flea their limbs after this manner, so that it  
 is frequent to see boys and youths run thorns  
 or briars through their tongues, lips, nos-  
 trils, ears or other parts; and forcing a sort  
 of laughter to conceal all sense of pain.  
 Thus much of the men. The women cloath  
 themselves below the bosom with coarse  
 nets, the rest of their bodies they paint or  
 adorn with stones set in it, particularly their  
 breasts and faces; making themselves bald,  
 shaving the hinder part of their heads with  
 razors of flint or reeds. When their *Ca-*  
*ciques* die, they all change their names, and  
 fast a whole month, howling most dismally  
 day and night. The manner of fasting a-  
 mong them is this; to eat no fish, but de-  
 vour as much flesh, and as often, as they  
 please: and the reason they give for it is,  
 that being used to war and robbery, whence  
 consequently they have no settled place of  
 abode, but live up and down wheresoever  
 they set up their mats after the manner of a  
 town, therefore they keep but two children,  
 one of which the father carries, and 't'other  
 the mother, that they may not fall into  
 the hands of their enemies; but if one or  
 both the children be grown up to be able  
 to follow them before another is born, then  
 they allow more to live. Many of their  
 old women are witches, and have frequent  
 converse with the devil: these would some-  
 times invite the fathers, using a motion  
 strange to other nations, often contracting  
 their hands turn'd upwards like claws or  
 hooks, and distorting their faces with wrin-  
 kled laughter, rattling something in their  
 throats, and whistling, for the *Abipones* un-  
 derstand one another by whistling; yet lit-  
 tle good was hoped when they call'd, de-  
 prav'd habits being as hard to be remov'd  
 in the mind as in the body. One of these  
 witches being press'd when she was dying to  
 be baptiz'd, as the only remedy against fall-  
 ing into the power of the devil for ever,  
 answer'd, *She did not fear the devil, having*  
*been long acquainted with him;* and so she  
 dy'd. The rest of 'em cordially entertain'd  
 the fathers, and, when they were returning  
 to *Especo*, bore 'em company in great num-  
 bers, under the conduct of *Caliguila*, for  
 thirty leagues, furnishing 'em continually  
 with what they kill'd, and desiring they  
 would not stay long away from 'em. The  
*Guamalucas* border on the *Abipones*, and  
 other nations that know nothing of christia-  
 nity.

Whilst the fathers were thus employ'd  
 in *Tucuman*, the province of *Urvaica* was  
 full of troubles; for news being brought  
 Vo L. IV.

that a great body of *Mamaluces* was in mo-  
 tion, no doubt was made but they design'd  
 against the converts of *Urvaica* and *Parana*.  
 All men were therefore order'd to be in  
 arms, and it was decreed, the forces of  
 both rivers must be join'd whatever it cost,  
 and the enemy drove out of their liberties  
 at the common expence, to put at once an  
 end to that continual war. To this pur-  
 pose four thousand *Indians* were chosen out  
 of all the towns, and arm'd as the time  
 would permit, some with slings, others with  
 bows after their ancient manner, and three  
 hundred of the chief had fire-arms given  
 'em. As soon as they had rendezvous'd at  
 the town *Mbororeo*, on the borders of *Ur-*  
*vaica*, they were order'd to prepare both  
 soul and body, their scouts bringing an ac-  
 count that the enemy was but one day's  
 journey from 'em, and had possess'd them-  
 selves of the river *Aaraguai*, which falls  
 into the *Urvaica*, with three hundred boats;  
 that they were 400 *Mamaluces*, in whom lay  
 the greatest strength, and two thousand seven  
 hundred *Tupus*. The enemy confiding in  
 their numbers, and encourag'd with assured  
 hope of a mighty booty, mov'd down the  
 river against our army, offering battle,  
 which was as readily accepted. The fight  
 was begun by the fortunate firing of a can-  
 non, which sunk three of the *Mamaluces*  
 boats, and then both the fleets engag'd.  
 The *Mamaluces* despairing of success on the  
 river, most of 'em landed, where our men  
 fought with no less success, and had totally  
 routed the enemy, but that night put an  
 end to the action. Another part of the ar-  
 my, in another place, came off without loss,  
 doing much harm to the robbers. At night  
 the retreat was sound'd, as well that the  
 converts might rest themselves, as to pre-  
 vent losing the victory obtain'd, by falling  
 to plunder in the dark. Only three of the  
 converts were kill'd that day. The next  
 morning, as soon as the light appear'd, they  
 were at arms again, and hemming in the  
*Mamaluces*, fell upon 'em on all sides, and  
 would certainly have made an end of 'em  
 in a small time, had not they, by favour  
 of a storm rising suddenly, retired into the  
 adjacent woods. After taking their camp,  
 our *Indians* still pursuing, overtook 'em as  
 they enter'd a small wood, a little before  
 night. Being there besieg'd, they became  
 rather desperate than courageous; yet our  
 men hunting them out thro' the thickets,  
 and over the rocks, overcame their rage  
 with wonderful bravery. They fought  
 every where hand to hand, for the place  
 would not allow 'em to do any execution  
 at a distance. The enemy's flight put an  
 end again to the battle at two in the after-  
 noon, the victors, thro' weariness, not be-  
 ing able to follow 'em. Of ours, three

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**T**TECHO, were kill'd and forty wounded; of the enemy's, a vast number, particularly of the *Tupus*, many of whom surviving the fight, came over to us, alledging as a reason for what they did the cruelty of the *Mamalués*, and their haughty government. The robbers being disappointed of their booty on the river *Urvaica*, when they had gather'd some strength after the fight, altering their design, divided their forces to fall upon the heathens, but this way of robbing was no more successful than that of open war; for those *Indians* who were the remains of the town of *S. Teresa*, about the river *Tebiquar*, whither they fled during the former depopulations, delivering themselves up to one company of *Mamalués*, unbound themselves in the night, and falling upon them, made a great slaughter; which done, they fled, and join'd the converts of *Parana*. At the same time another band of the thieves was utterly destroy'd by the heathens, and ten prime ringleaders of all mischief are reported to have been slaughter'd with their leader, by straggling parties. Another parcel of 'em, counterfeiting themselves to be of the faction of *Ignatius Abiacu*, captain of the *Mboresans*, enslav'd many who came in, taking them for friends. Those that went to take the *Caaguas* used much the same artifice; for, pretending there came fathers of the society with them, to teach the law of Christ, many *Indians* deliver'd themselves up, but the greater part defended themselves against force and fraud. Many of the *Mamalués* were cruelly handled by the *Gualaches*, the fiercest of all the *Indians*; for, when they fell into their hands, they tore off their beards and hair, and tore off the flesh from their arms and thighs to eat, mangling their bodies, and fixing their heads on poles upon the tops of their cottages, to terrify others: many of the *Gupuis* fared no better. 'Twas certainly reported from *Brazil*, that an hundred and twenty *Mamalués* perish'd in the fight and flight, and almost all the *Gupuis*. When our forces were dismiss'd, it being known that many, both infidels and christians, were dispers'd for fear of the *Mamalués*, and might be easily drawn to the town, if invited; and, that many of those taken before the fight had made escapes; the *Mboresan* converts making excursions by land and water, for two years together, brought in abundance of 'em. Among the few captives the *Mamalués* gather'd before the fight, and were driving to *Brazil*, a young maid, not above fourteen years of age, got into one only boat there happen'd to be on the river, and loosing it, was drove down by the stream; the robbers having no means to fetch her back, shot abundance

of arrows and bullets at her, but she making no account of them, and receiving no hurt, ran down the river till she fell among some of the *Mboresan Indians*, who conducted her safe to the town, where she was baptiz'd. Another about fourteen years of age, having been solicited to consent to lust of the robbers, and not knowing how to resist violence, knowing they were in great distress for want of provisions, pretended she could find excellent roots in the woods to supply them, if she were suffer'd to go; but as soon as she got thither she hid her self so safe that they could never find her, till she got safe to the town of the *Mboresans*. Two other sisters, the one of thirteen, t'other of ten years of age, after they had been drove an hundred leagues towards *Brazil*, made their escape with a youth their kinsman, and came safe to the same town above mention'd, where they found their father and mother. But we must not instance too many of these escapes, tho' strange, because the circumstances may be much alike. A powerful *Cacique* of *Urvaica*, who was a great enemy to christianity in general, and the society in particular, had contracted friendship with the robber, that he might be able to do mischief, and was so base as to deliver up many of his own people to those thieves. The *Mamalués*, the more to secure him to their interest, of their own authority, which was none at all, gave him the title of lord of all *Urvaica* and the adjacent rivers; and he, proud of his new authority, for some years did great harm in the lands of our converts, to the great benefit of the *Mamalués*. At length, displeas'd at the smallness of the reward of his treachery, he reounc'd their friendship, and fled with the faithfulst of his followers; but being taken by the *Mamalués*, and accus'd of being unfaithful to them, he in vain pleaded his services, and was by them put to death. Another *Cacique*, who in a boasting manner was used to threaten the fathers with death, and the first christian woman with his lust, declaring he would never give over till he had destroy'd all the towns of *Parana* and *Urvaica*, had his wife cruelly murder'd by the *Mamalués*, and he at the same time broke his leg in the woods. Some converts finding him out by his hideous cries, would certainly have made an end of him, had not the fathers obstructed, saying, it was the duty of christians to return good for evil. Thus he was not only sav'd, but carried to the town, where he became a christian. Here we will conclude with the *Mamalués*, whose barbarous villanies have afforded so much matter for this history.

Now

Reception  
of the  
provincial

Now the war is ended, to come to a more pleasing and peaceable subject; The provincial coming to make his visitation along the *Parana*, was met at the first town by two hundred boats full of converts from several colonies, representing a pleasant sight, whilst others on the shore congratulated his coming with vocal and instrumental music. All the towns receiv'd him with green arches, and extraordinary demonstrations of joy; he, on the other side, dismiss'd none without some gift, distributing among 'em glass beads, pins, needles, knives, iron tools, garments, and such other things as were acceptable. Being order'd by the general to act as visitor, as well as provincial, he regulated the affairs of twenty new towns built on the rivers *Parana* and *Uruguay*. Two fathers resided in each town, who, after the duties of their function, were attended by the chief men of the place, whom they directed how to manage their country affairs, what lands to till, whether they were to fish, hunt, or kill some cattle, and whatever else was to be done; for, in these beginnings, 'twas not lawful to go about any thing but what the founders approv'd of. Every year the fathers, by the king's authority, appointed magistrates, and gave them all honourable titles, to civilize those people by degrees; but these convert governors of towns could not do any thing of moment without the approbation of their instructors; and yet it is incredible how proud they were of that shadow of power, and of their officers rods. 'Twill not be to our purpose to reckon the many sufferings of the fathers to bring things to this posture, and therefore we'll pass on to other matters. In the year 1642, two fathers were sent out of the college of *Cordova*, to inspect a part of the seniority of that city, one of whom, when they came to that they call the fourth river, writ back to one of his friends concerning those people, in this manner: *The Indians, says he, dwelling on the banks of the fourth river border upon the Parparos, Guarparos, and Mendicinos. They are obstinate in adhering to the superstitions of their fore-fathers, and rather daub than paint their faces with strange colours, especially the widows and widowers. Things truly religious they abhor, and run over the christian prayers and ten commandments like parrots. Many of 'em have contracts with the devil: they make use of roots in their enchantments, to do all sorts of mischiefs: every village is under the care of an arch-forcerer, whose duty it is to visit the sick, out of whose bodies he counterfeits himself to suck the corrupt blood; and, that he may seem so to do, he beforehand puts some rotten matter into his mouth, which, when he has suck'd the affected parts, he spits*

Indians of  
the fourth  
river.

out, and so pretends the cause of the disease is removed. The whole nation is addicted to lust; the men use enchanting herbs to allure the women to their wicked designs. The women bore their nostrils, and other tender parts of their bodies, with sharp thorns as long as a finger, till they lose abundance of blood, which they receive into a dish, and with it paint the extremest parts of the skin of all the body, as our women do their faces, but especially the maids; and this tincture is so prevailing, that they scarce ever fail of compassing their lewd projects. The cruelty of these people is inhuman; the men often challenge one another, and the laws of duel are these: they fasten a stone ball cut into angles to a long rope, which the combatants roll about a long while; then they set foot to foot, and both hold down their bare heads, to receive the blows in their turns on their forehead, unless one be knock'd down the first stroke. He who strikes first is counted the more fearful and weaker, tho' sometimes at one forcing the antagonist is struck down. Thus they stand still a long while, like dunghill cocks, before they strike a stroke. The spectators applaud the victor with hideous shouts. If he that is hurt dresses the wound, he disgraces himself. They have another way of showing their courage, which is, to run an arrow thro' the skin of their bodies, and draw it out a great while after, as if it were a needle.

This is the account that father gives of those people, of whom many were converted, and forsook all their wicked customs. Another excursion was made by the fathers of *Rioja*, among the people call'd *Planos*, of whom there's little to be said in particular, but that they live on hills cover'd all the year with snow. The way to 'em is over vast mountains, and are miserably poor, scarce any of 'em having cottages to dwell in, but lying out in the open air, or at best in caves. Their spiritual wants were no less than the corporeal, for they had seen no priest in five years, but now afforded a plentiful harvest.

This year 1642 was very joyful throughout this southern province of *America*, made so by celebrating the first age, or hundredth year since the institution of the society. *Rome* kept it first by the magnificence of the *Barberines*; *Europe* the following year, and the new world the next after that; not with the majesty of *Rome*, the expence of *Spain*, the wit and vivacity of *France*, the plenty of *Germany*, or the ingenuity of the *Low-Countries*, but with no less devotion and good-will. *Cordova*, the metropolis of the province, began by keeping it eight days in most solemn manner. There were publick processions made, triumphal arches erected, and curious altars set up; the bishop of *Tucuman* preach'd in commendation of the society; a pillar was set up where four streets

Hundredth  
year of the  
society ce-  
lebrated.

**T**he streets met, on which was S. Ignatius darting fire out of a cane upon a hydra and a giant that were at some distance, to signify his conquest over heresy and paganism: plays were acted, the tower was set about with illuminations, and all manner of sports perform'd on horseback; but the most ingenious part was the orations and poems made in honour of the society. The port of *Buenos Ayres*, upon this occasion, outdid all it had ever done before, and to other parts, but these were all *Europeans*; yet the *Indians*, according to their ability, would not be behind them. The colony of S. *Xaverius*, on the river *Urvaica*, began, and entertain'd the fathers and principal men, invited thither from other towns, with variety of diversion: the festival commenc'd by singing vespers in musick, and making bonfires at night: the next day produced triumphal arches, abundance of altars, variety of dancing, and several exercises and representations: there were declamations both in *Latin* and the *Indian* language. In the afternoon the *Mbooreans*, who were guests there, acted a play, in which the *Mamaluces* making an irruption to rob, were shamefully routed and punish'd. Another colony, among many other extraordinary things, erected six hundred triumphal arches, and hung under 'em all sorts of things, in token of gratitude, to express they had receiv'd all goods from the society. The same was perform'd upon the river *Parana*, the converts expressing most singular affection towards their instructors: they made a general review of their forces, and danc'd after a military manner, bearing the letters of the name of S. Ignatius on their shields, compassing ingenious anagrams: at night a fight of boats upon the river by torch-light put an end to the solemnity. At the colony of the *Incarnation*, after a play, there appear'd in publick an old giant of a vast size, follow'd by an hundred boys in several colours, by their variety representing the duties of the society, and singing praises to the old giant. At a little distance they were met by a herd of an hundred oxen, and so pass'd on thro' an hundred triumphal arches to the church, on the porch whereof an hundred loaves were offer'd: on the high altar were an hundred lights, and before them an hundred praises of the society. Over the gates of the church were three statues; that in the middle representing the society; those on the sides wisdom and piety, with this inscription, *The society an hundred years old triumphs, under the conduct of piety attended by wisdom.* An excellent *Latin* oration gain'd the applause of all that heard it: then appear'd a vast triumphal chariot, on which sat the chief heroes of the society, with many other

particulars; the whole concluded in a play, and so ended the solemnity.

The college of the fathers at *Cordova* <sup>A rich chapel.</sup> was now enlarg'd, and such a private chapel finish'd in it as may vie with the best in *Europe*; 'tis all painted, the whole cover'd with excellent representations of saints, except at certain intervals, where pillars of jasper, and several sorts of marble, are represented to the life: under the pedestals of the pillars are turn'd seats; the roof, richly diversify'd with gold and costly colours, and a little arch'd, seems to be supported by architects, the art of *Perspective* imposing upon the eyes. The altar is very beautiful, and on it a throne all gilt, finely arch'd, and carv'd in the shape of a scallop, on which is seated an image of the blessed Virgin, made by an excellent *Spanish* carver. Under the image of our Lady lies the body of S. *Epimachus*, sent by pope *Urban VIII.* in a curious shrine: below that again, in a rich case, is a crucifix, which S. Ignatius held at the time of his death, given by the general of the society *F. Vitellesci*. Some fathers making excursions from this college into the province of *Tucuman*, said they met with old men, who had never been near a priest since the first coming of the *Spaniards*, but now hearing of the coming of these fathers, came out of their caves with long beards and hair, over-run with vermin, and almost wasted to nothing, yet more hideous for the corruption of their souls, being grown old in wickedness, and more like beasts than men; yet these confess'd their sins, and express'd repentance. Among the rest, they found one man an <sup>Barbarous</sup> hundred years of age, who, for want of <sup>old men,</sup> priests, had liv'd about eighty years without confession, and yet without being guilty of any grievous sin; for, contenting himself with his own wife, he had never coveted any other woman, or other mens goods. Being ask'd by one of the fathers, whether he knew there was a *God*, he answer'd in the affirmative. The question being put to him again, whether he us'd any sort of prayer to *God*, he reply'd, he knew no other manner of worship than putting his hands together, and holding 'em out towards heaven, now and then to cry *God! God!* and had never us'd or known any other form of prayer. Being desir'd to do it as he was wont, he readily clapt his hands together, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, call'd upon *God* several times with such a tenderness as drew tears from the fathers eyes. *F. Medina* was sent by the provincial from the college of the city of S. *Michael* in *Tucuman*, to try whether any progress could be made in the territory of *Chaguay*. The father being come to *Omaguaca*, sent one *Laurence*, an *Indian*, a man well

The *Mataguaias*.

well vers'd in business, to try the *Mataguaias*, thro' whose lands there was a short way into the province of *Chaguan*. These *Mataguaias* inhabit four towns *sic*, & to as many *Caciques*, whose power is almost equal. *Laurence* having deliver'd some presents to the chief of them from *F. Medina*, and declar'd the cause of his coming, was the cause that the other *Caciques* were call'd together to consult what was to be done: there 'twas decreed by unanimous consent, that the fathers were not only to be permitted, but entreated to come among them; that the shortest way should be found out, and the road to be mended; that therefore *Laurence* should return, and acquaint the father that his coming would be most acceptable to them, but they desir'd him only to stay till the floods were in, for then they would send him guides and provisions; and if the father would bring them some iron tools, 'twould be a great advantage. The resolution of the *Caciques* being known, all the people ran joyfully to express their satisfaction to *Laurence*. The old women and maids petition'd, that the father would obtain some supplies of clothes, to defend them against the cold, and make 'em appear more modestly. All things seem'd to promise success, and yet the design was then laid aside, for want of fathers to employ, the provincial by advice recalling *F. Medina*, and putting off this enterprize till fresh supplies were sent out of *Europe*, because at present 'twas thought fitter to continue the mission to the *Calchaquines*, of whom all that can be said has been deliver'd before.

A controversy about the consecration of *D. Bernardino de Cardenas*, bishop of *Paraguay*. He receiv'd the king's letters in *Peru*, acquainting him, that his majesty had conferr'd the said bishoprick on him, and expected only the pope's bull of confirmation. The bishop elect, impatient of delay, was unwilling to expect the pope's bull of approbation; wherein, because of the small number of bishops in the *Indies*, 'tis usual to allow one only bishop, contrary to the general practice, to consecrate another. He therefore, for the more speedy attaining his dignity, put the question to the college of *Jesuits* at *Cordova*, whether the usual form might not be dispens'd with; and, by reason of the great distance, the pope's consent be taken for granted. The college answer'd, 'Twas contrary to the opinions of the learned, and decrees of councils. But he was too hasty to be stopp'd; and being consecrated by one bishop, without expecting the pope's bull, repair'd to his church of *Paraguay*; which was the ground of an eager controversy, which being carried high,

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spread thro' the world, and was the subject of a doleful history writ by another hand, and not to be handled by me: yet I must not omit to mention some slanders rais'd upon this occasion, and afterwards clear'd, which I will deliver all at one view. The new bishop's dislike to the society being known abroad, their enemies laid hold of this opportunity to revive the ancient forgotten calumnies, the chief whereof was a fabulous story of the gold of *Urvaica*, long since exploded, and then again given out thro' all *Christendom*. For the better understanding of the whole, we will look back to the original of it. Many years before this time, one *Bonaventure*, an *Indian* of the meaner sort, having liv'd some time in the port of *Buenos Ayres*, went away first among the wandering infidels, and afterwards to the colony of the *Japevians* on the *Urvaica*, where he ran away with another man's wife, and, being taken, was publicly whipp'd, for an example to the other converts. Being sent again to *Buenos Ayres*, he there, I know not by whose instigation, framed a plausible story about gold found by the *Jesuits* near the river *Urvaica*, that he impos'd upon men of good sense; for he confidently affirm'd he had wrought a long time in *Urvaica* at accus'd of digging of gold; and, that there was such plenty, that in three days a man might fill a half-bushel with pure gold-dust. He said further, that he had been tempted to hide a great parcel of gold for his own use, being resolv'd to run away, but that being betray'd by his fellow, he was by the fathers whipp'd and banish'd. When he had told this story, he describ'd the place and nature of the gold mines so particularly, and ly'd so artificially, that the whole matter appear'd more than credible, and many affirm'd there was no doubt to be made of the truth of it. The society, to clear its reputation, complain'd to the proper judges, and prevail'd to have the business examin'd. The magistrates did their duty, and, after much enquiry, *Stephen de Avila*, governor of *Buenos Ayres*, publicly declar'd, and writ to the king's council at *Madrid*, that the report spread abroad concerning the gold of *Urvaica* was a meer fiction of idle men, and the enemies of the society. Thus that fable was suppress'd for some time, till some time after the impostor reviv'd it among some new-come *Europeans* that were greedy of gold, and had the impudence to carry it to *Hacinibus de Lara*, the new governor of *Buenos Ayres*. The governor, tho' he did not altogether give credit to it, wish'd it were true, and could not resolve what to conclude. As he stood thus doubtful, he receiv'd letters from *Paraguay*, in which the bishop affirm'd 'twas certainly

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**TECHO**, made out there were gold mines near *Urvaica*. The impostor rejoic'd to see his lye confirm'd by the bishop, and the governor churling after gold made all possible haste to set out in search of it. Accordingly he began his journey of two hundred leagues up the river *Parana*, attended by forty soldiers, and *Martin de Vera*, lord of a gold mine in *Peru*, and a most skilful man at trying of metals. *Bonaventure* the informer was order'd to follow him, but he knowing he had a bad cause in hand, slipp'd away in the journey. The governor somewhat discourag'd by his flight, still held on his journey, being nobly receiv'd in the towns built by the society, and tho' to them he conceal'd the cause of his coming, yet privately enquir'd by his interpreters among the *Indians*, where the gold was found.

This being known, *F. Diaslanus*, superior of the fathers in *Parana* and *Urvaica*, petition'd him that he would publicly inquire concerning the gold mines, and appoint a day to try that cause, that the society might be clear'd from the scandal. The governor granted his request, and at the same time encourag'd the soldiers with hopes of great rewards to discover the mines. They left no stone unturn'd to find out the gold, and some of them travell'd several day's journey with an *Indian* who promis'd to discover the mines, but were only laugh'd at when they return'd, having found nothing but some bright shining snails. In the mean while letters were brought the governor from the city of the *Assumption*, both from the governor and bishop of that province, both of them owning they could make out nothing certain concerning the gold of *Urvaica*. This enrag'd the governor of *Buenos Ayres* to see himself impos'd upon, and so honourable an order abus'd; yet he was perplex'd about the flight of *Bonaventure*, and the society wish'd he might be found, and so all doubts taken away. This happen'd as they had desir'd, he was taken in the town of the *Japeirovians*, and brought in irons to the governor, who asking him in friendly manner to discover the gold he had so much talk'd of, he deny'd he had ever spoke of any such things, and stood positively in the denial. The governor, to whom he had often told the story, in a passion order'd him to be rack'd, and even there he persisted in his denial. Nothing being extorted he was condemn'd to death, but the fathers interceding, for him he had two hundred lashes given him, and was banish'd the province for ever. Not so satisfy'd, the enemies of the society sent letters to the king's council at *Madrid*, reviving this imposture, whereupon one *Garabito*, of the royal council of *Peru*, was appointed to ex-

amine it again, who having brought the informers to confess the forgery, fin'd some and banish'd others. Yet malice stopp'd not here, but the charge being renew'd in *Spain*, the king sent *D. John de Velasco* governor of *Paraguay* to examine further into it, with the title of his inspector; he repairing to the river *Urvaica*, and having narrowly sifted the matter, and convicted all the accusers of manifest forgery, impos'd heavy fines on them, the fathers interceding that their punishment might not be severer. Thus this slander cast upon the society was quite expung'd almost twenty years after it was first cast upon them, and been carry'd so far that all the fathers who were not *Spaniards*, had like to have been disgracefully sent out of the provinces of *Parana* and *Urvaica* into *Europe*; for they had added to the rest of the fiction, that the fathers who were not *Spaniards*, had sent a vast quantity of gold to the *French* and *Portuguese* enemies to *Spain*; but the foundation of the calumny failing, this superstructure of course fell to the ground. Nor did the wicked practices end here, for the invention above mention'd failing, the society was accus'd of dissuading the converts from paying tribute to the king, but the same *D. John de Velasco* clear'd them of this imputation upon strict inquiry made, and writ honourably to the king in their behalf. The ground of this accusation, was the fathers protecting the *Indians* from being made slaves to private persons, the dread whereof was the main thing that obstructed the conversion of those poor souls. Besides, the king to encourage those people to embrace the faith, had allow'd all that should be baptiz'd, to be free from paying any tribute for twenty years after they were baptiz'd; and his majesty well knew that those poor people being continually harass'd by the *Mamelucs*, and in arms to defend themselves, could not be expected to pay any tribute, but ought rather to be supported and maintain'd. This reflection was also taken away by the converts themselves, who when the twenty years of grace were expir'd, and they had a little respite from the *Mamelucs*, freely promis'd to pay the tribute to the king. Since we have gone so far, we must go through with all the calumnies rais'd against the society, and finish this matter in a few words. The enemies of the society further alledg'd, that the king was at a great expence in sending fathers over to *Paraguay* to no advantage; which imputation could not be of any force, where it was visible such a vast tract of land had been converted to the faith, and reduced under the dominion of his catholic majesty, by their only labours and sufferings.

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This failing, it was further whisper'd in the ears of the magistrates, that they did not teach the converts sound doctrine. To make this out, they urg'd that the fathers in rendering the names of God, the Son of God and Mother of God into the *Guaranian* language, made use of prophane words formerly apply'd to their superstitions. To wipe this off, it was prov'd that the society made use of the same words all other orders had made use of before their coming into those parts; and that they were the same that had been always us'd in *Brasil*, between the language of which province and the *Guaranian*, there is great affinity; and therefore a synod held at *Lima*, and approv'd by the pope, clear'd the honour of the society in this case, as in the others that had been done before. The last accusation was, that the society disown'd the consecration of the bishop of *Paraguay*, for the reasons mention'd at the beginning of this section, and therefore not to be repeated in this place, and this was objected to them as schismatical, till the pope declaring, that the bishop so consecrated had no jurisdiction, the society was clear'd from that imputation of schism; but before all these slanders could be remov'd, the bishop of *Paraguay* had great strugglings with the society, which do not at all belong to this history, and therefore we will proceed to put an end to the little that remains.

A mutiny  
into the  
province  
of *Itatina*.

Great disorders were committed this same year 1644, in the colony of the *Potensians* of the province of *Itatina*, the natives at the instigation of *Niandubazurcius*, presuming to mutiny, and openly disobey the fathers, who offering to reprimand them for their insolence, were not only abus'd in words, but struck. For *Borobebus*, nephew to *Niandubazurcius*, after *F. Mannea* had been ill treated by another, hit him in the face with a cudgel; and another wounded *F. Arenos* on the head. *F. Badia* reproving their base proceedings, *Niandubazurcius* himself gave him very ill language, declaring, *He would transmit those customs he had receiv'd from his ancestors to posterity*. *Nantabagua*, another nephew of *Niandubazurcius*, enrag'd because one of the fathers had taken away the rod of his office as a punishment for his offence, interrupted the sermon in the church, stirring up the people to revolt, and railing against the doctrine of the fathers, as opposite to the manners and customs of their forefathers, prevail'd with all the audience to forsake the preacher. From that time the fathers commands, the authority having been thus debas'd, were made no account of; they themselves were scorn'd by all degrees, no honour was given to religious things, no body was left to attend the fathers even in

the church. The fathers having in vain try'd fair words and threats, finding it necessary to take a harsher course, artfully drew *Niandubazurcius*'s son and two nephews out of the town, and had them convey'd to the town of the *Japevians* on the river *Urubaica*, two hundred leagues distant, that it might not be easie for them to come back. The heads being remov'd, the face of things immediately chang'd. The people flock'd to the church, and perform'd all christian duties, all lewdness and barbarous customs were banish'd, and virtue and submission succeeded in their place. Many heathens who were before kept back by *Niandubazurcius*'s ill practices, resorted to the town and embraced the faith. Many infidels daily resorted to the town, which gave hopes of greater success; but none so much rejoiced the fathers, as some *Gentiles* from the other side of the river *Paraguay*, where the fathers had not yet been; who came to acquaint them, that abundance of their countrymen, being expos'd to the continual incursions of the *Guacurians*, were inclin'd to forsake their own country, and come over into the lands about that town. Besides *Guairamina*, nephew to *Paratiquin* the greatest man among the *Guirapos*, coming to the fathers, and counting to them according to the custom of the country, what nations were on both sides the *Paraguay*, inflam'd them with a desire of extending the empire of Christ beyond that river.

Hitherto the fathers of the province of *Itatina*, by reason of their small numbers, the invasions of the *Mamelucos* and troubles among the converts, had kept themselves within this side the river *Paraguay*; but Attempt having now obtained peace at home, and the fa- being increas'd in numbers, they were desirous to carry the gospel beyond that river, knowing by information given from many, that the vast tract which extends an hundred and fifty leagues between *Itatina* and *Peru*, was very full of *Indian* villages, where the christian faith was not yet profess'd, and where many towns might be built, if the society were once admitted. But this was a difficult province, as being much infested with forcerers and apostates, and therefore required a man of experience and resolution. For this reason *F. Laquercius*, the provincial, knowing *F. Romero* to be fit for any such undertaking, order'd him to the province of *Itatina*, and with all speed to pass the river. He being come unto his province, consulted with the other fathers and principal converts, who all resolv'd the attempt ought to be made without delay, and accordingly he set out in the year 1645, attended by *F. Vanjurk* and some faithful converts of both towns; and passing the *Paraguay*, the twenty

**T**he second day after his setting out, came unto the first village of the *Indians*, where he found many, who having before heard of the society, were not ill dispos'd to receive the faith. He would have gone further in hopes of a more plentiful harvest, but was held back by his own company, and the natives, who affirm'd he would ruin all if he was too hasty. For this reason he settled with *Curapato*, a *Cacique* of great fame in the first villages; and many resorting to him from the neighbouring parts, he mark'd out the ground for a town, built a chappel under the invocation of *S. Barbara*, erected a cross, and began to declare the first principles of religion to the people. Finding the heathens inclinable to embrace christianity, he writ to the provincial, desiring him to send, with all speed, some able persons to assist him in the work so happily begun. This done, he set away all the converts but six, to their towns, and *F. Vanjurk* to the city of the *Assumption*, for necessary tools to build a town. It happened at that time, one *Guiraguera*, a heathen from some remote part, was come to the same place, on account of trade, whom *F. Romero* laboured to win, and he craftily promised to use his endeavours to reduce his country people to the new town; but being a cruel and deceitful man, he made it his business when he came thither, to incense them against the christian preachers. Many, who had fled out of *Peru* and other parts to live more at liberty, seconded him; and above all, one *Mborosenius* an impostor, who being skill'd in sorcery, assumed the title of a deity. It was easy to persuade one *Tucumbaius*, who was appointed to manage the design of murdering the father, and he taking *Guiraguera* and forty more assassins with him, set out, as if they were to desire to be baptiz'd. To secure him that he might not escape their hands, they sent out before to acquaint him with their coming, and that the design of it was to embrace the faith. *F. Romero* was warned of the danger, and advised to fly, but he despising that which look'd like fear, went out to meet them, and having exhorted them to embrace the opportunity, offer'd them of being admitted into the number of the sons of God, gave them some presents, and went away to say mass. *Tucumbaius*, thinking no time was to be lost, gave the signal to the murderers; one of them gave them three blows on the head with his club, which laid him flat on the ground. The rest of them murder'd one *Fernandez* the father's companion, as yet only a novice, and one *Gonzalo* a convert; which done, perceiving the father was still alive, they ript open his belly, pull'd out his tongue, cut his throat, chopt off his fin-

gers, and thrust them into his belly, superstitiously believing that would prevent any revenge being taken for murder committed. Then they plundered all they found, and whilst they were fore employ'd, the other five converts fled, and all of them return'd safe home, who gave an account of what had happened. When the murderers were gone, the natives of the place returning home from their country affairs, were extremely griev'd at this action; and having laid the dead bodies decently together, men and women, as is the custom of the country, made dismal howling in their turns, like singing in a choir, and then were silent by fits, which are the funeral ceremonies; and thus they committed them to the ground, till seven months after those same heathens put the bones of the father, and his companions into several coffins, and sent them honourably to the fathers in the province of *Itatina*.

At this time, that is, the year 1645, State of there were in the province of *Paraguay*, a- the pro-  
vance. about two hundred fathers distributed into nine colleges, and twenty four residences among the *Indians*. Of an hundred priests but few serv'd the *Spaniards*, being always taken up with the *Blacks* and *Indians*, governing the fodalities of the *Spaniards*, and teaching in the schools. Many liv'd altogether among the *Indians*, and others were at certain times sent out of the colleges upon apostolick missions; for as *F. Aquariva*, the provincial, foretold, the province of *Paraguay* is not conspicuous for many towns, but that defect is made amends, for by these frequent excursions to disseminate the gospel, yet many new expeditions have been put by and obstructed, by the small number there is of fathers, and the invasions of the *Mamelucs*: This scarcity of fathers has been in a great measure caus'd by the false calumnies before spoken of, cast upon them, which has caus'd the stopping of many in *Europe* that were to have been sent over. And to say the truth, there has been a great reason in these latter times, to hope for a plentiful spiritual harvest, were there but labourers to ply the work; and the two provincials *F. Lupercius* and *F. Ferrusius*, were forward enough to promote it; so that though it has not been possible to build towns to sociate in, yet has brought many of the scatter'd *Indians* into the flock of Christ. The provinces of *Parana* and *Urvaica* now flourish'd under the care of the fathers; that of *Itatina* was again pester'd by the *Mameluc* robbers; and that of *Cabaquina*, tho' few souls were gain'd there, by reason of the obstinacy of the natives, was still possess'd by two residences, in hopes of mollifying those hard hearts. It would be tedious, and from our purpose to speak

Speak the praises of those many worthy fathers dispers'd through the province; yet we cannot but admire the bounty of the catholic king, who spares no cost to promote its good, sending over, feeding, maintaining, and defending preachers to instruct those people, for which the society, in its general assembly, decreed his majesty their

thanks, and order'd him to be pray'd for, *TENO*, which is perform'd in a particular manner in *Paraguay*. And here we will give rest to our pen, wishing *Philip the Great*, as a reward of his zeal in propagating the faith, long and happy reign here, and an everlasting kingdom hereafter.

*This paragraph was omitted in Page 662, and must be inserted after the break in the last column, which the reader is desired to take notice of.*

*Francis de Alfaro*, the king's visitor throughout south America, by his majesty's order, utterly took away the abuse of personal service, setting the *Indians* at full liberty, and delivering them from all oppression. But because many of the *Indians* of *Paraguay* had nothing to pay as tribute, he therefore order'd, that in lieu of it, they shall serve one month in their year, but if the *Spaniards* would make use of them any longer, they should have them as hired servants, upon their own free will, and paying them their wages. He enacted other laws for the common benefit of the *Spaniards*, which the king afterwards ratify'd, and continue to this day in force, saving only that his majesty allow'd two months service instead of the one we said *Alfaro* had appointed. And to the end the heathens

for the future might not be deterr'd from embracing the faith, for fear of being seized and put to trouble, the country of *Parana*, the *Guaicureans* and *Guaia*, were put under the direction of the *Jesuits*, upon condition the *Indians* being brought unto towns, should not, upon any account, be given to private men, by way, as they call it, of *Encomienda*; that is, to be entrusted with, or rather to lord it over them. The fathers were order'd to be maintained at the king's cost; and it is remarkable, That *Alfaro* assigning every one of those that should be so employ'd, the same allowance that was given to the curates of the *Indians* in *Peru*, the provincial, *F. James Torres*, oppos'd it, saying the fourth part of that allowance was enough for religious men, who were to live sparingly.

( 750 )

# Gods Power and Providence;

Shewed in the

Miraculous Preservation and Deliverance

O F

EIGHT ENGLISH-MEN,

Left by Mischance in

# GREENLAND,

A N N O 1630.

## Nine Months and Twelve Days:

With a True Relation of all their Miseries, the Shifts and Hardships they were put to, their Food, &c. Such as neither Heathen nor Christian ever before endured.

With a Description of the chief Places and Ravities of that barren and cold Country. Faithfully reported by Edward Pellham, one of the Eight Men aforesaid. As also with a Map of Greenland.

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*To the Right Worshipful Sir John Merick, Governor of the worshipful Company of Muscovy Merchants; Sir Hugh Hamerly, Knight and Alderman of the City of London; and to the Worshipful Mr. Alderman Freeman, Captain William Goodlet; and to all the rest of the Worshipful Assistants and Adventurers in the said famous Company: Edward Pellham dedicateth both this and his future Labours.*

*Right Worshipful and most famous Merchants,*

**T**H E hard adventure my poor self and fellows underwent in your worship's service, is a great deal pleasanter for others to read, than it was for us to endure. However hard, we have now endured it; and if ever after-ages shall speak of it (as the world still doth of the Dutch-men's hard winter in *Nova Zembla*;) thus much of the voyage shall redound to your honours, that it was done by your servants. This may also return to our country's good; that if the first inhabiting of a country by a prince's subjects (which is the king of *Spain's* best title to his *Indies*) doth take possession of it for their sovereign: then is *Greenland*, by a second right, taken *Livery* and *Seisin* of for his majesty's use; his subjects being the first that ever did (and I believe the last that ever will) inhabit there. Many a rich return may your worships in general, and the brave adventurers in particular, receive from this and all other places: and may your servants be ever hereafter warned to take heed by our harms. *God send your worships long life, and much honour, and sufficient wealth to maintain both.* This is the hearty prayer of your worship's poor servant,

EDWARD PELLHAM.

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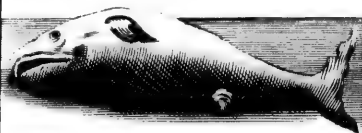
of Muscovy Mer-  
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your worship's  
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L L H A M.

T O

A Whale is ordinarily about 60 foot long.



When the Whale comes above water & shallow  
rower towards him and being within reach  
of him, the harpooner darts his harping iron at  
him out, and being fast lance him to death.



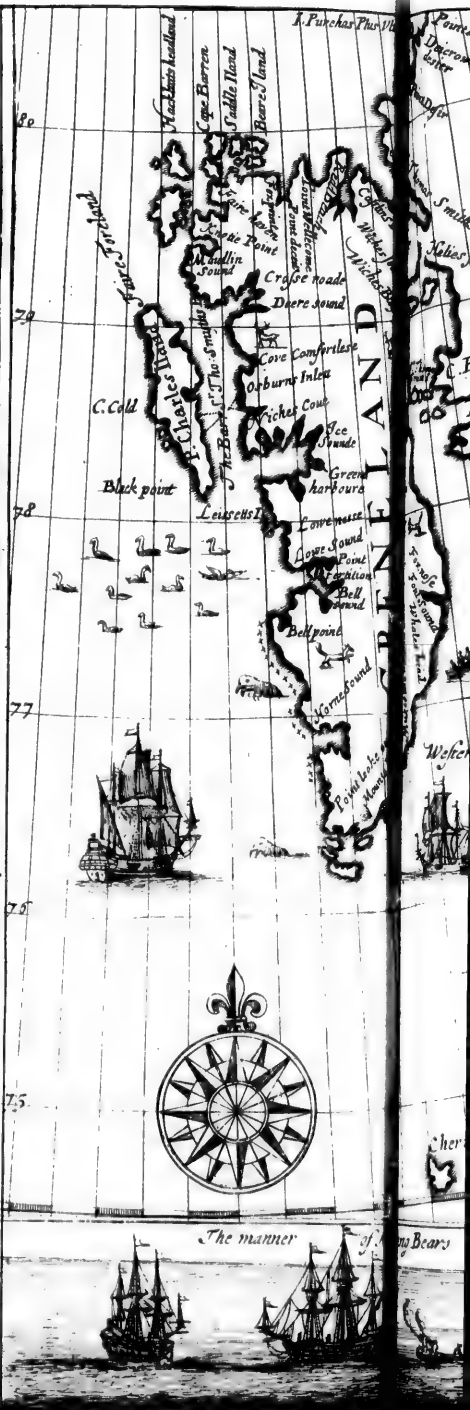
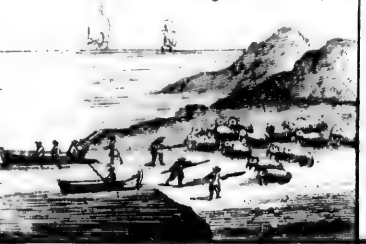
The Whale is cut up as he lies floating cross-ways  
stearne of a ship the blubber is cut from the  
flesh by pieces of 3 or 4 foot long and  
being raised is rowed on short poulders the  
coppers



They place 2 or 3 coppers on a row and y chopping  
boat on the one side and the cooling boat on the other side  
to receive y oyle of 6 coppers, the chapt blubber being  
hauled is taken out of the coppers and put in wicker  
baskets or barrowes through w<sup>ch</sup> the oyle is decanted  
and runke into y<sup>e</sup> cooler w<sup>ch</sup> is full of water put  
w<sup>ch</sup> the con- regd by trough into but on



*The manner of killing y<sup>e</sup> Seamorses*







TO THE  
**R E A D E R.**

**C**ourteous Reader: that God may have the only glory of this our deliverance, give me leave to look back unto that voyage which the Dutch-men made into Nova Zembla, in the year 1596. In which place, they having been (like our selves) overtaken with the winter, were there forced to stay it out as we were. Which being an action so famous all the world over, encourag'd me both to publish this of ours, as also now to draw out some comparisons with them; that so our deliverance and God's glory may appear both the more gracious and the greater.

This Nova Zembla stands in the degree 76, north latitude: our wintering place is in 77 degrees and 40 minutes, that is, almost two degrees nearer the north pole than they were; and so much therefore the colder. The Dutch were furnish'd with all things necessary both for life and health; had no want of any thing: bread, beer, and wine, they had good, and good store. Victuals they had God's plenty; and apparel both for present clothing, and for shift too: and all this they brought with them in their ship. We (God knows) wanted all these; bread, beer, and wine we had none. As for meat, our greatest and chiefest feeding was the Whale frittars, and those mouldy too; the loathsomest meat in the world. For our venison, 'twas hard to find, but a great deal harder to get: and for our third sort of provision, the bears, 'twas a measuring cast which should be eaten first, we or the bears, when we first saw one another: and we perceived by them, that they had as good hopes to devour us as we to kill them. The Dutch kill'd bears, 'tis true: but it was for their skins, not for their flesh. The Dutch had a surgeon in their company; we none but the great physician to take care of and cure us. They had the benefit of bathing and purging: we of neither. They had their ship at hand to befriend them; we had here perished, had not other ships fetcht us off. They had card and compass, we no direction.

If the Dutch complain'd there of the extremity of the cold (as well they might) and that when in building their house, they (as carpenters use to do) put the iron nails into their mouths, they there froze, and stuck so fast, that they brought off the skin and forced blood: How cold, think you, were we, that were fain to maintain two fires to keep our very mortar from freezing. The Dutch complain'd, that their walls were frozen two inches thick on the inside, for all their fire: and if ours were not so, 'twas our pains and industry at first in building. The Dutch-mens cloaths froze upon their backs, and their shoes were like barns upon their feet: but that was their own ignorance; for they had sea-coals enough with them, if they had known how to use them. If their drink and sack were so hard frozen into lumps of ice, that they were fain to cut it out; how much harder was it for us, that were forced to make hot irons our best toasts to warm the snow withal, for our morning's draughts? they used heated stones and billets to their feet and bodies, to warm them: which, though an hard shift, yet was it better than we had any.

Lay now all these together, the distance of place, we being many miles more into the cold than they: the want both of meat and cloaths; and that the house we lived in, we had but three days respite to build for nine months to come; and then may the world see, that the Dutch had the better provisions, and we the abler bodies. If therefore the Dutch-mens deliverance were worthily accounted a wonder; ours can amount to little less than a miracle. The greater therefore our deliverance, the greater must be God's glory. And that's the authors's purpose in publishing of it. God keep the readers from the like dangers. So prays he that endured what he here writes of.

EDWARD PELLHAM.

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The names of the men thus staying in Greenland, for nine months  
and twelve days.

**W**illiam Fakeley, gunner; Edward Pellham, gunner's mate, the author of this relation; John Wise, and Robert Goodfellow, seamen; Thomas Ayres, whale-cutter; Henry Bett, cooper; John Dawes, and Richard Kellet, landmen.



## God's Power and Providence in the Preservation of eight men in Greenland, nine months and twelve days.

*But we had the sentence of death in our selves, that we should not trust in our selves, but in God which raiseth the dead.*

*Who deliver'd us from so great a death, and doth deliver : In whom we trust that he will yet deliver us. 2 Cor. 1. ver. 9, 10.*

PELL-  
HAM.

**G**REENLAND is a country very far northward, situated in seventy seven degrees, and forty minutes, that is, within twelve degrees and twenty minutes of the very north pole it self. The land is *wonderful mountainous*; the mountains *all the year long full of ice and snow*: the plains in part bare in summer time. There grows *neither tree nor herb* in it, except *scurvy-grass* and *ferrel*. The sea is as barren as the land, affording *no fish but whales, sea-horses, seals, and another small fish*. And hither there is a yearly fleet of *English* sent. *We eight men* therefore being employ'd in the service of the right worshipful company of *Muscovy* merchants, in the good ship called the *Salutation of London*, were bound for this *Greenland* aforesaid, to make a voyage upon *whales* or *sea-horses*, for the advantage of the merchants, and the good of the commonwealth. We set sail from *London* the first day of *May*, 1630, and having a fair gale, we quickly left the fertile banks of *England's* pleasant shoars behind us. After which, setting our comely sails to this supposed prosperous gale, and ranging thro' the boisterous billows of the rugged seas, by the help and gracious assistance of Almighty God, we safely arriv'd at our desired port, in *Greenland*, the eleventh of *June* following. Whereupon having moored our ships, and carried our cask ashore, we, with all expedition, fell to the fitting up of our shallops, with all things necessary for our intended voyage. We were in company three ships; all which were then appointed by the order of our captain, captain *William Goodler*, to stay at the *Foreland*, until the fifteenth of *July*; with resolution, that if we could not by that time make a voyage according to our expectation, then, to send one ship to the eastward, unto a fishing place some *fourscore* leagues from thence; whither, at the latter end of the year, the

*whales* use more frequently to resort. A second of the three ships was designed for *Green-barbor*, a place some fifteen leagues distant to the *southward* there to try her skill and fortune, if it were possible there to make a voyage. The third ship (which was the same wherein we were) was appointed to stay at the *Foreland*, until the twentieth of *August*. But the captain having made a great voyage at *Bell Sound*, dispatches a shallop towards our ship, with a command unto us to come to him at *Bell Sound* aforesaid: his purpose being, both to have us take in some of his *Trane-Oyl*, as also by joyning our forces together, to make the fleet so much the stronger for the defence of the merchants goods homeward bound, the *Dunkirkers* being very strong and rife at sea in those days. Upon the eighth day of *August* (thereupon) leaving the *Foreland*, we directed our course to the *southward*, towards *Green-barbor*, there to take in twenty of our men, which had out of our ship's company been sent into the lesser ship, for the furtherance of her voyage.

But the wind being now contrary, our ship could no way lye our course. The fifteenth day being calm and clear, and our ship now in the *Offing*, some four leagues from *Black-point*, and about five from the *Maidens-papps* (which is a place famous, both for very good and for great store of *venison*;) our master sent us eight men here named, altogether in a shallop for the hunting and killing of some venison for the ships provision. We thus leaving the ship, and having taken a brace of dogs along with us, and furnish'd our selves with a snap-hance, two lances, and a tinder-box; we directed our course towards the shoar, where in four hours we arriv'd, the weather being at that time fair and clear, and every way seasonable for the performance of our present intentions. That day we laid fourteen tall and nimble deer along; and

and being very weary and thoroughly tired, first with rowing, and now with hunting, we fell to eat such victuals as we had brought along, agreeing to take our rest for that night, and the next day to make an end of our hunting, and so fairly to return to our ship again. But the next day, as it pleased God, the weather falling out something thick, and much ice in the *Offing* betwixt the shoar and the ship (by reason of a southerly wind driving along the coast) our ship was forced to far to stand off into the sea, to be clear of the ice, that we had quite lost the sight of her: neither could we assure our selves, whether she were inclos'd in the drift ice or not: And the weather still growing thicker and thicker, we thought it our best course to hunt along the shoar, and so to go for *Green-barbor*, there to stay aboard the ship with the rest of our men, until our own ship should come into the port.

Coasting thus along towards *Green-barbor*, we kill'd eight Deer more; and so at last having well loaded our shallop with venison, we still kept on our course towards *Green-barbor*: Where arriving upon the seventeenth day, we found (to our great wonderment) that the ship was departed thence, together with our twenty men aforesaid. That which increas'd our admiration was, for that we knew they had not victuals sufficient abroad, to serve them (by proportion) homewards bound: Which made us again to wonder, what should be the reason of their so sudden departure.

Perceiving our selves thus frustrated of our expectation, and having now but bare three days (according to appointment) to the uttermost expiration of our limited time for our departure out of the country; we thought it our best course to make all possible speed to get to *Bell-Sound*, unto our captain, fearing that a little delay might bring a great deal of danger. For the lightening therefore of our shallop, that she might make the better way through the waters, we heaved our venison over-board, and cast it all into the sea. Having thus forsaken *Green-barbor*, with a longing desire to recover *Bell-Sound* (from thence distant some sixteen leagues to the southward) that night we were got half way about the point of the *Nesse*, or point of land called *Low-Nesse*: But the darkness or misty fog increasing fast upon us, it was impossible for us to get further; even there between two rocks we cove from the seventeenth day at night, until the eighteenth day at noon. At which time the weather being somewhat clearer (though very thick still) we left the *Nesse* behind us, still desirous to recover *Bell-Sound*: But having never a compass to direct our course by, nor any of our company that was pilot

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sufficient to know the land when he saw it, *PELL-* we were fain to grapple in the dark (as it *HAM.* were) like a blind man for his way, and so over-shot *Bell-Point* at least ten leagues to the southward, toward *Horn-Second*.

Some of us in the mean time knowing that it was impossible to be so long a rowing and sailing of eight leagues (for we did both row and sail) made enquiry, *How the barbor lay in?* whereunto there was a ready answer made, *That it lay east in.* Taking the matter therefore into our better consideration, some of us judged, that it could not possibly be further to the *Southward* (our reason being, our observation of the land's rounding away and trending towards the eastward) and resolved thereupon to row no further on that course, for the finding of *Bell-Sound*. And though we were again persuaded by *William Fakely* our gunner (a proper seaman, though no skilful mariner, who had been in the country five or six times before, which none of our scamen had been) that it was further to the southward: Yet we, trusting better to our own reasons than to his persuasions, again return'd towards the *Northward*, which was our best and directest course indeed for the finding of *Bell-Sound*. Steering of which course, we were now come within two miles of *Bell-Point*; and the weather being fair and clear, we presently decryed the tops of the lofty mountains. *William Fakely* thereupon looking about him, presently cries out unto us, *That we were all this while upon a wrong course*: Upon hearing of which words some of our company (yea the most) were persuaded, to wend about the boat's head the second time, unto the southward: Which one action was the main and only cause of our too late repentance, though for mine own part (as it is well known) I never gave consent unto their counsel.

And thus upon the fatal 20th day of *August* (which was the utmost day of our limited time for staying in the country) we again returned again quite the contrary way, namely to the southward. Thus utterly uncertain when and where to find the *Sound*, a thousand sad imaginations overtook our perplexed minds, all of us assuredly knowing, that a million of miseries would of necessity ensue, if we found not the ships, whereby to save our passage. In this distracted time of our thoughts, we were now again the second time run as far to the Southward as at the first; and finding by all reason thereupon, how that there was no likelihood at all of finding any such place further to the southward, we wended the shallop the second time unto the northward. *William Fakely* hereupon, being unwilling to condescend unto our agreement, still persuaded us, that *That could not possibly be*

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PELL-our course: But we not trusting any longer  
H.A.M. unto his unskilful persuasions (though all in  
him was out of good will, and ilron conceit  
of his being in the right) bent our  
course to the northward; and he not con-  
senting to steer any longer, I took the oar  
out of his hand to steer the boat withal.  
The weather all this while continued fair and  
clear, and it pleased God at that very in-  
stant of time, to send the wind easterly:  
which advantage we thankfully apprehend-  
ing, presently set sail. The wind increas'd  
fresh and large, and our shallop swiftly run-  
ning, we arrived the one and twentieth day  
at *Bell-Point*, where we found the wind  
right out of the *Sound* at east north-east,  
so fiercely blowing, that we could not pos-  
sibly row to windwards; but being forced  
to take in our sail, we were fain to betake  
our selves unto our oars, by help of which  
we recovered some two miles within the  
shoar, where we were constrained for that  
time to *Cove*, or else to drive to *Leewards*.

Thus finding this to be the very place  
we had all this while sought for (he now  
also agreeing thereunto) we forthwith sought  
out and found an harbor for our shallop;  
and having brought her thereunto, two of  
our men were presently dispatch'd over  
land unto the *Tent* at *Bell-Sound*, to see if  
the ships were still there; of which, by  
reason of the time being expired, and the  
opportunity of the present fair wind, we  
were much afraid. The *tent* being distant  
ten miles at the least from our shallop, our  
men at their coming thither finding the ships  
to be departed out of the road, and not be-  
ing certain, whether or not they might be  
at *Bottle Cove* (three leagues distant on the  
other side of the *Sound*) riding there under  
the *Loom* of the land; again returned unto  
us with this sad news. The storm of wind  
hitherto continuing, about midnight fell  
stark calm; whereupon we, unwilling to  
lose our first opportunity, departed towards  
*Bottle Cove*, betwixt hope and fear of find-  
ing the ships there; whither coming the  
two and twentieth, and finding the ships  
departed, we, having neither *pilot*, *plat*,  
nor *compass* for our directors on the east-  
ward, found our selves (God be knoweth)  
to have little hope of any delivery out of  
that apparent danger. Our fears increas'd  
upon us, even whilst we consulted whether  
it were safest for us either to go or stay. If  
go, then thought we upon the dangers in  
sailing, by reason of much ice in the way;  
as also of the difficulty in finding the place,  
when we should come thereabouts. If we  
resolved still to remain at *Bell-Sound*, then  
we thought that no other thing could be  
look'd for, but a miserable and a pining  
death, seeing there appear'd no possibility

of inhabiting there, or to endure so long,  
so darksome and so bitter a winter.

And thus were our thoughts at that time  
distracted, thus were our fears increas'd;  
nor were they useless fears altogether.  
*Well we knew that neither christian or hea-  
then people had ever before inhabited those de-  
solate and intemperate climates.* This also,  
to increase our fears, had we certainly heard;  
how that the merchants, having in former  
times much desired, and that with proffer  
of great rewards for the hazarding of their  
lives, and of sufficient furniture and provi-  
sion of all things that might be thought  
necessary for such an undertaking, to any  
that would venture to winter in those parts,  
could never yet find any so hardy, as to expose  
their lives to so hazardous an undertaking:  
Yea, notwithstanding these proffers had been  
mad: both unto mariners of good experi-  
ence, and of noble resolutions, and also  
unto divers other bold spirits; yet had the  
action of wintering in those parts never by  
any been hitherto undertaken. This also  
had we heard, how that the company of  
*Muscovy* merchants, having once procured  
the reprieve of some malefactors, that had  
here at home been convicted by law for some  
heinous crimes committed; and that both  
with promise of pardon for their faults,  
and with addition of rewards also, if so be  
they would undertake to remain in *Green-  
land* but one whole year, and that every  
way provided for us, both of cloaths, vic-  
tuals, and all things else, that might any  
way be needful for their preservation: These  
poor wretches hearing of this large proffer,  
and fearing present execution at home, re-  
solved to make trial of the adventure. The  
time of year being come, and the ships re-  
ady to depart, these condemned creatures are  
embarked, who after a certain space there ar-  
riving, and taking a view of the desolateness  
of the place, they conceiv'd such a  
horror and inward fear in their hearts, as  
they resolved rather to return for England,  
to make satisfaction with their lives for their  
former faults committed, than there to re-  
main, though with assured hope of gaining  
their pardon: Infomuch as the time of year  
being come, that the ships were to depart  
from these barren shoars, they made known  
their full intent unto the captain; who be-  
ing a pitiful and a merciful gentleman,  
would not by force constrain him to stay in  
that place, which was so contrary to their  
minds; but having made his voyage by  
the time expired, he again embarked and  
brought them over with him into England;  
where, through the intercession and means of  
the worshipful company of *Muscovy* mer-  
chants, they escaped that death which they  
had before been condemned unto. The re-  
membrance

membrance of these two former stories, as also of a third (more terrible than both the former, for that it was likely to be our own case) more miserably now affrighted us; and that was the lamentable and unmanly ends of nine good and able men, left in the same place heretofore by the self same master that now left us behind; who all dy'd miserably upon the place, being cruelly disfigur'd after their deaths by the savage bears and hungry foxes, which are not only the civillest, but also the only inhabitants of that comfortless country: The lamentable ends and miscarriage of which men, had been enough indeed to have daunted the spirits of the most noble resolution.

All these fearful examples presenting themselves before our eyes, at this place of *Bottle Cove* aforesaid, made us, like amazed men, to stand looking one upon another, all of us, as it were, beholding in the present, the future calamities both in himself and of his fellows. And thus like men already metamorphos'd into the ice of the country, and already pass'd both our senses and reason, stood we with the eyes of pity beholding one another.

Nor was it other men's examples and miscarriages and fears alone, that made us amazed, but it was the consideration of our want of all necessary provision for the life of man, that already struck us to the heart: For we were not only unprovided both of cloaths to keep us warm, and of food to prevent the wrath of cruel famine: but utterly destitute also we were of a sufficient house, wherein to shrowd and shelter our selves from the chilling cold. Thus for a space standing all mute and silent, weighing with our selves the misery we were already fallen into, and knowing delay in these extremities to be the mother of all dangers, we began to conceive hope even out of the depth of despair. Rowing up our benumbed senses therefore, we now lay our heads and counsels together, to bethink our selves of the likeliest course for our preservation in that place; seeing that all hopes of gaining our passage into *England* were then quite frustrate. Shaking off therefore all childish and effeminate fears, it pleas'd God to give us hearts like men, to arm our selves with a resolution to do our best for the resisting of that monster of desperation. An agreement thereupon by a general consent of the whole company we then enter'd into, to take the opportunity of the next fair weather, and go for *Green-barbor*, to hunt and kill venison for part of our own winter provision.

Having thus agreed amongst our selves, the 25th day of *August*, the weather and wind being both fair, we directed our course towards *Green-barbor*, some sixteen

leagues (as I before told you) distant from *Pell-Bell-Sound*; and the wind being fresh and fair, within the space of twelve hours we there arrived. Upon which place being now landed, the first thing we did, was to make us a tent with the sail of our shallop, pitch'd up, and spread upon our oars; a sorry one (God knows) though it were, yet under it we resolv'd to rest our selves that night, to refresh our bodies with such food as we there had, and the next day to return again unto our hunting. The weather that night proving fair and clear, we made our sleep the shorter: (and alas what men could sleep in that extremity!) and fitting our selves and shallop the best we might, to *Cole's-Park* we went, a place some two leagues distant from us, and well known unto *Thomas Ayres*, that was one of our company, to be well stor'd with venison. Coming ashore at which place, though we found not so many deer as we indeed expected, yet seven we killed the same day, and four bears to boot; which we also intended to eat.

But the weather beginning now to overcast, and not likely to continue good for hunting; we that night returned again unto *Green-barbor*: where making us a tent of our sail and oars (as is before described) we fell to eat such meat as God had sent us, and betook our selves to our rest upon it. Having rested our selves awhile, and now finding the weather to clear up, we broke off our sleep for that time, fitting our selves and two dogs again to go a hunting; leaving *William Vakely* and *John Dawes* behind us in the tent at *Green-barbor*, as our cooks (for the time) dress some meat that we had, for our refreshment at our return.

Departing thus from the tent, we rowed towards *Cole's-Park*; in the way whither, upon the side of a hill, by the sea-side, we espied seven deer feeding, whereupon presently ashore we went, and with our dogs kill'd six of them, after which, the weather again overcasting, we thought it to little purpose to go any further at that time, but resolv'd to hunt all along the side of that hill, and so at night return to our tent. Going thus along, we kill'd six deer more; which we had no sooner done, but it began to blow and rain, and to be very dark; whereupon we halted towards the tent, there intending to refresh our selves with victuals, and with rest, for that night, and the next day to return again unto our hunting. This purpose of ours was, by the foul weather the next day hindred; for it fell so black, so cold, and so windy, that we found it no way fitting for our purpose. Lading therefore our own shallop with bears and venison, and another shallop which we there found

PELL-HAM. found haled up, and left by the ship's company, as every year they use to do. Lading this other shallop, I say, with the graves of the whales that had been there *boil'd this present year* (which we there found in heaps hung upon the ground) we dividing our selves into two equal companies, that is to say, *William Fakely* with one seaman and two landmen with him, betaking themselves unto one shallop; and *Edward Pellham* with another seaman and two landmen more with him, going into t'other shallop; we all committed our selves unto the sea, intending with the next fair weather to go to *Bell-Sound* unto our tent; which was the place we set up our rest upon, to remain there all the winter.

Towards *Bell-Sound* therefore we went, with a purpose there to lay up our store of what victuals we had already gotten together, and with the next fair wind to come hither again, to try if 'twere possible for us there to provide our selves of some more venison for our winter provision.

Having thus laden both our shallops, appointed our company, and all ready now for our departure, we were overtaken with the night, and there forced to stay upon the place. The next day was *Sunday*; wherefore we thought fit to sanctify the rest of it, and to stay our selves there until *Monday*, and to make the best use we could of that good day, taking the best course we could for the serving of God Almighty, altho' we had not so much as a book amongst us all the whole time that we stay'd in that country.

The *Sabbath* day being shut up by the approaching night, we betook our selves to our rest, sleeping until the sun awaken'd us by his beginning to shew himself upon the *Monday* morning. The day was no sooner peep'd, but up we got, fitting our selves and business for our departure. The weather was fair and clear at the first, but after some four hours rowing the sky began so to overcast, and the wind to blow so hard, that we could not possibly get to *Bell-Sound* that night, but *cov'd* half way until the next morning, at which time we recover'd *Bottle Cove*; to which place when we were once come, we found the wind (then at *south-west*) to blow so hard that it was impossible for us to reach *Bell-Sound*, but were forced to stay at *Bottle Cove* for that night. Our shallops were made fast one to another, with a rope fastening the *head* of the one unto the *stern* of t'other; and so casting our *grabnel* or *anchor* overboard, we left them riding in the *Cove*.

But see now what a mischance, for the trial of our patience, and for the making of us to rely more upon his providence than upon any outward means of our own.

God now suffer'd to befall us. We being now all ashore, the south-west wind blew so hard, and right into the *Cove*, that it made the sea go high; our anchor also coming home at the same time, both our shallops casting along the shore, sunk presently in the sea, wetting by this means our whole provision, the weather withal beating some of it out of the boats, which we found swimming up and down the shore: for, coming out of our tent in the mean time, judge you what a sight this was unto us, to see by mischance the best part of our provision (the only hope of our lives) to be in danger utterly to be lost, or at least spoil'd with the sea-water, for which we had taken such pains, and run such adventures in the getting. In this our misery we saw no way but one (and that a very desperate one) namely, to run presently into the *high-wrought* sea, getting by that means into our shallops to save the remainder of our provisions, ready now to be wash'd quite away by the billows. A *balser* thereupon we got, which fastening unto our shallops, we with a *crabb* or *captang*, by main force of hand, heav'd 'em out of the water upon the shore. This done, all along the sea-side we go, seeking there and taking up such of our provisions as were swam away from our shallops. Having by this means glean'd up all that could be gotten together, we resolv'd from thenceforth to let our boats lie upon the shore till such time as the weather should prove fair and better, and then to go over unto *Bell-Sound*.

The 3d of *September*, the weather proving fair and good, we forthwith launch'd our shallops into the water, and in them we that day got into *Bell-Sound*. Thither so soon as we were come, our first business was, to take our provision out of our shallops into the tent; our next, to take a particular view of the place, and of the great tent especially, as being the place of our habitation for the ensuing winter. This which we call the *Tent* was a kind of house (indeed) built of timber and boards very substantially, and cover'd with *Flemish* tiles, by the men of which nation it had, in the time of their trading thither, been built: fourcore foot long it is, and in breadth fifty. The use of it was, for the coopers employ'd for the service of the company, to work, lodge, and live in, all the while they make casks for the putting up of the train-oil. Our view being taken, we found the weather beginning to alter so strangely, and the nights and frosts so to grow upon us, that we durst not adventure upon another hunting voyage unto *Green-harbor*, fearing the *Sound* would be so frozen that we should never be able to get back to our tent again. By land it was (we knew) in vain



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vain for us to think of returning ; for the land is so mountainous that there's no travelling that way.

Things being at this pass with us, we bethought our selves of building another smaller tent with all expedition : the place must of necessity be within the greater tent. With our best wits therefore taking a view of the place, we resolv'd upon the south side. Taking down another lesser tent therefore (built for the land-men hard by the other, wherein, in time of year, they lay whilst they made their oil) from thence we fetch'd our materials : that tent furnish'd us with an hundred and fifty deal-boards, besides posts or stanchions, and rafters. From three chimneys of the furnaces wherein they used to boil their oils, we brought a thousand bricks : there also found we three hogheads of very fine lime, of which stuff we also fetch'd another hoghead from Bottle Cove, on the other side of the Sound, some three leagues distant. Mingling this lime with the sand of the sea-shore, we made very excellent good mortar for the laying of our bricks : falling to work whereupon, the weather was so extrem cold, as that we were fain to make two fires, to keep our mortar from freezing. William Fakely and my self undertaking the masonry, began to raise a wall of one brick thickness, against the inner planks of the side of the tent. Whilst we were laying of these bricks, the rest of our company were otherwise employ'd, every one of 'em, some in taking 'em down, others in making of 'em clean, and in bringing 'em in baskets into the tent ; some in making mortar, and hewing of boards to build the other side withal ; and two others all the while in slaying of our venison. And thus having built the two uttermost sides of the tent with bricks and mortar, and our bricks now almost spent, we were enforced to build the other two sides with boards, and that in this manner : first, we nail'd our deal-boards on one side of the post or stanchion, to the thickness of one foot ; and on the other side in like manner ; and so filling up the hollow place between with sand, it became so tight and warm, as not the least breath of air could possibly annoy us. Our chimney's vent was into the greater tent, being the breadth of one deal-board, and four foot long. The length of this our tent was twenty foot, and the breadth sixteen ; the height ten, our ceiling being deal-boards five or six times double, the middle of one joining so close to the shut of the other, that no wind could possibly get between. As for our door, besides our making it so close as possibly it could shut, we lined it moreover with a bed that we found lying there, which came over both the opening and the shutting of

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it. As for windows, we made none at all, PELL- so that our light we brought in thro' the greater tent, by removing two or three tiles in the eaves, which light came to us thro' the vent of our chimney. Our next work was, to set up four cabins, billeting our selves two and two in a cabin. Our beds were the deer's skins dry'd, which we found to be extraordinary warm, and a very comfortable kind of lodging to us in our distress. Our next care then was for firing to dress our meat withal, and for keeping away the cold. Examining therefore all the shallops that had been left ashore there by the ships, we found seven of 'em very crazy, and not serviceable for the next year ; those we made bold withal, brake 'em up, and carried 'em into our house, stowing 'em over the beams in manner of a floor, intending also to stow the rest of our firing over them, so to make the outer tent the warmer, and to keep the snow from driving thro' the tiles into the tent, which snow would otherwise have cover'd every thing, and have hinder'd us in coming at what we wanted. When the weather was now grown cold, and the days short (or rather no day at all) we made bold to have some empty casks that were there left the year before, to the quantity of one hundred tun at least : we also made use of some planks, and of two old coolers (wherein they cool'd their oil) and of whatsoever might well be spar'd without damnifying of the voyage the next year. Thus having got together all the firing that we could possibly make, except we would make spoil of the shallops and coolers that were there, which might easily have overthrown the next year's voyage, to the great hindrance of the worshipful company, whose servants we being, were every way careful of their profit. Comparing therefore the small quantity of our wood, together with the coldness of the weather, and the length of time that there we were likely to abide, we cast about to husband our stock as thrifely as we could, deviating to try a new conclusion : our trial was this. When we raked up our fire at night, with a good quantity of ashes and of embers, we put into the midst of it a piece of elm-wood, where, after it had lain sixteen hours, we at our opening of it found great store of ice upon it ; whereupon we made a common practice of it ever after. It never went out for eight months together, or thereabouts.

Having thus provided both our house and firing, upon the 12th of September a small quantity of drift-ice came driving to and fro in the Sound. Early in the morning therefore we arose, and looking every where abroad, we at last espied two sea-horses lying asleep upon a piece of ice ; presently thereupon taking up an old harping-

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iron

PULL-iron that there lay in the tent, and fastening  
HAM, a grapple-ropo unto it, out launch'd we our  
boat to row towards them. Coming some-  
thing near 'em, we perceiv'd 'em to be fast  
asleep; which my self, then steering the  
boat, first perceiving, spake to the rowers  
to hold still their oars, for fear of awaking  
'em with the crafhing of the ice, and I skul-  
ling the boat easily along, came so near at  
length unto 'em, that the *shallops o'en touch'd*  
*one of 'em*: at which instant *William Fekely*  
being ready with his *barping-iron*, heav'd it  
so strongly into the old one, that he quite  
disturb'd her of her rest; after which she  
receiving five or six thrusts with our lances,  
fell into a sounder sleep of death. Thus  
having dispatch'd the old one, the younger  
being loth to leave her dam, continued  
swimming so long about our boat, that  
without our lances we kill'd her also. Hal-  
ling 'em both after this into the boat, we  
row'd ashore, flay'd our *sea-borjes*, cut 'em  
in pieces: *roast and eat 'em*. The 19th of  
the same month we *saw other sea-borjes sleep-*  
*ing also in like manner upon several pieces*  
of ice, but the weather being cold, they  
desir'd not to sleep so much as before, and  
therefore could we kill but one of them, of  
which we being right glad, we return'd again  
into our tent.

The nights at this time, and the cold  
weather, engreasing so fast upon us, that we  
were out of all hopes of getting any more  
food before the next spring, our only hopes  
were, to kill a *beare* now and then, that  
might by chance wander that way. The  
next day therefore taking an exacter survey  
of all our victuals, and finding our propor-  
tion too small by half for our time and  
company, we agreed among our selves to  
come to *allowance*, that is, to *stint our selves*  
to one *reasonable meal a day*, and to keep  
*Wednesdays and Fridays fasting-days*, ex-  
cepting from the *\* fritters or greaves* of the  
*whale* (a very loathsome meat) of which  
we allow'd our selves sufficient to suffice  
our present hunger; and at this diet we  
continued some three months, or there-  
abouts.

\* These  
be the  
scraps of  
the fat of  
the whale,  
which are  
flung a-  
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the oil is gotten out of it.

Having by this time finish'd whatever  
we possibly could invent, for our preserva-  
tion in that desolate desert, our clothes and  
shoes also were so worn and torn (all to  
pieces almost) that we must of necessity in-  
vent some new device for their reparations.  
Of *rope-yarn* therefore we made us *thread*,  
and of *whale-bones* needles to *sew our clothes*  
*withal*. The nights were waxed very long,  
and by the 10th of *October* the cold so vio-  
lent, that the *sea was frozen over*; which  
had been enough to have daunted the most  
assured resolutions: at which time our busi-

ness being over, and nothing now to exer-  
cise our minds upon, our heads began then  
to be troubled with a thousand sorts of ima-  
ginations: then had we leisure (more than  
enough) to complain our selves of our pre-  
sent and most miserable conditions: then  
had we time to bewail our wives and chil-  
dren at home, and to imagine what news  
our unfortunate misfortunes must needs be  
unto them: then thought we of our pa-  
rents also, and what a cutting corrosive it  
would be to them, to hear of the untimely  
deaths of their children. Other whiles  
again we reviv'd our selves with some com-  
fort that our friends might take, in hoping  
that it might please God to preserve us  
(even in this poor estate) until the next year.  
Sometimes did we vary our griefs, com-  
plaining one while of the cruelty of our  
*master*, that would offer to leave us to these  
distresses; and then presently fell we, not  
only to excuse him, but to lament both  
him and his company, fearing they had  
been overtaken by the ice, and miserably  
that way perish'd.

Thus tormented in mind with our doubts,  
our fears, and our griefs; and in our bod-  
ies with hunger, colds, and wants; that  
hideous monster desperation began now to  
present his ugly face unto us; he now  
pursued us, he now labour'd to seize upon  
us. Thus finding our selves in a *labyrinth*  
as 'twere of a perpetual misery, we thought  
it not best to give too much way unto our  
griefs, fearing they also would most of all  
have wrought upon our weakness. Our  
prayers we now redoubled unto the *Almigh-*  
*ty*, for strength and patience in these our  
miseries; and the *Lord* graciously listen'd  
unto us, and granted these our petitions:  
by his assistance therefore we shook off these  
thoughts, and cheer'd up our selves again,  
to use the best means for our preserva-  
tion.

Now therefore began we to think upon  
our *venison*, and the preserving of that, and  
how to order our firing in this cold weather.  
For fear therefore our firing should fail us  
at the end of the year, we thought best to  
roast every day half a *deer*, and to *stow* it  
in hogheads: which we putting now in  
practice, we forthwith fill'd three hogheads  
and an half, leaving so much *raw* as would  
*serve to roast every sabbath-day a quarter*;  
and so for *Christmas-day*, and the like.

This conclusion being made amongst us,  
fell we then again to bethink us of our mi-  
series, both past and to come; and how  
(tho' if it pleas'd God to give us life) yet  
should we live as banish'd men, not only  
from our friends, but from all other com-  
pany. Then thought we of the pinching  
cold, and of the pining hunger; these were  
our thoughts, this our discourse, to pass the  
time

time withal: but, as if all this misery had been too little, we presently found another increase of it; for, examining our provisions once more, we found that all our *fritters* of the *subale* were almost spoil'd with the wet that they had taken; after which, by lying so close together, they are now grown mouldy; and our *bear* and *venison* we perceiv'd again not to mount to such a quantity, as to allow us five meals a week; whereupon we were fain to shorten our stomachs of one meal more, so that for the space of three months after that, we for four days in the week fed upon the unsavoury and mouldy fritters, and *pothor* three we fasted it with bear and venison. But, as if 'twere not enough for us to want meat, we now began to want light also: all our meals prov'd suppers now, for little light could we see, even the glorious sun (as if unwilling to behold our miseries) masking his lovely face from us, under the sable veil of coal-black night: thus, from the fourteenth of October till the third of February, we never saw the sun; nor did he all that time ever so much as peep above the horizon; but the moon we saw at all times, day and night (when the clouds obscur'd her not) shining as bright as the doth in England. The sky, 'tis true, is very much troubled with thick and black weather all the winter-time, so that then we could not see the Moon, nor could discern what point of the compass she bore upon us. A kind of daylight we had indeed, which glimmer'd for eight hours a day unto us, in October time I mean; for from thence unto the first of December even that light was shorten'd ten or twelve minutes a day constantly; so that from the first of December till the twentieth there appear'd no light at all, but all was one continued night. All that we could perceive was, that in a clear season, now and then there appear'd a little glare of white, like some shew of day, towards the south, but no light at all: and this continued till the first of January, by which time we might perceive the day a little to encrease. All this darksome time no certainty could we have when it should be day, or when night, only my self, out of my own little judgment, kept the observation of it thus: first, bearing in mind the number of the *Epaich*, I made my addition by a day suppos'd (tho' not absolutely to be known by reason of the darkness) by which I judg'd of the age of the moon; and this gave me my rule of the passing of the time; so that at the coming of the ships into the port, I told 'em the very day of the month, as directly as they themselves could tell me.

At the beginning of this darksome, irksome time, we fought some means of preserving light amongst us; finding therefore

a piece of sheet-lead over a seam of one of PELL the coolers, that we ripp'd off, and made three lamps of it, which maintaining with oil that we found in the cooper's tent, and rope-yarn serving us instead of candlewicks, we kept 'em continually burning; and this was a great comfort to us in our extremity. Thus did we our best to preserve our selves, but all this could not secure us, for we in our own thoughts accounted our selves but dead men, and that our tent was then our darksome dungeon, and we did but wait our day of trial by our judge, to know whether we should live or die. Our extremities being so many, made us sometimes in impatient speeches to break forth against the causers of our miseries; but then again our consciences telling us of our own evil deservings, we took it either for a punishment upon us for our former wicked lives, or else for an example of God's mercy in our wonderful deliverance: humbling our selves therefore under the mighty hand of God, we cast down our selves before him in prayer two or three times a day, which course we constantly held all the time of our misery.

The new year now begun, as the days began to lengthen, so the cold began to strengthen, which cold came at last to that extremity, as that it would raise blisters in our flesh, as if we had been burnt with fire; and if we touch'd iron at any time, 'twould stick to our fingers like bird-lime. Sometimes, if we went but out a-doors to fetch in a little water, the cold would nip us in such sort, that it made us as sore as if we had been beaten in some cruel manner. All the first part of the winter we found water under the ice that lay upon the *Bache* on the sea-shore, which water issued out of an high bay or cliff of ice, and ran into the hollow of the *Bache*, there remaining with a thick ice over it; which ice we at one certain place daily digging thro' with pick-axes, took so much water as serv'd for our drinking.

This continued with us until the tenth of January, and then we were fain to make shift with snow-water, which we melted by putting hot irons into it; and this was our drink until the twentieth of May following.

By the last of January were the days grown to some seven or eight hours long; and then we again took another view of our victuals, which we now found to grow so short, that it could no way last us above six weeks longer; and this bred a further fear of famine amongst us; but our recourse was in this, as in other our extremities, unto Almighty God, who had helps we knew, tho' we saw no hopes: and thus spent our time until the third of February. This prov'd a marvellous cold day, yet a fair and

PELL- and clear one, about the middle whereof,  
 HAM. all clouds now quite dispers'd, and night's  
 fable curtain drawn, *Aurora* with her golden face smil'd once again upon us, at her rising out of her bed; for now the glorious sun with his glittering beams began to gild the highest tops of the lofty mountains: the brightness of the sun, and the whiteness of the snow, both together was such, as that it was able to have reviv'd a dying spirit: but, to make a new addition to our new joy, we might perceive two bears (a she one with her cubb) now coming towards our tent; whereupon we strait arming our selves with our lances, issued out of our tent to await her coming. She soon cast her greedy eyes upon us, and with full hope of devouring us, she made the more haste unto us, but with our hearty lances we gave her such a welcome, as that she fell down upon the ground, tumbling up and down, and biting the very snow for anger. Her cubb seeing this, by flight escap'd us. The weather was now so cold, that longer we were not able to stay abroad: retiring therefore into our tent, we first warm'd our selves, and then out again to draw the dead bear in unto us. We slay'd her, cut her into pieces of a stone weight or thereabouts, which serv'd us for our dinners: and upon this bear we fed some twenty days, for she was very good flesh, and better than our venison. This only mischance we had with her, that upon the eating of her liver our very skins peel'd off: for my own part, I being sick before, by eating of that liver, tho' I lost my skin, yet recover'd I my health upon it. She being spent, either we must seek some other meat, or else fall aboard our roast venison in the cask, which we were very loth to do for fear of famishing, if so be that should be thus spent before the fleet came out of *England*. Amidst these our fears, it pleas'd God to send divers bears into our tent, some forty at least as we accounted, of which number we kill'd seven; that is to say, the second of *March* one, the fourth another, and the tenth a wonderful great bear, six foot high at least; all which we slay'd, and roasted upon wooden spits (having no better kitchen-furniture than that, and a frying-pan which we found in the tent.) They were as good savoury meat as any beef could be. Having thus gotten good store of such food, we kept not our selves now to such streight allowance as before, but eat frequently two or three meals a day, which began to encrease strength and ability of body in us.

By this the cheerful days so fast encreas'd that the several sorts of fowls, which had all the winter-time avoided those quarters, began now again to resort thither, unto their summer-abiding. The sixteenth of

*March*, one of our two mastiff-dogs went out of the tent from us in the morning, but from that day to this he never more return'd to us, nor could we ever hear what was become of him. The fowls that I before spake of, constantly use every spring-time to resort unto that coast, being us'd to breed there most abundantly; their food is a certain kind of small fishes. Yearly, upon the abundant coming of these fowls, the foxes, which had all this winter kept their burroughs under the rocks, began now to come abroad and seek for their livings; for them we set up three traps like rat-traps, and baited 'em with the skins of these fowls, which we had found upon the snow, they falling there in their flight from the hill, whereupon they bred, towards the sea: for this fowl being about the bigness of a duck, bath her legs placed so close unto her rump, as that when they alight once upon the land, they are very hardly (if ever) able to get up again, by reason of the misplacing of their legs, and the weight of their bodies; but being in the water, they raise themselves with their pinions well enough. After we had made these traps, and let 'em apart one from another in the snow, we caught fifty foxes in 'em, all which we roasted, and found very good meat of them. Then took we a bear's skin, and laying the fleshy side upward, we made springs of whalebone, wherewith we caught about sixty of those fowls, about the bigness of a pigeon.

Thus continued we until the first of *May*, and the weather then growing warm, we were now pretty able to go abroad to seek for more provisions. Every day therefore abroad we went, but nothing could we encounter withal until the 24th of *May*; when espying a buck, we thought to have kill'd him with our dog, but he was grown so fat and lazy that he could not pull down the deer. Seeking further out therefore, we found abundance of willocks-eggs (which is a fowl about the bigness of a duck) of which eggs, tho' there were great store, yet we, being but two of us together, brought but thirty of 'em to the tent that day, thinking the next day to fetch a thousand more of 'em, but the day prov'd so cold, with so much easterly wind, that we could not stir out of our tent.

Staying at home therefore upon the 25th of *May*, we for that day omitted our ordinary custom. Our order of late (since the fair weather) was every day, or every second day, to go up to the top of a mountain, to spy if we could discern the water in the sea, which until the day before we had not seen; at which time a storm of wind coming out of the sea, brake the main ice within the *Sound*; after which, the wind coming

coming easterly, carried all the ice into the sea, and clear'd the Sound a great way, altho' not near the shore at first, seeing the clear water came not near our tent by three miles at least.

This 25th of May therefore, we all day staying in the tent, there came two ships of Hull into the Sound, who knowing that there had been men left there the year before, the master (full of desire to know whether we were alive or dead) mann'd out a shallop from the ship, with order to row as far up the Sound as they could, and then to hale up their shallop and travel over land upon the snow, unto the tent. These men, at their coming ashore, found the shallop, which we had haled from our tent into the water, with a purpose to go seek some fra-horses the next fair weather, the shallop being then already fitted with all necessaries for that enterprize. This sight brought them into a quandary; and tho' this encounter made 'em hope, yet their admiration made them doubt, that it was not possible for us still to remain alive. Taking therefore our lances out of the boat, toward the tent they come, we never so much as perceiving them, for we were all gather'd together now about to go to prayers in the inner tent, only Thomas Ayers was not yet come in to us out of the greater tent. The Hull-men now coming near our tent, haled it with the usual word of the sea, crying *Hey*; he answer'd again with *Ho*; which sudden answer almost amaz'd 'em all, causing them to stand still, half afraid at the matter: but we within, hearing of them, joyfully came out of the tent, all black as we were with the smoak, and with our clothes all tatter'd with wearing. This uncouth sight made them further amaz'd at us; but perceiving us to be the very men left there all the year, with joyful hearts embracing us, and we them again, they came with us into our tent. Coming thus in to us, we shew'd 'em the courtesie of the house, and gave 'em such victuals as we had, which was venison roasted four months before, and a cup of cold water, which, for novelty sake, they kindly accepted of us.

Then fell we to ask them what news; and of the state of the land at home; and when the London fleet would come; to all which they return'd us the best answers they could. Agreeing then to leave the tent, with them we went to their shallop, and so aboard the ship, where we were welcom'd after the heartiest and kindest English manner; and there we stay'd our selves until the coming of the London fleet, which we much long'd for, hoping by them to hear from our friends in England. We were told that they would be there the next day, but it

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was full three days e're they came, which seem'd to us as tedious a three days as any we had yet endur'd, so much we now desir'd to hear from our friends, our wives, and children.

The 28th of May the London fleet came into the port, to our great comfort; aboard the admiral we went, unto the right noble captain, captain William Goodler, who is worthy to be honour'd by all seamen for his courtesie and bounty. This is the gentleman that's every year chief commander of this fleet; and right worthy he is so to be, being a very wife man, and an expert mariner as most be in England, none disprais'd. Unto this gentleman right welcome we were, and joyfully by him receiv'd, he giving order, that we should have any thing that was in the ship that might do us good and encrease our strength; of his own charges giving us apparel also, to the value of twenty pounds worth.

Thus, after fourteen days of refreshment, we grew perfectly well all of us; whereupon the noble captain sent William Fokely and John Wise (Majon's own apprentice) and Thomas Ayers the whale-cutter, with Robert Goodfellow, unto master Majon's ship, according as themselves desir'd: but thinking there to be as kindly welcom'd as the lost *Prodigal*, these poor men, after their enduring of so much misery, which, thro' his means partly, they had undergone, no sooner came aboard his ship, but he most unkindly call'd 'em *Runaways*, with other harsh and unchristian terms, far enough from the civility of an honest man. Noble captain Goodler understanding all these passages, was right sorry for 'em, resolving to send for them again, but that the weather prov'd so bad and uncertain. I for mine own part remain'd with the captain still at *Bottle-Cove*, according to mine own desire; as for the rest of us that stay'd with him, he prefer'd the land-men to row in the shallops, for the killing of the whales, freeing them thereby from their toilsome labour ashore, bettering their means besides. And all these favours did this worthy gentleman for us.

Thus were we well contented now to stay there till the 20th of August, hoping then to return into our native country; which day of departure being come, and we embark'd, with joyful hearts we set sail thro' the foaming ocean; and tho' cross'd sometimes with contrary winds homeward bound, yet our proper ships came at last safely to an anchor in the river of Thames, to our great joy and comfort, and the merchants benefit. And thus, by the blessing of God, came we all eight of us well home, safe and sound; where the worshipful company, our masters, the Muscovy merchants, have since

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PELL- dealt wonderfully well by us. For all which  
H A M. most merciful preservation, and most won-  
derfully-powerful deliverance, all honour,

praise, and glory be unto the great God,  
the sole author of it. He grant us to make  
the right use of it. Amen.

*A Journey of John Baptift Merin, Phil.  
& Med. Doct. to the Mines of Hungary;  
with an account of his Observations made  
there, in relation to them, and subterra-  
neous passages in general.*

MERIN.  
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**A**N extraordinary desire of learn-  
ing, and a curiosity of seeing  
things never known to me be-  
fore, having made me to under-  
take a journey into *Flanders, Germany, Bo-  
hemia, and Austria*, in the year 1615, I  
stay'd a few days at *Vienna*, having the op-  
portunity of conversing with several learn'd  
men in those parts; they told me such mi-  
raculous things of the mines of *Hungary*  
and *Transylvania* (the most famous in *Eu-  
rope*) that I was seiz'd with a most ardent  
desire of taking a full view of 'em, maugre  
all the dangers that were represented to me  
in so troublesome a journey; because I con-  
tinually reflected upon the words of *Paracel-  
sus*, that *Mines are the best schools of philo-  
sophers*. With this resolution I took passage  
in a boat that was carrying some troops to

*Presburgh Polineum* (*Presburgh*) the chief city of  
the capi- *Hungary*, left to the christians upon the  
tal city of *Danube*, about ten leagues distant from  
*Hungary* *Vienna*, and as many from the *Turkish*  
territories. 'Tis to be observ'd, that it is  
very dangerous travelling in *Hungary*, espe-  
cially for strangers, who being easily distin-  
guish'd from the *Hungarians* by their ha-  
bits, are but little below'd by them, by  
reason they're in the *Turkish* wars frequen-  
tly afflicted with foreign soldiers, which  
makes the natives, for the most part, live  
in wooden huts, or cottages of straw, with  
household-stuff in proportion; most of the  
cities of *Hungary* have no other houses, the  
inhabitants leading a most miserable life;  
yet the nobility of *Hungary* are great ad-  
mirers of strangers, especially the *French*,  
by reason of their bravery, they having  
given frequent proofs of it against the *Turks*  
with good success. But, above all, 'tis  
most dangerous travelling into the moun-  
tains (or *Upper Hungary*) which contain the  
gold, silver, and copper mines, about thir-

ty leagues distant from *Presburgh*; for all  
the summer long, whilst the trees are co-  
ver'd with leaves, and consequently afford  
shelter for robbers, without being oblig'd  
to make any fires (as they must in the win-  
ter) these vermin haunt the woods in whole  
troops, in hopes of lighting upon some of  
the gold and silver that's carried from the  
mines to the imperial mint at *Cremnitz*,  
when they're sure to kill all they meet with  
upon such an occasion.

After a stay of four days at *Presburgh*, I  
bought my self a horse, in order to go along  
with four waggons bound for the upper  
mines at *Newbeufel*, leaving the greatest  
part of my ready money with Mr. *Paul*  
*Lenich*, a physician at *Presburgh*, to serve  
me upon any emergency, in case I should  
be robb'd by the way, and escape with  
life.

Thus prepar'd, I came safely to *New-  
beufel*, seated upon the river *Gran*, where  
having deliver'd my letters of recommen-  
dation from Dr. *Mussinger*, one of the em-  
peror's privy-counsellors, to the most noble  
*Matthias Bloerzim*, the only Roman catho-  
lick in those parts, and overseer of the  
mines, I was very kindly receiv'd by that  
honourable person, which made me tarry  
there for some weeks; during which time  
I took a full view of the copper mines (the  
largest and richest in all *Hungary*) and all  
their subterraneous passages. I was told  
here, that *Paracelsus* dwelt in this place for *Paracel-  
sus* liv'd  
a considerable time, built a laboratory here, near the  
wherein he made several experiments upon mines in  
vitriol, antimony, cinnabar, copper, silver, *Hungary*.  
and gold, and being just upon his departure  
for *Transylvania*, presented his host (who was  
a goldsmith) with a piece of copper trans-  
muted into silver; whence 'tis that an ori-  
ginal picture of *Paracelsus* is shew'd to stran-  
gers to this day, in the same house.

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Having provided myself here with an interpreter, a learned and honest chymist, we travelled more northward to *Voisau*; by the way we saw divers rivulets which carried some gold dust along with their currents; my interpreter also shew'd me several hills, whither, as he said, many strangers, but especially *Italians* and *Poles*, come every year private to gather rubies, and granate-stones, which done, they stop up secretly the entrance of the mine, and make the best shift they can to get off, to avoid the danger of being surpriz'd by the way, by divers troops of stragglers, who come that way upon the same errand, and commonly kill one another without mercy.

After two days journey, we came safely to *Voisau*, where I lodg'd at the house of a certain noble *Hungarian*, who was the proprietor of these mines; the gold whereof is valued to the fineness of twenty two carats; and containing not the least mixture of any other metal, it is esteem'd the richest and purest gold mine in all *Hungary*. After some stay there, which I spent for the most part in viewing the mines; being fore-warned by an honest inhabitant, that a company of rogues intended to waylay me on the top of a certain hill, called the *Devil's Wedding*, I returned immediately towards *Newbeusel's* where being provided with a convoy of ten soldiers (for fear of the robbers) we continued our journey to the city of *Schemnitz*, partly to view the mines there, and to pay a visit to Dr. *John Ruland*, physician in ordinary of that city, and son to the famous *Martin Ruland*; where I met with a most generous reception: from the most noble *Hudalric Reitter*, governor of these mines, who gave orders to shew me these mines, which in 1612 had been visited by my old friend Dr. *John Beguin*: this is a rich silver mine, mixt with some small quantity of gold, but contains no other metal.

At my departure, being provided with recommendatory letters from the governor of the mines and a guard of soldiers, I pursued my journey to *Crennitz*, a city famous for the adjacent gold mines, and its enjoying the prerogative of the imperial mint; where a vast quantity of the *Hungarian* gold and silver is coin'd yearly: I was most kindly entertain'd here for whole five months, by the noble *George Fiesls* of *Leichenbergh*, governor of these mines, and his beloved spouse *Ann* of *Reisingerin*; and also by their special care conducted into all the descents of the mines, where I had sufficient leisure to take a full view, and make exact observations of all the engines both within and without the mines;

water-channels, and offices, where they prepare and separate the metals.

The first day of *December* (at the beginning of a severe winter, which continued for three months after) I left *Crennitz*, in order to my return into *France*; solely against the will of my generous benefactors, whose names I could not pass by in silence without ingratitude, notwithstanding the difference of religion. I returned to *Paris* in *March* 1616, after a very difficult and tedious journey, being forced to travel a great way about through *Switzerland*, and thence by the way of *Lyons*, by reason of the armies that were then in motion in *Lorrain*.

Thus much of our journey; we will now proceed to give you a short account of the mines and other subterraneous places.

Those that resolve to enter the mines, ought to pull off their own cloaths, and instead thereof, make use of the miners habits, made of some very coarse stuff. Thus prepar'd (like *Æracles*) they shew you two ways or passages, one shorter and easier, the other more difficult and much longer; the first (called by them the *Well*) is form'd like a chimney, of about six foot long, and two broad, dug with incredible pains and patience to the bottom of the mine, and supported with square large fir-trees, closely joyned to one another, which grow hereabouts in vast plenty.

Through this passage it is they draw up the oar; and in some mines where they are troubled with much water, they bring it up in vast quantities of water by the help of ropes and wheels, managed either by horses or water-mills. This water is drawn up in bags made of oxes hides, because any other substance would not be able to endure or resist the corrosive exhalations of the mines. Through the same passage the miners (three or four in company) are often let down with their lighted lamps, sitting with their buttocks in a leather seat, fastened with an iron hook to the top: A surprizing spectacle, considering that this passage is always fill'd with hot and stinking vapours, without intermission, which are often so strong, that they suffocate: the light of the lamps, though the cotton is generally twist'd together an inch thick; the greatest danger is then, perhaps part of the leather-seat, and of the rope or the hook that holds it together, being corroded by the sharp vapours, and press'd by the weight, sometimes tumbles these wretched *Lutberans* (like *Corab*, *Dabban* and *Abram*, about three or four hundred fathoms deep) into an infernal pit, and so puts an end to their miserable days.

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**MERIN.** As to this, that as they descend, there rises at the same time, a bag full of oar upwards, which if it happen to fall by some accident or other (as it often does) they are crush'd to pieces by their weight.

The second passage.

The second passage is made under ground like a mine, and therefore both longer and more difficult; cut like an alley out of the rocks, through which you must pass sometimes by steps, sometimes by ladders, sometimes in an upright posture, sometimes almost crawling upon all four, with a great deal of pain, till you come to the bottom of the mine. I remember I spent three or four hours in thus visiting the mines of *Neubeufel*. This way, besides that it is very troublesome, and not without some danger; it often happening, that either the under supporters placed betwixt the rocks or the steps, being putrify'd by the corroding vapours, happen to give way, the persons within the passage are buried under the earth.

The exhalations putrify the wood in the mines.

Hence it is, that the overseers or governors of the imperial mines, are obliged to visit in person three or four times a year, all the passages in these mines, to take a view of the veins, water-courses, the passages and their supporters, with all other things thereunto belonging, and to take effectual care of them. These overseers always descend through this last passage, and so do most of the miners; thus I have seen above one hundred and fifty of them descend every fourth hour, with their lamps in the upper mines of *Neubeufel*.

Besides this, both these passages have some other uses, viz. the free inspiration and expiration of the air, without which the miners must needs be choaked in a little time.

The air is convey'd through the last passage into the several places where the miners are at work, by the help of several wooden funnels and windows, to be shut or opened as occasion requires; which passing from thence forcibly through many holes into the first passage, is forced up like as through a chimney into the open air; these venomous exhalations (more rarify'd than the air) consequently cause there both a continual ventilation and swift exhalation of the noxious vapours; thence it is, that at the entrance of this passage, the air is excessive hot by its mixture with the ascending vapours, though just before it has passed through the coldest region of the mines.

The air forces the exhalations out of the mines.

This they have been taught by necessity and experience, founded upon very good reason, viz. To force out with the air, the venomous antimonial, mercurial, saline and arsenical spirits, mixed with the vapours, so pernicious to the brains, heart and lungs: hence it is, that the miners,

after having penetrated into the first region of the earth, are sensible of the cool air (for they always work naked) and breathe freely enough.

However, notwithstanding all these contrivances, they are not absolutely delivered of the ill effects of these exhalations, though the same are in some measure mitigated, it being a great rarity to see one of these miners come to the age of fifty, most of them either dying very young, or soon after they come to a manly age; and commonly by a consumption, their lungs being by degrees corroded by the acrimonious particles of these exhalations. This is the reason why they cannot stay above four hours at a time in the mines, but must be ventilated by the fresh air to recover themselves; it being certain, that were the free passage of the fresh air stopped for one quarter of an hour in the deep mines, not for the one of the workmen would escape with life; which I speak upon the credit of the head managers of the mines, who, by their frequent experience, are the surest judges in the case. Hence it is, that these miners marry their children at fifteen years of age, to furnish a constant supply of work-men; and it is almost incredible, to believe how these young people multiply, of which I made a particular observation in the copper mines of *Neubeufel*, where I saw above fifty such young husbands.

Dangerous vapours in the mines.

The external air necessary for the preservation of the miners.

The miners short-lived.

It being left to my choice, which of the two ways I would chuse, I did not care to pitch upon the first, by reason of its vast perpendicular descent, and because there was nothing to be seen in that passage from the top to the bottom but fir-trees that supported it; but chusing the last, went in the company of four or five miners, provided with lamps, torches, and a good bottle of strong liquor, through the second passage to the bottom of the mines.

But not to detain you with a long narration of all the particular mines I had occasion to see; I will content my self to give you an account only of the gold mines of *Cremnitz* (being deeper than the rest) into which I descended in *July*, in the hottest and driest season: and though most of the deepest mines are of the same contrivance, or very near the same, yet will I not pass by in silence, that ever I met with any thing worth taking notice of in the other mines.

At the first entrance into the last of the two passages, you find it not hot (as you do in the first) but rather cold, of which we were sufficiently sensible, notwithstanding we passed through divers freight passages; having no other cloaths but such as the miners usually wear, about us, we were the more

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nary heat  
of the  
mines.

more sensible of the cold, as we came to enter into a moist and clayish place, impregnated with a vitriolate spring, which the miners recommended to me as very salubrious, especially in agues, a thing likely enough to be true, considering it belongs to gold oar; I found the water very cool upon the tongue, and somewhat alstringent: the spring does not rise up to the surface of the earth. Thence we came into the concavities, where the miners were at work, where they shew'd us how the vein of oar did grow betwixt two tables, as they call it. Descending still till we came to eighty fathoms deep, we found it pretty warm, and the heat increasing still as we went lower and lower; the first time I went down in the mines, I was both surprized and rejoiced at this alteration of cold into heat, which made me ask the head miner, whence this heat proceeded? he replied, from the inferior regions, which are always hot: I ask'd him further, whether it was the same in all mines? he answer'd, it was so, at least in all the mines of a considerable depth; where, after you have passed through the cold region, you come to the hot one at a certain depth; and which way soever you dig after that, you are never sensible more of the least cold, but only of heat; this putting me in mind of the central heat, sometimes mentioned by the chymical authors. I ask'd him further, whether the nearer they came to the center of the earth, they found the more heat? he answer'd, that they had never observed any thing like it, but only when now and then they happened to light upon a vein of some very hot mineral. He added, that at certain seasons of the year, as in winter and summer, they found the heat increase, but that did not depend on their depth, since the same was observable in all mines; and all the head miners that ever I asked upon this account, agreeing in the same answer, this gave me sufficient occasion to meditate upon the matter, before I could find out the true reason of this heat, which the miners themselves, according to their own confession, were ignorant of.

But to proceed further: As we went deeper and deeper, finding the heat still encrease, beyond whatever I had observed in any other mine before; I asked the head miner the reason, who told me, that a vitriolate vein underneath us was the occasion of this sudden encrease of heat; and to make good his words, he carried us somewhat lower, into a large concavity, surrounded on all sides with a green vitriol, where the heat was so intense, and the vapours so sharp, that I was ready to faint with sweating, and my tongue and mouth seem'd to be all blister'd; which made me

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wonder how it was possible for the miners to <sup>MERIN.</sup> work here. If you ask me whether this vitriol is the best? I answer yes, for tho' the Hungarian mines produce also a blew vitriol, Two sorts which is likewise very good, yet the green of vitriol found in the gold mines exceeds the other; green and blew.  
and it is great pity that neither of them, no more than the most excellent Hurgarian antimony, found in these gold mines, is transported into foreign parts.

Passing forward we found on the sides of The Hur- the passage beyond this concavity a certain garian an- alerous substance, whereof I scrap'd off about timony half a pound with my fingers, and found the belt.  
it, as I came to the first region in my return, to grow hard and dry in the cold; and as it was not transparent, I judge it both by its colour and substance to be rather a sulphur than a vitriol. Such like veins of Vitriol are sometimes to be met with in the first region of the mountains, as well as those of sulphur, and even there always produce a certain degree of heat.

Having afterwards taken a good draught out of our mines of plate, we pass'd thro' several passages and concavities, which had afforded a considerable quantity of gold-oar for many ages past; the head miner told us, that where-ever it happens that a rich vein of gold or silver is stop'd (as it often is) by certain hard rocks (whether they are only interrupted or quite lost they distinguish by certain signs) they make use of a certain mathematical instrument; by which means, and the consulting of certain tables of inclinations, they judge unto what side of the mine the vein runs, and consequently which way they must trace it; an art not to be despised by the curious: I afterwards got A particu- lar instru- ment of the miners  
sight of such an instrument, made of brass, divided into certain circles, with divers needles touch'd by the magnet, like those in the sea compass.

Advancing still deeper and deeper, we heard the miners at work with their hammers and pick-axes, and coming soon after to them, we could not without a great deal of compassion look upon the misery of these poor subterraneous wretches, almost naked, working without intermission among the hard rocks, which they are sometimes forc'd The rocks made plia- ble by fire.  
to render tolerably pliable by strong fires, though the fire in these subterraneous places never breaks out into a flame, as it does upon the surface of the earth. We asked the poor labourers how they did in a place so much infected with the mineral spirits and exhalations; they answer'd, they did pretty well at present, but that when instead of a serene air, the weather was going to change into cloudy and tempestuous weather, they were much afflicted with more and grosser exhalations, arising from the inferior parts, which mixing with the air,

MERIN, did very much afflict their lungs, and stifled the light of their lamps. Nay, would of-  
 W the mines sometimes quite extinguish them; so that they were certainly the first and truest prophets of the imminent change of the weather.

the belt  
 prophets  
 of wea-  
 ther.

A thing well worth observation, which seems to agree with what has been asserted by us in another place, viz. That the vapours which produce the thick clouds, and smart showers of rains, are not generated in the superior region of the earth; but arise much deeper. And as these vapours do not ascend in such quantities, nor at all times, but only at certain intervals, it is reasonable to conjecture, that these extraordinary productions of the vapours descend in the various positions and aspects of the stars; and that therefore the ancients were not in the wrong, when they left to us certain rules to judge of the alterations of the weather by the influence of the planets.

Some rea-  
 son for a  
 astrology.

I asked them further, whether, whilst they are at work in these subterraneous solitary places, they did not now and then see some apparitions of spirits or demons: One of the miners answer'd, that he had seen sometimes such like demons in the shape of little negro boys, but that, besides the first fright and a little prattling to the miners, they never did them the least harm, tho' sometimes they would extinguish their lamps.

Subterra-  
 neous de-  
 mons.

I asked them at last, what it was they most fear'd in the mines? They reply'd an earthquake; for, said they, tho' the mines, by reason of their openings upwards, are not easily subject to these convulsive motions, yet in case the neighbouring earth be shaken by an earthquake, and the same be in the least communicated to the mines, they must of necessity totally overthrow them, by reason of their many concavities, and bring all that is in it under the ruins.

This mine is, of all the deep mines that ever I saw, the freest from waters, for some of them are much pester'd with them; as for instance those of *Schemnitz*, which being full of springs in the first region, the water from thence distills to the inferior parts, and there gathering into pools, is not without great labour and expence carried from thence, partly by means of bags made of the hides of oxen, and partly by long wooden pipes of fir-trees, a great number of men and horses being employ'd day and night, without light, in drawing of it up: These poor wretches are so hardly put to it with continual drawing, that in case the head miner finds them, by the increase of the waters, to have been negligent in their duty, they are miserably beaten, till they redouble their labour, to make an amends for what they have lost before.

Subterra-  
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Among these poor wretches I found two young *Polanders* of very good extraction working stark naked; seeing these unfortunate creatures in so much want in the midst of gold and silver mines, and fit objects of our charity, I gave them something at their request; for, tho' they are oblig'd every four hours either to ascend from, or descend into, the mines, they have no more than thirty or forty *Hungarians*, i. e. twelve or fifteen *French* *Sous* allowance per week; a poor salary indeed; and if they are discovered to embezzel the least thing belonging to the mines, they are sure to meet most severe punishment.

Among other things, I asked the head miner of the *Schemnitz* work, whether in digging in the mines they did not sometimes meet with some rivulets, pools or collections of waters? He told me, that hitherto they had met with none in the *Hungarian* veins, but that he believed they were now and then to be seen in other mines. He added that the springs arising so frequently on the surface of the mountains, were evident demonstrations of their having their sources in the subterraneous passages, to be like, in my opinion, the same rivulets we see above ground, as are to be met with in the great concavities of the high mountains; to wit, abundance of small rivulets and springs, gather'd by the continual droppings of water, that break out into several places, and meeting in the subterraneous channels, made by nature itself from the beginning, or opened by the force of the waters, produce those sources of rivers we see above ground: Or perhaps these waters being percolated thro' the porous parts of the earth, at last by the gathering of many small channels, turn into a considerable river.

Rivulets  
 under  
 ground.

It is by this means, I suppose, that the large and deep subterraneous river, which furnishes the famous well of the castle of *Charleville* with water, after it has run for a considerable time with a swift current very deep underneath the hollow secrets towards the west, turns at last into a considerable river, tho' it is unknown to this day where these waters discharge themselves at last. Perhaps these waters, as well as those of the sea and some rivers, may be swallowed up again by certain subterraneous passages.

I asked further, whether they had not observed any peculiar virtues in the waters thus distilling from the gold and silver oar? I was answer'd, that the miners were very 'fraid of drinking them, but whether they had any peculiar virtues, that they were not able to tell; but for my part, I can scarce persuade my self, that these subterraneous waters should not attract or retain some of these metals and other places they meet with in

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The castle  
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in their passage, just as the chymical liquors partake of the virtue of the medicines that are pass'd into them by way of infusion. Hence it is, that the virtues of some springs are known to us, whereas the true quantities of others remain hitherto undecided, by reason of the great variety of the metals, minerals and precious stones, the spirits whereof are communicated and mixed with these waters.

Upon this occasion I can't forbear to relate to you what hapned to me. A certain Hungarian nobleman, who was proprietor of the gold mine of *Wolfsau*, having presented me with some stones out of that mine, I took one of them, of about a pound weight, reduced into a small powder, and putting it into a glass alembick distill'd it out of the ashes: it produced about two ounces of a mineral water, of a most odoriferous scent, and extremely cordial, the like I never met before: The dregs I put into a crucible, which by a violent calcination produced about the value of half a ducat of gold, of twenty two *Carats*; besides a certain quantity of yellow flowers, not unlike a sulphur. When I considered the quantity of water produced out of a stone, and its odoriferous scent, I began to bewail the want of men of ingenuity in or near these mines, with whose assistance the virtues, which lie questionless hidden in these waters, impregnated with the spirituous substance of these metals and minerals, might be brought to light, for the benefit of mankind.

It also frequently happens that the subterraneous waters carry along with them the colour or tincture of the minerals through which they pass. Thus in the mines at *Neubensfel* you see a rivulet issuing out at the foot of the mountain as green as the vitriol it self contained in these copper mines,

which being convey'd from one receptacle *MERIN*. to another, they separate out of these waters, by this way of filtration, a considerable quantity of *Verdigreese*; but of these subterraneous waters I shall have occasion to treat more at large in a peculiar treatise of the secrets of generation; there, among other things, I intend to treat of the rise of these waters to the tops of the mountains.

But to return to the poor miners, in the *Sremnitz* mine: After we had taken a view of all the various turns and veins of gold, we came to the very bottom of the first passage, where they fill the leather bags with the oar, to be drawn up to the surface of the mountains. The head miner would have persuaded me to return back through this passage, but I excusing the matter, he went that way alone, leaving me to the management of his men, who conducted me thro' the same passage I came in. I asked him the reason why he would not go along with me; he told me that being much tired, and in a sweat, he durst not venture the sudden alteration out of the hot into the cold region of that passage, which I found true by experience; it being scarce to be imagined what effect this sudden change has upon a body covered only with a slight miner's habit, during the passage through the cold region of the mine; from whence we were no sooner got out, but we were welcom'd by ten or twelve miners, whose civilities we recompensed by a piece of money to drink our healths. Thus, with faces more like dead than living men, being conducted into the head miner's house, and well rubb'd with cloths before a good fire, we chang'd our cloaths, and being invited by the governor to partake of a dinner, he prepared a courie for such strangers as came to visit the mines, we took our leave both of the mines and the jolly company.

Singular  
virtues of  
the mineral  
waters.

An

*An Account of the Cape of Good Hope  
and the Hottentotes, the Natives of that Country,  
by William Ten Rhyne, Native of Deventry,  
Physician in Ordinary, and a Member of the Council  
of Justice, to the Dutch East-India Company ;  
with some Animadversions upon the same, by Henry  
Secreta a Zevorzit. Translated from the Latin  
Original, printed at Schaffhausen in Switzer-  
land.*

TEN  
RHYNE.

**T**HE ninth of *October* 1673. we sail'd with S. S. W. wind, steering our course S. E. we discover'd land at thirty two degrees, but foggy (as usually it is) as we approach'd the shoar ; and sounding the depth we found a hundred and twenty fathoms water. But whilst we were flattering our selves with hopes of coming to the so long expected shoar, the wind turning against us, to's'd us up and down, in the sea, till the thirteenth of the same month ; then sailing with a S. E. wind, we came to an anchor in a sandy bottom, in the bay of *Saldanba*, extending it self in form of a half-moon, and of a quite different position than what it is represented in the maps, either by the carelessness of the engraver, or ignorance of the author, having no other congruity with their description, except that the bay had a pointed kind of a promontory at both ends ; but the islands are neither so numerous nor of the same situation (differing four points in the compass) as they represent them, and appear under various colours. Being very desirous to refresh our selves after so long a fatigue, the captain and I and the factor, went ashore on this point of *Africa*, accompanied only by some few seamen that managed our boat ; casting about my eyes with a great deal of eagerness in this country, unknown to us before, I saw a vast ridge of mountains, which encloses the bay with many hanging rocks, which being well stor'd with divers sorts of plants, seem'd to imitate the *Hanging Gardens*, or *Semiramis*, or *Alcinoe*, and appeared to me like the *Elysian fields*, tho' in a desert : I gather'd a good quantity of these plants, in order to present them to our *Herbalists*. I was surpriz'd to see in this desert such a vast

Their arrival at the Cape of Good Hope.

The bay of Saldanba.

quantity of aloes, which, I believe, could amount to no less than some thousand pounds weight. Night made us return to our crazy ship, and as we were returning from the land, we observed the sea near the rocky shoar almost covered with haddocks ; being extremely satisfied we had escap'd this without the least danger, as having in full remembrance what happen'd to eight *Dutch-men* sometime before, who being employ'd in the pursuit of some sea-horses, were cut to pieces by the natives.

Being got safe aboard, we set sail the next morning again, with a fair N. W. wind, and passing by the *Dassen* islands, defended only by a small garrison ; it has got its name from the great number of sea-rabbits taken there, and produces some pasture for sheep.

The fourteenth of *October* towards evening, we came to an anchor, with a moderate gale from the south to west, and twenty three fathoms water ; the next day, viz. the fifteenth, the wind at N. W. we repass'd in sight of the *Rabbit* isle about eight leagues distant from our port on the *Cape of Good Hope*, eight from the *Dassen*, and about fifteen from the bay of *Saldanba*, according to the mensuration of the maps, having a high rock to be seen at a great distance ; there several exil'd prisoners were employ'd in burning of muske-shells, to make lime for the island. This isle produces abundance of *Chamelons*, lesser than those of the *Indies*, as also all sorts of insects, serpents, and spiders as big as a man's fist.

About four o'clock in the afternoon we discovered the table bay, having lost abundance of men in this voyage ; and being invited the next day to dine with the governor, as we were rowing towards the sandy shoar we were entangled among a vast

These are described by Mr. Rockford in his history of the African

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vast quantity of *Sea Alkaner*, commonly called *Brembastin* (a plant of that bigness that one single one would have filled our boat) a certain mark to those that approach the *African* coast near the *Cape of Good Hope*, as are likewise a certain kind of small whitish sea-gulls. Besides the many other reasons we had to be extremely delighted with the sight of land, after so tedious a voyage, the novelty of a place so little known among the ancients, did not a little raise our curiosity to make the best inquiry we could of this country. All what they say material upon this head tends only to this ; that a certain emperor coming from the *Mountains of the Moon* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, erected an empire here ; which being afterwards divided into four kingdoms were

known by the name of *Measopatu*.

TEN

I will not pretend to trace the whole foundation of their history, having confined my self to the narrow limits of a journal ; whether these nations owe their original to *Cham* the son of *Noah*, or to certain *Arabians* (the posterity of *Shem*) that pass'd into *Africk*, or whether some of the natives of *Africk*, grown numerous by degrees, and not able to subsist in such numbers in a barren soil, sent certain colonies to this uttermost point of *Africk* ; to trace, I say, these matters, being beyond our scope, we will not content our selves with giving you an account of their manner of living and commerce, after we have told you something of its situation and constitution.

# CHAP. I.

## Of the situation of the Cape of Good Hope.

THE promontory, known by the name of the *Cape of Good Hope*, is situated at the southernmost point of *Africk*. Its longitude, in respect of the streights of *Gibraltar*, is 39 degrees 25 minutes ; and its latitude, in respect of the *Hesperian Promontory*, or *Gourda'u* (known by the name of *Cape Verde*) 34 deg. 30 min.

It was first discover'd by *Vasco de Gama*, 1491. (by the encouragement of *John*, then king of *Portugal*) who met there nothing but cragged mountains, as high as *Olympus* it self, scarce producing any thing for the sustenance of human life : Those unfortunate wretches, who are obliged to inhabit here, having scarce any thing to feed upon, but what is produced with a great deal of pains, in a barren soil and very ill climate ; affording scarce any thing but brambles and briars, wherewith the mountains are cover'd on all sides. As there are few plains, so there grows but little corn ; the only plains of note are, that known by the name of *Babale Plain* (or the field of battle) being about three leagues in compass, and the other called, by the *Dutch*, *Buffle Vacht*, or the *Buffers Plain*, seated upon the ascent of a high mountain ; whether beyond that the country be plain or mountainous is not known hitherto.

The mountain that lies close by our part is call'd the *Table Mount*, from its flatness on the top, and serves for a guide to the mountaineers in those parts. Its height is reckon'd to be about five leagues. Certain it is (as I found by my own experience) that its ascent is very steep, for it cost me a hearty sweat before we came to the top of it ; being obliged to pass in my way up vast multitudes of various shrubs and plants,

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and among the rest saw a whole forest of the laky *Palmitre* (the roots wherof grew crosswise, like a net-work) extending it self in two branches to the foot of the mountain ; stor'd with prodigious numbers of baboons. In our return (towards evening) we were sadly pester'd, or rather frighted, with a kind of fiery meteor, which seem'd to move in the air like large sparks of fire ; I endeavour'd to catch them with my hands, but finding them not palpable, I was convinced that they were sulphurous meteors engender'd in the fens, not unlike the sulphurous excrement we see in the night-time pass thro' the air.

The next adjacent mountain is call'd the *Lyons Mount*, from the shape which resembles that beast, not from the roaring of the winds (like a lion) as *Mercator* would have it, who affirms, that this cape is subject to such frequent and terrible tempests, that nobody, unless in case of the highest necessity, dares to cast anchor her, whereas it is now sufficiently known, that this cape serves the *European* ships for a constant place of refreshment, and a safe port ; tho' it must be own'd, that this coast is much infested by storms.

Divers rivers are, as it were, the product of these mountains. The first is called the *Butter* river. (2.) The *Kaffernal's* river. (3.) The *Mountain* river. (4.) The *Endless* river ; it raises in the mountains, but its extent is unknown hitherto. (5.) The *Broad* river, extremely pleasant, by reason of the many delightful trees that stand upon its banks, but very shallow. (6.) The *Fenny* river ; all which have very clear, sweet and wholesome waters, their springs being purify'd by the heat of the climate.

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RYNE.

The Table  
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TEN RHYNE. The 1st of November we took a view of the company's garden, which furnishes the ships that come to anchor here, with all the East-Indies sorts of refreshments, where we saw whole walks and orchards of lemons, citrons and orange trees; parted by rosemary and laurel hedges, not inferior in height to most of our European trees. A pleasant brook having its rise at the foot of the adjacent mountain, waters this garden, and slides its current among the green hedges.

From hence casting my eyes towards the adjacent mountains, I could plainly discern (tho' at a considerable distance) the original cause of the south-east wind, which put me in mind of the mountains, where *Aeolus* is said to have his seat, and detain the winds in prison. For it is observable, that whenever thick clouds appear on and about the tops of the adjacent high mountains, they are the fore-runners of severe storms, which are more or less strong, according to the extent, thickness, or position of the clouds; of this I have taken frequent notice in the clouds, that us'd to arise upon the table-mountain, which were always follow'd by heavy and long tempests.

Thus, it is certain, that tho' the stars never vary in their course, they don't communicate the same quality to the air; it having been observ'd, that at the same time there blows quite another wind ashore, as there does at sea; nay, what is more, two or three different winds blow at once in different parts of the bay, all which must be attributed to the different position of the mountains, in respect to the several parts of the bay. Nothing is more common here, than to find a certain mountain near the table-mountain (called from thence the *Devil's Mount*) to be all over stormy, whilst the circumjacent country is blest with fair and calm weather.

Thence it is that I am verily persuaded, that in case our sailors would make more exact observations for the future, of the different effects of the various situation of places, our navigation might be founded upon more certain rules than now it is; which makes them have recourse to unknown causes, and the instability of the tides in certain places. For what other reasons can be alledged for these constant winds (called *Monsoons*) but the high mountains which are constantly cover'd with snow, it being certain, that these winds continue to blow whilst the snows are melting; that there being no other cause to be alledged in these places where the wind blows always from one corner, or changes but once a year, than the distinction of the mountains, or the annual concurrence of the sun. It must however be confess'd, that such spacious fenns,

the receptacles of vapours, may not a little contribute towards these winds.

Therefore our seamen would do well to observe the different constitutions and situations of places, with the same care as they do commonly the tides, or return and reflux of the sea, which vary according to the situations of the bays, havens, or capes; of this variation I had sufficient experience in our passage through the channel, betwixt the port of *St. Malo*, on the *French* shoar; and the isle of *Wight*, occasioned by a ridge of rocks near cape *La Hague*, on the coast of *Normandy*. But the discussion of this spinous question concerning these *Monsoons*, or certain variations of the winds, may not only depend (as well near home as in distinct places) from the sun's approach to, or removal from these parts, but also from the different seasons of the year.

But it is a much greater secret to know the true origin of the continual south-east winds, which blowing almost without intermission in divers parts of the world, and especially on the *Cape of Good Hope*; we may address our selves to *Oedipus* himself, to find out the different situations of the mountains in reference to the plains, which occasions these winds.

If \* *Descartes*, when he set up for a re-<sup>Philos.</sup> former of philology, had been convinc-<sup>Part 4.</sup> ed of these experiments, he would not have<sup>Sett. 49.</sup> been put to the trouble to have his whole<sup>And Isaac</sup> recourse to the moon; for, as the effects of<sup>Vossius de</sup> nature don't depend on general causes, so<sup>motu mar-</sup> it is with the tides, or flux and reflux of the seas, which cannot be truly explained in all its circumstances, by the hypothesis of *Descartes*; there being a vast difference betwixt these tides on the coast of *Genoa*, and on the coast of *Tuscany*; in the *Baltick Sea*, they are very different from both; and are most violent in the gulph of *Faquet*, in the channel near *Nova Francia*, or *New France*, and in the streights of *Babana* in the bay of *Mexico*. The same might be said of his hypothesis of the magnetick virtue, were it not that our purpose is confined to the description of the rivers, mountains, and other things worth our observation in this part of *Africk*.

About five leagues beyond our fort, is the *Salt-Bay*, having got its name from the vast quantity of salt that is digg'd near it, and therefore may rather be reckon'd of the kind of *stone-salt* than of *sea-salt*; it does not always keep the same figure; and tho' it be cut out of the ground in vast pieces, yet is it easily reduced to powder; it is generally white in the oar, though sometimes it proves blackish, but is soon whitened by the heat of the sun in the summer-season; it is somewhat more pungent than our common

The Devil's Mount.

mon salt, but nevertheless as proper for use.  
 Probl. Sec. Perhaps the experiment try'd in Aristotle's  
 23. Probl. time, might take place here with good suc-

cess; viz. That if you dig near the sea TEN  
 shoar, to meet at first with fresh water; and RHYNE.  
 if you dig deeper, with salt water.

## CHAP. II.

### Of the four legg'd beasts.

\* I have  
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 says Plin.  
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THESE mountainous desarts being  
 more adapted for wild ravenous beasts  
 than men, abundance of *lyons, elephants,*  
*rhinoceros, tygers, or rather panthers, wolves,*  
*elks, sea-borjes, \* wild borjes, buffaloes, wild*  
*boars, wild dogs, baboons, porcupines, bedge-*  
*bogs, lynxes, stags, badgers, otters, bares, and*  
*wild asses of a delicious colour, with white*  
*streaks all over their bodies; goats, wild*  
*goats, ewes, some finely spotted, some of*  
*an ash colour; buck goats which leap from*  
*rock to rock; wild dogs and wild cats like*  
*tygers; a certain kind of foxes, commonly*

call'd *jackalls*; and a few of these creatures  
 call'd by them *tamandua graca*, and by  
 the *Dutch, pismire-eaters*; † but are not † See  
 so big as those of *Brazil*. That a prodigi- *Marodon.*  
 ous number of these creatures harbour in *Hsp Quar*  
 these mountains, may be gather'd from *drus. 1. 6.*  
 thence, that a few huntmen belonging to  
 the governor of the fort, do take some-  
 times many thousand weight of them (espe-  
 cially of *sea-borjes* and *elks*) at once; a con-  
 vincing argument how much *Aristotle* was  
 mistaken, \* when he says, *Tbat Africk pro-* \* *Hist.*  
*duces no wild boars, no itags nor wild goats.* *Anim. 1.*  
 8. c. 13.

## CHAP. III.

### Of their birds.

\* See  
 Rocheford  
 lib. 1. cit.  
 P. 133.

OF birds, they have also vast numbers,  
 and of divers colours, viz. *ostriches,*  
*peacocks, cranes, black storks, herons, geese,*  
*bitournes, ducks, guinea cocks and hens, teal,*  
*selfares, cormorants, didappers, fen-ducks, po-*  
*chards, penguicks, partridges red and grey;*  
*pheasants, lapwings, nightingales, snipes, but*  
*these very small, owls, and millions of sea-*

*gulls, † martinet and swallows of various † Pliny*  
*colours, colybrides, birds that suck a certain* describes  
*knotted plant, not unlike a pelican (describ'd* these birds  
*by me elsewhere, as likewise by Mr. Roche-* erroneouf-  
*foot, and Mr. Maregrave.) The French call* out legg.  
*it Flamant, and the Dutch Flaniteen, af-*  
*the Portuguese; with various feathers stand-*  
*ing up an end.*

## CHAP. IV.

### Of their fishes.

THE sea and rivers of this cape, af-  
 ford also various kinds of fishes, viz.  
*sea-lions, sea-rabbets, a certain fish called*  
*Guapervas by the Brasilians, whales of a*  
*peculiar kind, called Uratapers, or snifishes,*  
*by the Dutch, lampreys, trouts, salmons,*  
*thornback, mussels, gillbeads, eels, and two*  
*different sorts of carps; the first kind is*  
*commonly known by the name of Hotten-*  
*tots-fish, because the natives extreemly de-*  
*light in it, they being of excellent taste,*  
*and covered all over with thick scales; the*  
*other kind is also a very delicious fish, cal-*  
*led Stone-broeksem. They have also a kind*  
*of fish like dogs, \* called Cassan by the*

\* See  
 Marc-  
 grave, l. 4.  
 c. 12.

*Portuguese, bristlers, lobsters, crab-fishes,*  
*crampfish, mussels, wrinkles, cuttles, and a-*  
*mong the rest, a certain fish call'd the*  
*Swimmerly Parepus, and Stautilus, by Pliny;*  
 but my design of keeping my self within  
 the limits of an epitome, will not permit  
 me to give you a particular account of all;  
 I will only add, that one day as I was walk-  
 ing along upon the very brink of the sea-  
 shoar, to examine the several products of  
 the sea, I did light upon some small crea-  
 tures sticking to the rocks very close, with  
 their feet, representing by the excretion of  
 their fibres, our *roses*, whence they are cal-  
 led by the *Dutch, Klipperjen* or *Roekrojes*.



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## CHAP. V.

## Of the insects or venomous animals.

THESE are numberless on the *Cape of Good Hope*; the most noted are *spanish-flies*, *butter-flies*, *glow-worms* and *locusts* of divers kinds; *cornworms* of divers colours, and *spiders* with many legs of the bigness of a man's fist; *ants* and *pismires* that bury themselves under the food they have gather'd; I saw whole millions of them in heaps on the mountains.

Their serpents here differ in bigness, shape, and venom; the vipers are as large again here as in *France*; *salamanders*, *scorpions*, long *ear-wigs*, *lizards*, and *toads*: discoursing one day with the governor of the fort, about these toads, and how surprized I was to observe them three times bigger than ours, with two long feet trailing behind, like *otters*; he shew'd me a certain sea-fish full of prickles, not unlike a toad, with long feet joyn'd to the outside of the belly; he told me that these did bring forth the toads, which I was sufficiently convinc'd of afterwards by my

own experience: I remember, that when I dissected one of these creatures, in the presence of the governor, I found its lungs very large, but the other like those of ordinary *toads* and *frogs*.

The rest of these kind of creatures either did not come to my sight, or, if they did, it was superficially, that in that short time I stay'd there, I could not take exact notice of them. To conclude, I am inclined to *Aristotle's* opinion, \* viz. That *Asia* produces the fiercest beasts, *Europe* the strongest, and *Africk* the most different kinds, which questionless has given birth to the proverb, *that Africk always affords some new thing or another*. For the want of fresh water in this hot climate, draws in the wild beasts in great numbers to the banks of the river; they copulate promiscuously, and so engender several new kinds. But this must be understood of the deserts of *Africk*, which otherwise is watered by many great rivers.

## CHAP. VI.

## Of their plants.

BUT as my genius did lead me more to the knowledge of plants, than any other thing to be met with here, I was very curious in examining such of them, as this (though otherwise barren country) produces in great plenty. Near the sea-shoar I met with abundance of the *Kali*, (a herb so highly esteem'd both among the ancients and modern authors) as I found in the vallies great store and variety of secret *broom-beats*, of divers sorts, of *sea-green*, *dog-onion* and *daffidil*, with heads of the bigness of an ordinary man's head; some whereof I have sent long ago into *Holland*; in the night they have a smell like the *geranium* or *storkbill*.

Among the mountains you find a certain tree here (more fragrant than all the rest) the wood whereof is so hard, that the *Dutch* have given it the name of *iron-wood*, but is used only for fuel. These mountains also produce whole woods of shrubs, abundance of *aloes*, and very good *scammony*; in the gardens they have your *Indian nightshade*, and a most delicious kind of *melons* (call'd erroneously *water-lemons*) by the

*Dutch*) affording the best refreshment in the world, to the ships that touch here in their passage to or from the *Indies*.

It is observable, that the *lower palmtree*, (called *Piram* by the *Malayans*, and *Armifas* by the *Arabians*) as well as the *coco-tree*, never bear blossom without, but only within the two *tropicks*; and that (if those who speak by experience may be credited) in those countries that are nearest to the equinoctial, they thrive best, and their fruits prove either lesser or bigger, according as they are nearer or more remote from the said equinoctial line, and decrease both in quantity and quality accordingly. Thus you find but few of these palm-trees, and those without fruits, on the *Cape of Good Hope*; and in *Bengale*, without the *tropicks*, the same pears and apples as we have in *Holland*, but no *coco* or *palm-trees*; but at *Melquetti* (a place in the kingdom of *Bengale*) and in *Persia* (near the *tropicks*) these trees grow, but bear no fruit except what is very insipid and dry, whereas, near the equinoctial, they prove larger and very juicy.

CHAP. VII.

Of the different seasons of the year.

THE cold does not exert its rigour here : hails are very rare, nor are the rivers congeal'd with ice : the greatest extremity of the winter scarce ever raising here beyond a white frost.

For you must know, that we have not four, but only two seasons of the year (as well as over the *Indies*.) The winter is one continued rainy season, as the summer is one unintermittent draught, but both accompanied with violent storms: for at the same time we enjoy the pleasantness of the summer heat in *Holland*, they are continu-

ally afflicted with rains here; and whilst the sun there approaches to the *equinoctial line*, it recedes from thence, on this cape, by a continual course.

As for instance, if you pitch upon a certain place in *Holland*, as *Amsterdam*, the *Cape of Good Hope* is 17 deg. 51 Min. beyond it in its latitude, but 11 deg. 30 min. beyond it, in respect of its longitude. For in *October* (the beginning of the summer here) when the trees cast their leaves in *Holland*, the fields and gardens begin to be cover'd with grafs and herbs.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Hottentotes, the native inhabitants of this country.

THIS name belongs to different nations. The first are called *Essequaes*, who claim the first rank, as well in respect of their number as of their stature (being like *Demi-Giants*) and strength, which is the reason that they will quarrel with the *Namaquaes*, their neighbours, upon the least occasion. They inhabit the inland country for one hundred and fifty leagues, as far as it is known to us; they don't care to engage with us for fear of our fire-locks: for the rest, they live after the same manner as the other inhabitants on the *Cape of Good Hope*. Our governor of the fort sends yearly certain persons among them, with some tobacco and some brass toys, which they exchange with them for cattle.

The second are the *Namaquaes*, who have this particular to themselves, that, whereas the other inhabitants cover their privities with fox or goat-skins, these make use of baskets, made of elephants teeth, for the same purpose. Their bucklers are proof against the strongest arrows. The third are the *Souffas*, living most after the same

manner as the *Hottentotes* under our jurisdiction. The fourth, the *Sonquas*, who having been (for just occasions) despoiled of their cattle, by our country-men, have ever since dwell'd in the woods, and lived by hunting. Fifth, next to these dwell the *Gregoriques*; and next to them, sixth, the *Honnimas*, with whom we are always at enmity, by reason of the divers murders committed by them upon our country-men. Their chieftain, named *Honnimas*, was then very aged and lame, but a stout fellow. Seventh, those who inhabit next to the tent, and are conversant there, we make use of as auxiliaries against the other *Barbarians*; their chieftain's name is called *Claes*, and his lieutenant captain *Cuyper*, both bold and brave soldiers. I have often seen them with their ragged crew at their heels; and they scarce ever appear without an attendance of six or seven servants, yet would the last never refuse a piece of tobacco when offer'd him which I us'd to do now and then, and to discourse with him in *French*.

CHAP. IX.

Of their neighbours.

IT'S unknown hitherto, what sort of people borders upon the country of the *Hottentotes*; for what some have related of the *Negroes* (commonly called *Cassirs*) is founded only upon hearsay. Thus I remember, that one of our corporals being sent out with six soldiers to view the utmost borders of the *Hottentotes*, told us that some of these *Hottentotes* (whose names were not

heard of as yet among us) had informed him, betwixt them and the said *Negroes* was a very broad river, which they us'd to pass in small canoes or boats, made out of the trunks of large trees hollow'd out, for the exchange of their commodities. But the *Hottentotes* have no settled limits amongit one another.

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## C H A P. X.

*Of the shape and make of their bodies.*

**A**S all mankind has a certain instinct or inclination (besides the disposition depending on his native country) so it is next to a miracle, that during so many ages, each nation has retained certain lineaments or features, which, as they are infallible signs of their dispositions, so they shew a vast difference betwixt several nations.

The *Hottentotes* being very much sunburnt, have generally a tawny skin, though some of them have a tolerable white skin; but blackness is the greatest beauty among them; for the rest they either strew a certain earth, of various colours, upon their heads, or mix the same with suet, and so besmear their hair and faces, which they look upon as a singular ornament; for there is a certain mountain here, which furnishes them with materials for divers colours, which, if rightly manag'd, would turn to a good account.

As many as I ever had opportunity to see, appear'd to me slender and tall, shap'd with strong knotted joints, and well set, with flat noses (such as most *Africans* and *Asiatics* have) and bended fore-heads; large thick lips, curl'd hair, woolly and cut or shav'd in different figures. They appear for the most part naked, having only a piece of leather, like an apron, hanging down before from their breasts.

The women are distinguish'd from the men by their deformity, being generally round shoulder'd, and have this peculiar, among all other nations, that out of their

privities you see two labels hanging down, like part of a man's yard (as now and then some of our *European* women are subject to the relaxation, or hanging out of the *Clitoris*) of these they are so proud, that if a stranger happens to come into one of their cabbins, or huts (call'd *Kralles*) they will take aside the leathern apron, and shew them to the stranger. I remember that one of our surgeons opening the body of one of those women, that had hang'd her self, found these protuberancies quite relaxed and hanging below her privities; two nipples in one of her breasts, and divers stones in her cawl. Upon this occasion our governor of the fort told us, that he had a stone taken out of one of the testicles of a man, which being as bright as a crystal he had it set in a ring; but one of the *Negro* kings being very desirous to have it, because he look'd upon it as a great antidote, he had presented him with it; which seems to intimate, that scarce any part of our bodies are without stones. They have this common with the *Negroes* and *Egyptians*, that as they anoint themselves with oil, so these do with grease, especially their heads, upon which they strew the ashes of a certain herb, commonly call'd by them *Boucbou*, an office that belongs here to the wives to perform to their husbands. They slit their ear-lips cross-wise, in which they wear a piece of tobacco-pipe, and the better fort ear-rings or coral.

## C H A P. XI.

*Of their garments.*

**T**HE use of woollen cloaths is not known among them, though they are now and then pinch'd with cold, against which they preserve themselves with ox and sheep skins, or of wild beasts. This garment, both of the gentlemen and plebeians, is nothing else but a leathern vest, reaching down to their knees (call'd by them *Karos*, and used instead of an under-bed) the only thing to defend themselves with against the cold. These are made sometimes of cows or sheep skins, sometimes of panther or goat skins, with this difference only, that the common people cover their privities with a piece of ox skin, the gentlemen do it with the skin of an otter. In this point they seem to follow the foot-steps of

*Hercules*, who whilst he dwelt upon earth, and convers'd among nations, never made use but of one single skin for his garment, and one club. During the rainy season, they wear on their heads a kind of hat, or peaked cap, of leather, fitted close to their foreheads, and reaching down below their eyes. About their necks they hang a pouch, wherein they keep the head of their arrows, and sometimes their tobacco. Their arms, both above and below the elbow, they adorn with rings of elephants teeth, on which sometimes they fasten their pouches. For the rest, they appear naked, except that some few wear a kind of bullocks hides under their feet, which in case of necessity are boil'd or broil'd, and serve them for food.

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The women's vests, as well as their aprons (which cover their privities) are made of sheep skins, they being more solicitous to cover the same in publick than the men. On their heads they wear such another peak'd cap, like the men's shoes they never use, and instead of stockings wrap about their legs some dry osier, or dry'd guts, or perhaps the shreds of a bullock's hide.

The chief ornament they delight in most is, to shave the hair of their head. (like

as we do our shagged dogs) into several figures of their fuller half-moon or stars. On their foreheads they wear coral-beeds, notch'd shells, brags money, the bones of cows, twisted hair, &c. All, unless those that are very poor, have about their necks collars or necklaces of coral, glass or brass beads, which they exchange with the Dutch for their cattle. About their elbows they commonly wear rings of ivory, and about their breasts bracelets of brags.

## CHAP. XII.

### Of their dwelling.

THEIR dwellings are only little huts (call'd *Krallen*) for as they are forc'd to change their dwelling places, for the better conveniency of feeding their cattle, in a desert place, so they cannot have any fix'd habitations. These cabbins have but one entrance, arch'd on the top; the coverings and walls being made of the leaves of the *African Sword Grass* (the head whereof they make use of instead of bread) twisted so closely together as to keep out the most severe rains and cold. The largest posts, rafters and lathes, are made of the boughs or twigs of trees. Every man digs a hole in his hut, wherein he throws a sheep skin to wrap himself in, which serves instead of a bed, wherein he is laid in the same posture as a child in the womb; the wife lies in another hole next to his side.

In the huts they now and then entertain fourteen or fifteen persons at once; they commonly rank them on the hills in the fields, or near the banks of the rivers, among the trees, in a kind of circle or enclosure, at five or six paces distance from one another, wherein they preserve their cattle, rather against the attempts of the wild beasts than an enemy.

When they are to change their habitations, the captain gives them the signal by a great fire; the women manage all the household-stuff and other utensils, which they put in leathern bags, and carry them upon their shoulders; the huts they load upon the backs of the oxen, which serve for the same use when their husbands go in to the wars to carry their baggage.

## CHAP. XIII.

### Of their household-stuff.

TO give your self the true idea of their household-stuff, you must call to mind the primitive ages, when *Crates*, of *Thebes*, gave all he had to the people, changing the most pleasant gardens, and well peopled towns, for a fatchel and staff, the only equipage belonging to the *Cynicks*, and now to the *Hottentotes*, who in this point tread exactly in the footsteps of *Diogenes* and *Antisthenes*; these inconsiderable implements being by them in as much esteem as the imperial robes to an emperor, a crown to a king, the mitre to a bishop, or the augural staff to the ancient toothfayers; and as *Diogenes* (when he was contending with the great king of *Macedon*, about the greatness of his empire) gloried in

his bag and staff, instead of the other's scepter and thrones, so these *Hottentotes* are absolutely contented with their mean condition. However, they make use of drinking cups, of shells gather'd on the sea-shoar, or of tortoise-shells, after they have eaten the flesh; they call them *Sivigoes*, and roast them in the ashes, or exchange them for tobacco; for want of these they drink fair water out of their hands, like as the *Cynick* did. Their meat they dress sometimes, by roasting it, upon a tile, sometimes under the ashes, and oftentimes eat it raw; some of the better sort use earthen pots and vessels, or pieces of trees hollow'd, in which they put their meat.

## CHAP.

## C H A P. XIV.

## Of their genius and temper.

**T**HEIR innate barbarity, their idle and solitary life, join'd with the want of knowledge and true virtue, makes them prone to all manner of vices, as levity, inconstancy, lust, deceits, perfidioufness, and most shameful debaucheries. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to exercise their cruelties upon their vanquish'd enemies, after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcases; they are so much addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another; and as in reference to their chastity they have quite abandon'd the foot-steps of their ancestors, in the time of *Scipio the African*; their lasciviousness is always accompany'd by the most unaccountable slothfulness; for they neither sow nor reap, neither trouble themselves about what they shall eat or drink the next day, but wallowing almost in their own dirt; therefore if you have occasion to employ any of them, you must take them when they are hungry, and be sure to perform your promise. Their inordinate way of living and lust, makes them grow old before their time, and makes their bodies grow crazy and weak; and as they keep no regular account of their age, so nothing certain is to be determined of the length of their lives; for what their disorderly way of living takes from them on one side, their forc'd sobriety (for want of necessaries) makes amends for on the other hand, living for the most part upon herbs; however it is, the general opinion is, that scarce ever any of them live above a hundred years.

They are so greedy of tobacco, from their cradles, that children before they come to the age of eight months (as I have often seen my self) smoak it; and most of them (tho' otherwise tame enough) will work a

whole day for a piece of this weed.

As they look upon the women as despicable creatures, so they are not allow'd to eat any beef or fresh milk, but only mutton, and that very sparingly; they are, nevertheless, nice in their palate, and remember a great while what has pleas'd them or not; for the rest, they live without fear, contented with their own, whether they be rich or poor in cattle.

Among all these vices, they retain one good quality, that is, if one of their neighbours has, by mischance, lost his own cattle, they will stock him again, perhaps with a calf and a sheep. They are not easily removed from their own opinion; gold and silver they don't value at the same rate as other men do; for where there is no use, there is no greediness after money; and ignorance of vice is more prevailing than all the precepts of virtue; an instance, that a mild climate often produces very rugged spirits, tho' they are very crafty with all their ignorance.

Whilst I tarried here, I had the opportunity to talk sometimes with three women of the *Hottentotes*; one named *Eve*, was a civil person, and would discourse very rationally; as she was well versed in the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* languages, so I learned from her diverse secrets relating to this nation; the second, named *Cornelia*, being turn'd christian, and married to a *Dutch* surgeon, did lead a very scandalous life, and therefore was several times banished the fort; the third, named *Sarah*, was the same I told you before to have been dissected by our surgeon, having hang'd her self, because a curst *Dutchman* had debauch'd her, under pretence of marriage, but left her afterwards.

## C H A P. XV.

## Of their manners.

**A**S these barbarous pagans live without laws, so they only follow their instinct without controul. Their manner of sitting is just like the posture of a child in the womb, bending their heads betwixt both knees, which they embrace with their arms. They despise the female sex; mourn three days for their deceased friends, which both

sexes spend in terrible howlings and lamentations, about the huts of the deceased. They bury their dead in a hole under ground, and cover it with a stone. In copulation they choofe to perform it from behind, the woman lying upon one side, something higher than the men, scarce differing in this point from the brutes.

## C H A P.



C H A P. XVI.

*Their way of living.*

AS nature prompts them to luxury, so their poverty forces them to temperance; hence it is, that they have no varieties at their tables; but instead of bread, make use of the *suord-grafs* \* which the women dig out of the *fenns*, for the women take all the pains here, they provide food, they look after the house or hut, and after the cattle, &c. Upon any extraordinary occasion, of a wedding, lying-in of a woman, or such like, they will perhaps kill an ox, a sheep (if they can't light upon such venison) for to entertain their friends; † the leaves of the *sea-green* of different kinds, are also much in use among them; for the rest they feed upon cows and sheep's milk, which the women gather early in the morning, and make very good butter of it. They flea a bird with feathers and all, then turning the skin with the feathers upward, they tie it to a stick or cane, and therewith stir the milk, till the serous part of the milk is separated from the oleagenous substance; the butter-milk they eat, and sometimes wash their hands with.

\* Of this there are divers sorts described in another treatise.

† Call'd wild figs by the Dutch.

Cheese they neither love, nor know how to make; their ordinary liquors for ordinary drinking, are milk and water; they

feed upon no fishes but what have scales, and consequently no eels, nor any of the testaceous kind, such as oysters, &c. The fish they most delight in, is a certain sweet kind of *bream* \* with very thick scales; \* Call'd they are all, without distinction of age or sex, the *Hottentotes* such admirers of tobacco, that, tho' they are at variance with one another, they will hand about the tobacco-pipe without exceptions.

This country produces a certain kind of *African arva* root (or *lake stobbin*) of so venomous and corroding a quality, that it not only bites upon, but also blisters the tongue. These *Hottentotes* have a way of separating the pernicious sulphur by the fire, which binds the volatile corroding salt; and thus to render it fit for food: The *bedge-bogs* (which are strangely shaped here) mightily delight in this root; they not only feed upon the dry'd and powder'd skins of beasts (after they have used them a considerable time instead of shoes) but also upon excrements mixed with some other things; this they do without the least distinction of civility, not excepting even their king, the head of a crew of miserable beggarly wretches, as almost all the *Negroes* are.

C H A P. XVII.

*Their manner of making war.*

Nothing is more barbarous than this country, where the rugged climate, and rocky mountains seem to have produced men of their own kind, who applying all their thoughts to mischief and fraud, are of a far different temper from the *Europeans*, being very prone to quarrel, or to beguile a man upon very frivolous occasions. Their arms (besides the leathern jacket which serves instead of a shield) are bows and arrows; these are of two sorts, for these call'd by them *Affigaves*, are a kind of dart which they know how to manage with such dexterity, that at forty paces distance they will exactly hit the mark: The other is a kind of a javelin, which throwing twice or thrice round their heads, they strike with vast strength into their enemies. They have a way of poisoning these weapons in the following manner: They take a viper or some other venomous serpent; which being enraged, they put the point of the weapon into its mouth, and tie it for fear of falling out; this done, they, to encrease the virulence of the poison, cut off the head of the

viper, under whose jaws the bladders, which are the reservatories of the poison, lie conceal'd; this poison may be taken without danger, but if communicated by the sting of the creature, is mortal, as many of our people have found to their cost. The best remedy against it is, to beat the affected place with a small stick, and afterwards to suck it.

Their chief strength lies in a surprise; having been taught by the lions (which are very numerous here) that it is safest to appear without their lurking holes in bad weather; when our fire-arms are generally out of order, they follow their foot-steps, and lurking among the woods, send their darts from thence among our people; but if they happen to meet them in clear weather, and in the open fields, they set a huge cry, and immediately retreat to the woods, or thorny hills, from whence they may fight at a distance, by the help of their bows and arrows.

If they happen to be much superior in number, they fall on with terrible cries, like

TEN like mad-men ; but notwithstanding the RHYNE inequality of their number, they seldom care to come in reach of our fire-arms, whereas if they engage with their own country-men, they will press upon one another : I think it may justly be apply'd to the *Hottentotes* what *Florus* says of the *Gauls*, viz. *That their souls are as fierce as the wild beasts, and their bodies beyond the bulk of men ;* but that it had been found by experience, that as at the first onset they fell on with a more than man-like courage, so if once repulsed, they retreat like women. It seems, as if their bodies, bred among the cloudy mountains, had retained some resemblance to the snow, which melts with the least heat ; as their fierce and barbarous inclinations seem to have a relation to the rocks and woods they inhabit.

Their leaders or chieftains, they call

captains, being not distinguished from the rest by their arms, except that his staff has two knobs, and his vest is somewhat cleaner than the common soldiers ; but he never appears abroad without five or six old fellows, who are supposed to be his advisers upon all occasions, as the *Romans* committed the management of arms to the younger fort, but chose the senate out of the elders.

We were at that time engaged in a war with one of their captains, named *Honomai*, because our forces had, not long before our arrival, taken from them above two thousand oxen and cows, besides sheep ; and we were at that time bringing our auxiliaries into the field, under captain *Claes* and *Cuyper*, to attempt a second irruption. Their wives they employ upon messages, and if any of them are taken prisoners, they are dismiss'd without a ransom.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### Their way of trafficking.

AS all their riches and substance consist in their cattle, this is the only commodity they exchange with our people. Commonly the governor of the fort sends a doctor or two accompany'd by some soldiers, and provided with good store of *Virginia* tobacco, or rather of the black and worse sort (which they esteem most) with some beads of coral, glass or copper, and some quantity of *aquavite* (whereof they are great lovers) which they purchase for their oxen, sheep, and sometimes for several panther skins. Their way of exchange is thus : Our merchants, offer a piece of tobacco, of about two spans in length for an ox or a sheep, always adding a piece by little and little ; (a custom always observed among them, without which they think themselves not oblig'd to the bargain :) at last they will ask also a certain quantity of *aquavite*, the value whereof must be deducted from the quantity of tobacco, which they value less by a fourth part at least ; but at the first meeting our factors always present them with a piece of this weed, which they seem to retaliate by a present of a sheep ; by this means they exchange sometimes a hundred or two hundred oxen (besides sheep) at one time. Our governor sends his factors no more than once a year to the *Essequas*, to make them the more eager after the tobacco ; they commonly present our factors with the best mutton at their meeting. But care must be taken not to

let these barbarians see your whole stock, for fear of being kill'd by them, upon that account ; as was likely to have happen'd to some of our people, who were in great danger of being all slain by the brother of the king of the *Essequas*, had they not been forewarn'd of the danger. by the old king himself, whose son now reigns, and lives in a good correspondence with us. But they never exchange a white ox cow (following perhaps in this point, their ancestors, the *Egyptians*, who worshipp'd *Isis* under the shape of a cow) which being among them like our bell-weather ; it is thus constantly wish'd, that the great captain (meaning God) may bless them with a white ox.

The ordinary meeting places of these merchants are. (1.) Near the horse-guard, placed upon our utmost borders. (2.) At the pits near the river, the boundary of the *Hottentotes* country under the *Dutch* jurisdiction on that side. (3.) On the other side of the mountain, in the same part of the country. (4.) Near the *Hafferbutts* river. (5.) Near the *leak-butts*. (6.) Near the *butier* river. (7.) At the *endless* river. (8.) Near *Jacob Ragen's* tree. (9.) Near the *geese-butts*. (10.) Near the *broad* river. (11.) At the *paradise*, a place so call'd from its pleasant situation, but wants good springs, because the water is tainted therabouts with a white clayish mixture. The 12th and last, is near the *budsel-bay*, about a hundred and thirty six leagues from the fort.

## CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

*Their manner of dancing.*

THEY delight so much in dancing, or rather skipping, that their chief religious ceremonies seem to consist in the activity of their bodies; for, when they see the moon rising, they meet together; and whilst the men strike all at once their feet against the ground, by turns with a very grave air, the women clap their hands, and sing certain tunes to them. If they happen to look into a looking-glass in one of our houses, they are so delighted with their own shape (*Narcissus* like) that they fall a dancing, and seldom leave off till they drop down (quite tired) upon the floor; as I have often observed in a certain *Hollendale*, who was a servant in our lodgings.

CHAP. XX.

*Of their religion.*

AS brutish and barbarous as this nation is, yet are there among them some few foot steps of the knowledge of a *supream being*; for whenever they see the heavens covered with black clouds, when it thunders or lightens, you shall hear them say, *The great captain is angry*; and if they have kill'd any of our people, and dread our revenge, they will say in broken *Dutch*, *What shall we do? The Dutch-men (say they) will kill us: But if they kill me, I will go directly to our great captain, who will make me a present of white oxen.* Thus when it

is a very serene day, they say, *Our great captain will present us with white oxen.* For the rest, they seem to agree with the ancient *Egyptians*, and other pagans in this point, that they look upon the *sun* and *moon* as Gods; \* for they adore the *sun* by gazing \* See *Pliny* upon it stedfastly at rising and setting; *some*, <sup>to in Cratylus and Pliny, l. 1.</sup> times they will sit down near the river side and throw abundance of little balls of clay <sup>c. 8.</sup> into the water, which, they say, they do in honour of the *sun*: The *moon* they worship with dancing, as we told you before.

CHAP. XXI.

*Of their magistrates.*

THERE is not a village or plantation of huts so inconsiderable, but that has its own *prefect* to acknowledge the captains for their superiors, who are the *supream* governors of their respective nations; the *Ellequas* being the only people that are ruled by a king. All things are govern'd

according to their pleasure, none of their subjects ever daring to attempt the least thing against the commands of their captains. When they are to change their habitations, the *prefects* give the signal, but in case of a marriage, they must obtain leave of their captain.

CHAP. XXII.

*Of their peculiar laws and customs.*

THO' these barbarians are not restrain'd either by any written law or fear of God, they by a blind instinct follow the customs of their ancestors: Thus, if a woman happens to bring forth twins, a male and female, they immediately kill the last, differing in this from the *Scythians*, who kill'd all the males among the *Amazons*; and from the ancient *Carthaginians*, who us'd to sacrifice male children alive to *Saturn*.

They cut out one of the testicles of all their male children, immediately after they are born, to make them run with the more swiftness. The women cut as many

joints off their fingers, as they have had husbands, beginning with the first joint of the little finger; They allow of polygamy, like the *Mabometans*: Their industry (such as it is) is founded only upon their inclinations, without any legal compulsion. They know no other punishment of murder, but the revenge of the friends of the deceased, who never cease to pursue the murderer, till they have found him out, and then beat him with their clubs, and at last kill him with their javelins, nay, frequently exercise their cruelties upon their dead bodies. Other crimes, as adultery, theft, and such like,

TEN like, are made good by way of retaliation. RHYNE. They have one peculiar custom, if a young lad happens to fall sick, they kill a fat ox, which they feast upon, but the paunch and other entrails they hang about the patient's

neck, till being putrify'd, and falling off of course, they must be devour'd by some old man or other. Their successions are limited by the ordinary law of inheritance, especially among the *Essequas*.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*Of their marriages.*

SUCH as have an intention to marry together, having obtained their parents consent, apply themselves to their captain, who giving his consent, they marry at pleasure, tho' sometimes all their subsistence consists only in a club, an ox to carry their hut upon, a milch cow, and perhaps ten or twelve sheep, some whereof certainly are kill'd for the wedding feast. The richer fort marry as many wives as they think fit,

and in case of dislike, divorce themselves. These commonly kill two or three oxen, and a many sheep for the feast; the flesh, after it is parted from the skin, they expose a little in the air, and then boil it in its own fat in their earthen pots, the guts being roasted in the ashes; they treat their friends with these dainties, and spend the day merrily, according to their own way.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Of the education of their children.*

WHEN their child-bearing women have an easy labour, they manage all the natural ligaments with sufficient skill, and without much difficulty; but in case they are afflicted with a hard labour, they make use of a certain herb, endow'd with the virtue of expelling the fruit; the true name or knowledge of which I could never learn from them, neither by entreaties nor promises, they alledging that they were strictly forbidden to discover it. Their time of lying in is soon over, and they bring up their babes after a very ugly manner; for after they have kept them about two or three

weeks at home, without any swathing clouts, they tie them to their backs; and at four months of age they begin to smok tobacco, and in four months more they put them upon their feet; then they have a jacket given them (as I have been informed by some who lived five years there.) At the age of eight or nine years, they begin to be accustom'd to the use of arms; their parents generally affix a piece of meat to a post, which they must hit with their arrows before they are permitted to eat the least victuals.

## C H A P. XXV.

*Of their handicraft trades.*

YOU may as well look for jewels in a hog-sty as artificers among this barbarous generation; however, they have a kind of taylor among them, who sew their skins (their ordinary apparel) with needles of iron (for, as I am informed, they have very good mines of that metal) or ivory, their thread being nothing but the twisted nerves of beasts. And considering that they shave their heads in divers figures, it is manifest, that besides taylor and barbers, they are also artificers in iron-work; these are the

main things they glory in with so much self-conceit, that when I once shew'd one of their captains a very well-wrought watch, and shew'd him the use thereof, he told me, *That questionless the Hottentotes could make such another.* They have also a certain musical instrument, of the same shape and use as our pipes. Some of them pretend also to magick, and would make us believe, that they can draw the fish to the bait with the sound of their pipes.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*Of their physick.*

I F we are obliged to the brutes for the discovery of several wholesome remedies; as to the dogs for emetics, to the Egyptian

bird *Ibis* for clysters, for phlebotomy to the sea-horse, for the use of ditany or garden ginger to the goats, of the swallow-wort to the

swallows,

swallows, of fennel to the roots of the narrow small root leav'd plantain, the toads, of the rue to the weasel, of the reganium to the flork, of the ground-ivy to the white bear, and of the use of the artichoke to the pig; what wonder is it, if these *Hottentotes*, tho' never so brutish, have their own way of curing distempers; I don't say all distempers, but like *Podalinus* and *Macbaon*, in the *Trojan* war, who were chiefly employ'd about surgery, if we may believe *Celsus*. See *Homers* *Suction* and *Unction* are two chief, if not the only remedy us'd among the *Hottentotes*; their main dread being from the poison of arrows or venomous beasts: If they are wounded by them, they beat the afflicted part with a small stick, till it be deprived of all sense; then they scarifie and suck it till the blood follows. This way of curing (which *Severinus* in his *chirurgery* recommends as efficacious) is different, according to the different natures of the poison, and according to the different continuance of the beating and suction, it being certain that the scorpions, who are not so venomous here as in *Spain*, *Italy* and *France*, don't sting so deep as the creature they call the *Thou-sand-feet*. If you squeeze his tail just above the sting, it emits a bright drop out of his crooked sting, unless he has stung some body not long before, which is not much more hurtful than the sting of our bees; his sting is not very soon replenish'd with the poisonous matter, and when he stings it is as if you were touch'd by a stone; but the *thou-sand-feet* being very corrosive, communicate very sharp poison: Of the vipers we have

had occasion to speak before. If the wound proves malignant, or there be the least suspicion of a gangreen, they cut it out with the sharp points of their arrows; and if it has infected a member, they cut it off immediately. All contusions they cure by unctions (with beef or mutton suet, for want of any other ointment) afterwards scarifie the part and suck it till they draw the blood thro' the skin. The rheumatism they cure in the same manner, except that they expose the part (after it is well anointed with the suet) before the fire, that the particles thereof may force out the moribidick matter, by their being attenuated before the fire, and then they go to sucking. Among the vegetables they are acquainted with very few physical plants but those of the best, which as I told you before, I cannot learn from them at any rate. This makes me admire how some can boast of I know not what secrets they have attained to among so treacherous a generation as the *Hottentotes*. They have a way of curing the colick by a certain aromatick root, almost in instant. They also stamp a kind of date (as I suppose) called by them *dacha*, which they afterwards make into a paste, and being dry'd in the sun, use it as most of the *Mahometans* do the *anison* or *opium*, and has the same effect upon them. They never cut the navel strings of new born children, but only tie it close till it falls of itself. This is all I was able to learn of a certain woman of the *Hottentotes*, the rest being so cunning as not to discover any thing of this nature.

## CHAP. XXVII.

### Of their language.

IF you should hear them speak, or rather chatter, in their own dialect, you would certainly believe, that you were gone back to the *Pythagorean* age, when the birds used to converse together, by way of discourse; it being certain, that their speaking is only an inarticulate noise, and no real voice, every word ending with a kind of whistle, by the tongues clapping so close to the palate; whence some have judg'd, that by this shrill noise, occasion'd by the touching of the palate, they did express their vowels, whereas they pronounced the consonants much lower in the throat, and framed them together by drawing together their lips in an orbicular figure. Certain it is, that they can't converse with any other nation in their own language; for all the time that the *Dutch* have been settled here, there was never yet one *European* who could attain to any perfection in their lan-

guage, tho' many of the *Hottentotes*, that dwell near the fort, have learned a kind of broken *Dutch*, differing from ours chiefly in the termination of words, which commonly end in *kom*, as *tabakkom*, *tabacco*, *kortom*, a shore or portion, *borom*, to bear. As they are but barren in roots, or original words, so they abound in *epithets*: Thus they call all sorts of birds *courcour*, with the addition of a proper *epithite*; as for instance, *camma courcour*, a water-fowl, whether it be a duck, a cormorant, or sea-gull; *sickom* (a belgicifin, such as they frequently use among them) *courcour*, a young bird; *gratom courcour*, a large bird, by which, however, in a strict sense, they understand the *ostrich*. They have also learn'd some words by their former correspondence with other nations; as for instance, from the *English* the words *doggues* signifying a dog.



TEN

RHYNE. The original Hottentote words, which occur at present to my memory, are,

Onkay, a Dutchman; gamma, a lion; aqua, a horse; ouka, a wolf; nabba, a rhinoceros; goedi, a sheep; boeba, an ox or cow; debilita, heifers; sirigoes, tortoises; dacha, the name of an hypnotick plant; dimi, honey; chou, air; ecy, fire; kou, thunder; doudou, the road; ey, glass beads; equa, wood; kiny, a club; fou, a pot; bouchou, the ashes of plants.

Some corrupt Dutch words, are,

Boemakem goet, gun-powder; boebaisibi-er, milk; karos, a vest or waistcoat; kral-

len, a hut or cabin; and many more of the same kind.

Of their numbers.

Cui, one; tem, two; nona, three; acka, four; corro, five; guicbi, six, &c.

These they multiply by the addition of others, by joining them with other words, which if they should be heard by any foreigner, he will be ready to confess, as well as I, that they are so odd as not to be describ'd in writing.

William Ten Rhyne.

## A Draught of the Streights of Gibraltar,

WITH

Some Observations upon the Currents there-  
unto belonging.

By Captain RICHARD BOLLAND.

July 24. 1675.

BOLLAND.

WE weigh'd anchor out of Tangier bay near eight in the morning, the wind at S. S. W. off the shore, very moderate; before ten, the tide of ebb then setting to the westward, had drove us down the length of Jews river; which having observ'd, that I might something more improve my judgment on the tides and currents in these parts, I then produced this draught of the Streights mouth of Gibraltar, which I had drawn some time before, having often cross'd over from the one shore to the other, as also anchor'd several boats half a league distant from one another, that they have reach'd one third of the channel over, having on board of each of 'em watches for time, logs to inform the turning of the tide, and several other conveniences proper for those observations; by which means I gain'd some experience how the tides set, their time and distance from the shore, as also where the current, which has its constant indraught into the streights, if extremes of wind occasion no alteration,

does commence from the tides. Having thus gather'd these collections, I drew this draught, as 'tis here demonstrated at large, and calculated the tables thereupon placed, which are for every day in the moon's age, that is, from full to change, and from the change to the full; so that looking upon these tables, you are inform'd, at all times, when the tides flow to the eastward, and ebb to the westward, upon both shores. Our ship having thus drove contrary to our course, that day being the twelfth of the moon's age, I found in the table for the setting upon the African shore, that the tide began to flow to the eastward at 10 a-clock and 21 min. By this time the wind sprang up fresh easterly, and increas'd so furiously that we were forced to reef our top-sails, having now the advantage of the tide: here the current in the middle, as also the tide upon the Spanish shore, which began that day to flow to the eastward at 11 of the clock and 16 minutes. Thus happen'd the time so opportunely, that standing the nearer both the shores was the greater advantage, making no more than three boards,

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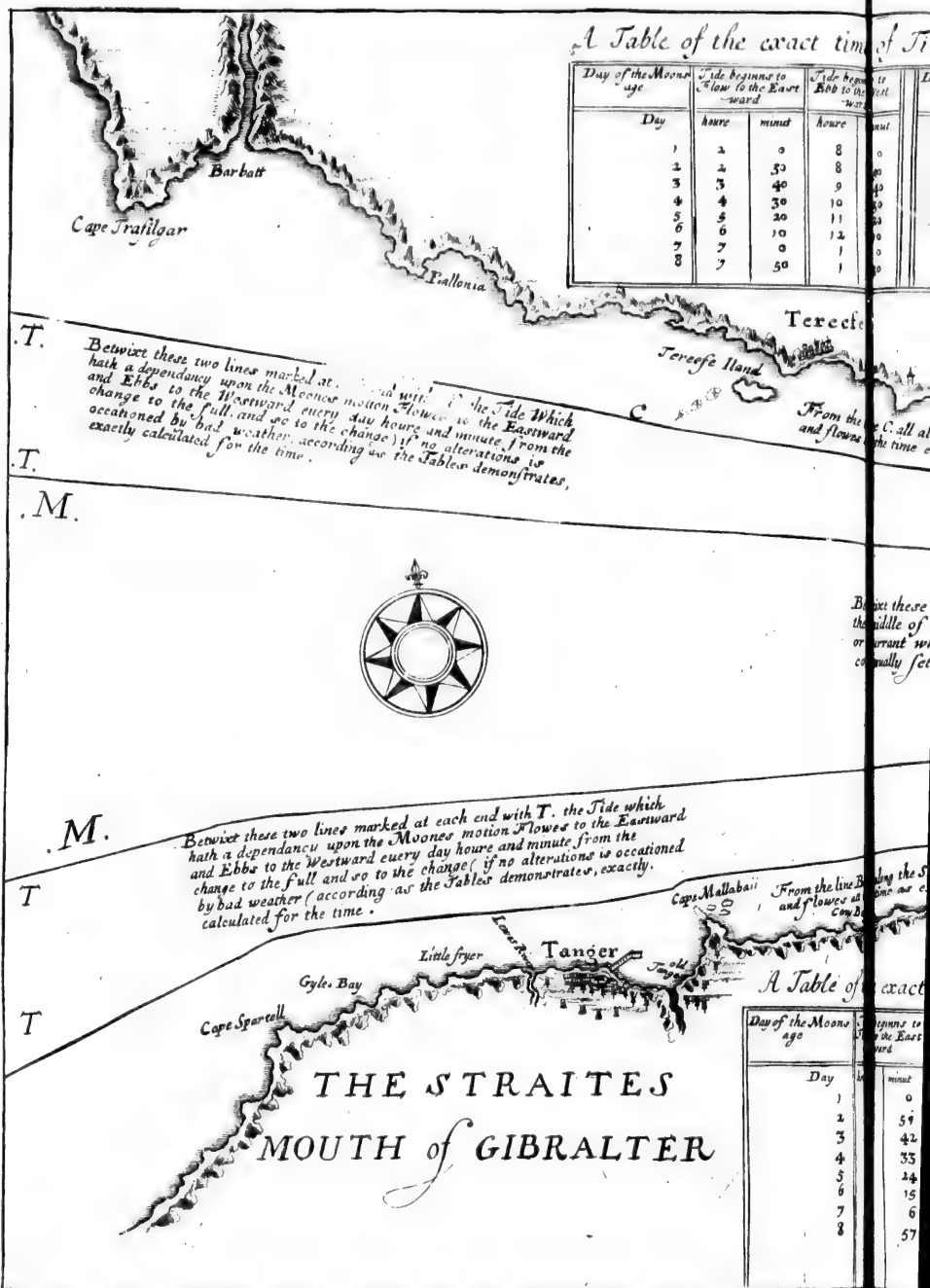
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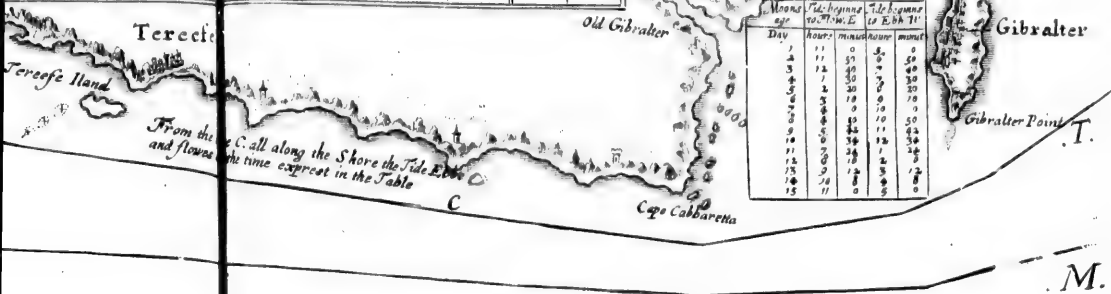
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of the exact time of Tides betwixt the two lines T. T.

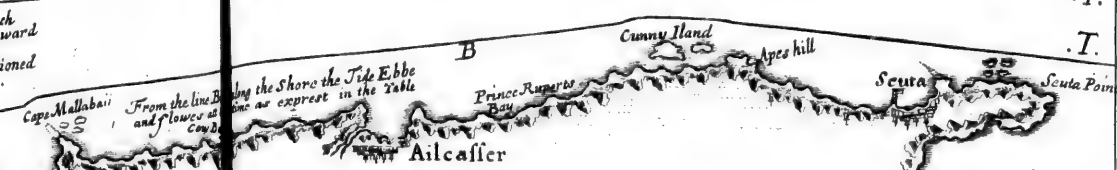
| Day of the Moon's age | Tide begins to Flow to the East ward |       | Tide begins to Ebb to the West ward |       | Day of the Moon's age | Tide begins to Flow to the East ward |       | Tide begins to Ebb to the West ward |       |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|
|                       | hour                                 | minut | hour                                | minut |                       | hour                                 | minut | hour                                | minut |
| 1                     | 2                                    | 0     | 8                                   | 0     | 9                     | 8                                    | 42    | 2                                   | 42    |
| 2                     | 2                                    | 52    | 8                                   | 40    | 10                    | 9                                    | 34    | 3                                   | 34    |
| 3                     | 3                                    | 40    | 9                                   | 40    | 11                    | 10                                   | 24    | 4                                   | 24    |
| 4                     | 4                                    | 30    | 10                                  | 30    | 12                    | 11                                   | 16    | 5                                   | 16    |
| 5                     | 5                                    | 20    | 11                                  | 20    | 13                    | 12                                   | 8     | 6                                   | 8     |
| 6                     | 6                                    | 10    | 12                                  | 10    | 14                    | 1                                    | 0     | 7                                   | 0     |
| 7                     | 7                                    | 0     | 1                                   | 0     | 15                    | 2                                    | 0     | 8                                   | 0     |
| 8                     | 7                                    | 50    | 1                                   | 50    |                       |                                      |       |                                     |       |



A Table of Tides betwixt line C. and y Shore

| Day of the Moon's age | Tide begins to Flow to the East |       | Tide begins to Ebb to the West |       |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|
|                       | hour                            | minut | hour                           | minut |
| 1                     | 11                              | 0     | 5                              | 0     |
| 2                     | 11                              | 52    | 5                              | 40    |
| 3                     | 12                              | 40    | 6                              | 30    |
| 4                     | 1                               | 30    | 7                              | 20    |
| 5                     | 2                               | 20    | 8                              | 10    |
| 6                     | 3                               | 10    | 9                              | 0     |
| 7                     | 4                               | 0     | 10                             | 50    |
| 8                     | 5                               | 0     | 11                             | 40    |
| 9                     | 6                               | 0     | 12                             | 30    |
| 10                    | 7                               | 0     | 1                              | 20    |
| 11                    | 8                               | 0     | 2                              | 10    |
| 12                    | 9                               | 0     | 3                              | 0     |
| 13                    | 10                              | 0     | 4                              | 0     |
| 14                    | 11                              | 0     | 5                              | 0     |
| 15                    | 12                              | 0     | 6                              | 0     |

Between these two lines marked at each end with M is the middle of the Streights of Gibraltar where the Indraft or current which hath no Dependency upon the Moon continually sets in to the Eastward



A Table of exact time of tides, betwixt the two lines T. T.

| Day of the Moon's age | Tide begins to Flow to the East ward |       | Tide begins to Ebb to the West ward |       | Day of the Moon's age | Tide begins to Flow to the East ward |       | Tide begins to Ebb to the West ward |       |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|
|                       | hour                                 | minut | hour                                | minut |                       | hour                                 | minut | hour                                | minut |
| 1                     | 0                                    | 7     | 0                                   | 0     | 9                     | 7                                    | 48    | 1                                   | 48    |
| 2                     | 59                                   | 7     | 51                                  | 0     | 10                    | 8                                    | 39    | 2                                   | 39    |
| 3                     | 42                                   | 8     | 42                                  | 0     | 11                    | 9                                    | 30    | 3                                   | 30    |
| 4                     | 33                                   | 9     | 33                                  | 0     | 12                    | 10                                   | 21    | 4                                   | 21    |
| 5                     | 24                                   | 10    | 24                                  | 0     | 13                    | 11                                   | 12    | 5                                   | 12    |
| 6                     | 15                                   | 11    | 15                                  | 0     | 14                    | 12                                   | 6     | 6                                   | 6     |
| 7                     | 6                                    | 12    | 6                                   | 0     | 15                    | 1                                    | 0     | 7                                   | 0     |
| 8                     | 57                                   | 12    | 57                                  | 0     |                       |                                      |       |                                     |       |

A Table of y Tides betwixt y line B. and y Shore

| Day of the Moon's age | Tide begins to Flow to the Eastward |       | Tide begins to Ebb to the Westward |       |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------|-------|
|                       | hour                                | minut | hour                               | minut |
| 1                     | 10                                  | 0     | 4                                  | 0     |
| 2                     | 11                                  | 51    | 5                                  | 51    |
| 3                     | 12                                  | 42    | 6                                  | 42    |
| 4                     | 1                                   | 33    | 7                                  | 33    |
| 5                     | 2                                   | 24    | 8                                  | 24    |
| 6                     | 3                                   | 15    | 9                                  | 15    |
| 7                     | 4                                   | 6     | 10                                 | 6     |
| 8                     | 5                                   | 0     | 11                                 | 0     |
| 9                     | 6                                   | 0     | 12                                 | 0     |
| 10                    | 7                                   | 0     | 1                                  | 0     |
| 11                    | 8                                   | 0     | 2                                  | 0     |
| 12                    | 9                                   | 0     | 3                                  | 0     |
| 13                    | 10                                  | 0     | 4                                  | 0     |
| 14                    | 11                                  | 0     | 5                                  | 0     |
| 15                    | 12                                  | 0     | 6                                  | 0     |





we weather'd the easternmost point of *Gibraltar* above two leagues. Thus did we make a clear experiment of the truth of these tables and draught. The same advantage may be made in turning out of the *Streights* with a *westerly* wind, only stopping the tide of flood, if weather will permit. For want of experience in the tides and currents here, this age has produced too many examples of the loss both of men of war, and of merchant-men. I remember, in the year 1673, Sir *John Lawson*, in the *Resolution*, having been in the *Levant*, coming near to *Gibraltar* in the night, the current having set us over close on board the *Spanish* shore, we made the highland of *Gibraltar* for *Apes-bill* upon the *Barbary* shore, which had like to have prov'd of very dangerous consequence, our course being right over the low-land, which general *Blake* had intention of cutting thro', to have made an island. Having heard many disputes concerning tides and currents, I will here, in few words, give my opinion of 'em. And first of tides, which, as is observ'd, have a dependency upon the motion, encrease, and decrease of the moon.

It flows in the bay of *Tangier*, and so upon the *Barbary* shore, as far as *Apes-bill*, south-west and by south, one quarter after two a-clock, full and change of the moon, high water. The *Moors* and *Spaniards*, upon each of their native shores, in the *Streights* mouth of *Gibraltar*, thus account the tides: when the moon appears in their horizon upon her rising, the tide sets away to the westward, and continues till her coming to the meridian; which having pass'd, the tide begins to flow to the eastward. I cannot be so positive in my opinion as some are, that the moon has an absolute influence upon the government of tides, and therefore shall lay down my reasons with submission to better judgments. If the moon's attraction be so powerful upon the waters, why do they not follow her motion round the world? At prince *Rupert's* bay, within three leagues off *Apes-bill*, in the *Streights* mouth of *Gibraltar*, the tide rises perpendicular upon the springs nine foot. At *Bucama*, upon the *Barbary* shore, twenty leagues to the eastward, there's scarce any knowledge of a tide; so that in so short a distance the moon's influence upon the water ceases. At *Cape Spartel*, which is the westernmost part of the *African* shore, it flows south-south-west a very strong tide. Five or six leagues west-south-west into the sea, there is no appearance of either ebbing or flowing: so that here, to the westward into the ocean, as also to the eastward mention'd before, in the *Mediterranean*, the waters have no dependence upon the moon. These

demonstrations, with many others which might be laid down, induce me to the opinion, that the moon's change, full, and quarter, as also her motion, are particular signs to inform our judgments, rather than of any power she has on the waters, or their dependence on her. The great master of philosophy drowned himself, because he could not apprehend the cause of tides; but his example cannot be so prevalent with all, as to put a period to other mens enquiries into this subject. I hope 'twill be allow'd that a sailor, by his experience in this age, may better know the shifting of tides in several parts than *Aristotle*, tho' not the cause; which since no man has attain'd to, but only conjectural notions, I hope mine will be the more excusable. The holy writ mentions a chaos, or first matter, which was a confusion or disorder'd mass of all the elements, wherein God Almighty divided the earth from the water, which division naturally put the waters in motion by a reverse, or retreat, from their first position: after that the earth was made dry land, the waters return'd to seek their former place, and to claim their dominion over the more solid and consistent bodies, by which ambition they rais'd themselves up to the high-water mark, where they were restrain'd and bounded by the heavenly power; so that, being able to advance no higher, they return'd to the ebbing; and, ever since, it might be God Almighty's providential will, for the convenience of man, to continue the same motion of the waters. I have no other reason or apology to make for this my opinion, than that in most parts of the known world the waters have the strength of their motion near to the shores, and at sea scarce any thing at all, but what's occasion'd by winds. Which brings me to the course of currents, that have no dependency upon the moon, having observ'd principally three sorts of currents or streams, occasion'd by a trade-wind; the indraught of bays, as that of *Biscay*, and the gulph of *Lions*; a forcible stream betwixt two high lands coming from the ocean, as the current proceeding from the *Streights* mouth of *Gibraltar*, where, in the middle part (demonstrated upon the draught between the two lines *MM*) the current has its continual passage into the *Mediterranean*, if not alter'd by some extrem of weather: and altho' I know some are of a contrary opinion, yet there's nothing that resembles truth more than demonstration upon matter of fact. In nine years that I have liv'd and sail'd from *Tangier*, I did never see any ships in the middle of the *Streights*, happening then to be calm, or little wind, but was infallibly driven in, if she could not reach the side of ebb upon

BOL.

LAND

nei-

BOULNE neither shore. This, I suppose, may be LAND. sufficient to demonstrate, that there's a vast sluice of water hurried into the *Streights*. At *Constantinople*, out of the *Black-Sea*, it runs into the *Mediterranean* a forcible stream, and many large rivers fall into the same seas; the question is, What becomes of all this water? The tides flow six hours, and ebb the same space, so that probably they return what they bring in. The earth, no doubt, on all shores, does drink in and is moisten'd by the sea; the sun has its attractive influence on the waters: I have often observ'd at sea, where the strength of the exhalation has happen'd (tho' there was not one breath of wind) that it was dangerous to come near that part with a boat; and, on the contrary, when the clouds have

been overcharg'd or loaden, they have broken out, and fallen violently down; which we commonly call *Spouts*. But all these can't reach near the water that lets unto the *Mediterranean*, so that there must necessarily be some evacuation; and it seems most reasonable, that as the *Streights* mouth of *Gibraltar* has its continual indraught aloft, so the superficial part thereof may have its recourse back again below. To know the certainty of this, 'twere but stopping with a stream-anchor in the middle of the *Streights*, possibly it may require three or four hundred fathom warp: your ship being brought up, the current running strongly to the eastward, brings it to wind-head to the westward.

#### The Description of the Sounding-boat for Currents.

WHEN having the lead, which I have made, as the draught here demonstrates, with springs in the inner part, a bladder hook'd upon the outside, which has a dependency upon those springs, so that the lead striking the ground, off flies the bladder from the lead, and all the way in its rising to the superficies of the water, 'tis drove which way soever the current does set, your ship being stopp'd by her anchor; if the current set out of the *Streights* below, then will the bladder rise ahead of the ship, contrary to the current aloft. Now, where your ship is anchor'd in three hundred fathom water, I will suppose it flows into the *Streights* an hundred fathom deep from the surface, and from that two hundred fathom to the bottom, it runs out to the westward. To know the certainty of this, or what depth it sets contrary, I have here drawn the draught of a square drag-fail at the boat's bow, with weights of lead at the lower part, to depress the fail downward;

so turning the boat loose, you lower the fail unto the water, and which way soever the stream runs, 'twill draw along the boat. If it returns out of the *Mediterranean* at one hundred fathoms deep, the fail being lower'd to that, then 'twill not fail of dragging your boat contrary to the current aloft. Thus might the experiment be made to the satisfaction of the curious.

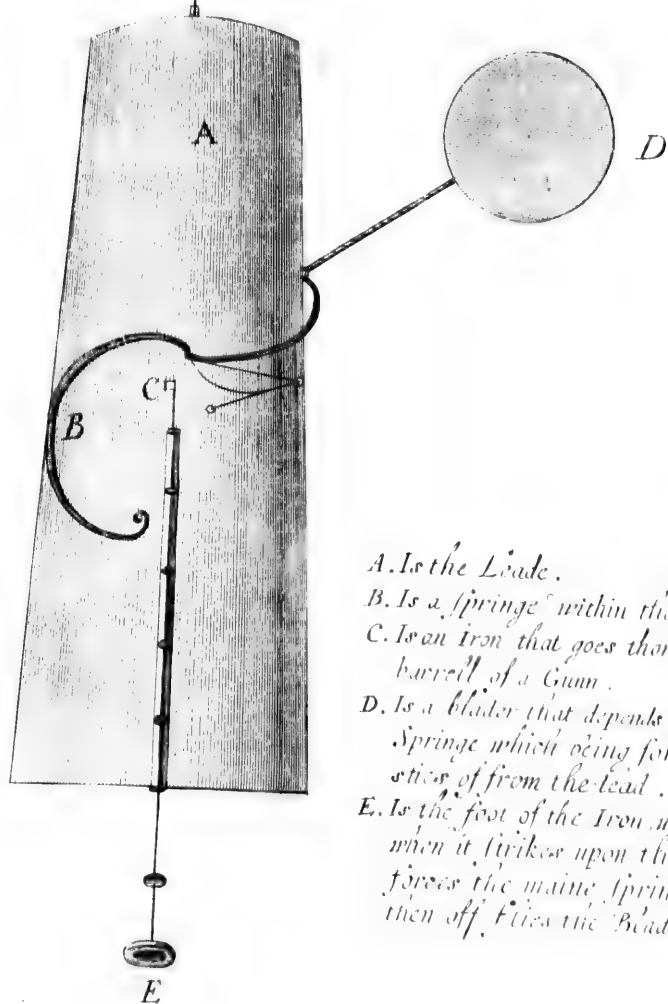
The sounding-boat for currents in the draught, N<sup>o</sup> 2, there's the form of a fail mark'd G, which has two yards, one aloft, t'other below; by which means, if my judgment fails me not, 'twill stand so fair, as to keep full within less than three points of the compass. In the hold of the same boat, mark'd F, I have form'd a sort of work, which gives a true account of the boat's way by her motion, hoping it may prove of general use, more in particular to draughts-men, whose care ought to be in laying down capes and head-lands, exactly to the distance.

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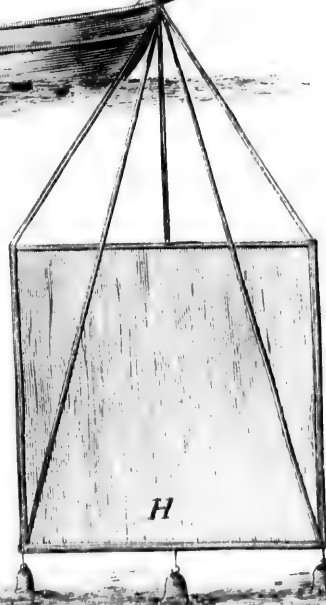
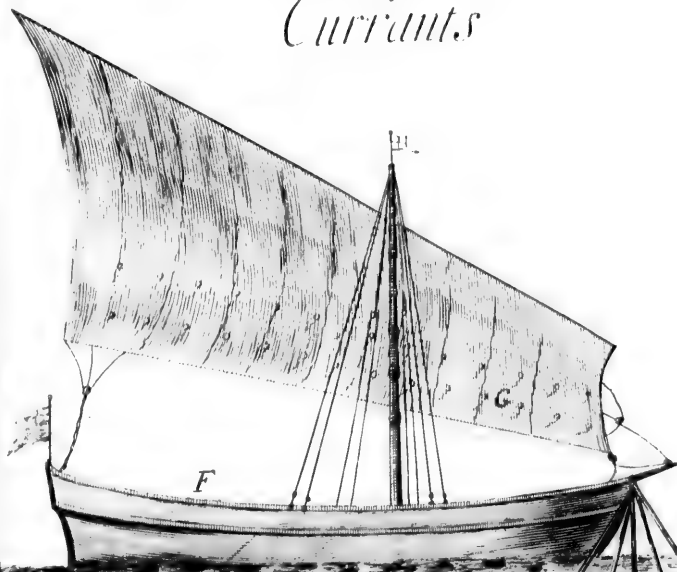
# The Sounding Lead for Tides and Currents



- A. Is the Lead.
- B. Is a Springe within the Lead.
- C. Is an Iron that goes through the  
barrell of a Gun.
- D. Is a bladder that depends upon the  
Springe which being forced up  
sticks off from the Lead.
- E. Is the foot of the Iron which  
when it strikes upon the ground  
forces the maine Springe and  
then off, flies the Bladder.

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G. Is  
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H. Is  
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# The Sounding Boat for Currents



F. Is the Boat

G. Is a saule with two yards which will lie within three pointes of the Compass.

H. Is a droge saile with four yards, which is lowered downe from the boates bow depressed by three lead weights, so that being lowered downe fiftie or more fathomes, which way ever the Current runs along, it will draw the boat after it

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Gunn.  
that depends upon the  
ch being forced up  
the lead.  
of the Iron which  
lies upon the ground,  
maine springe and  
as the Beadder.





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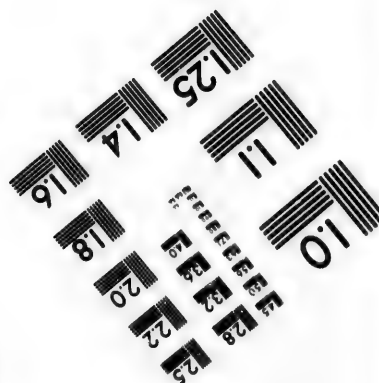
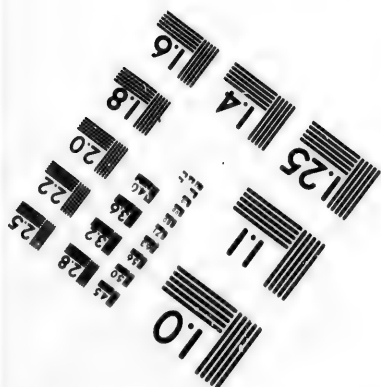
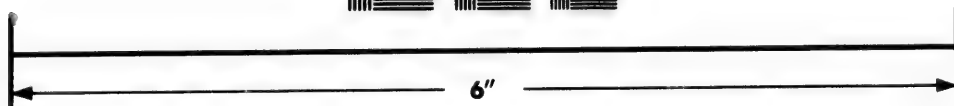
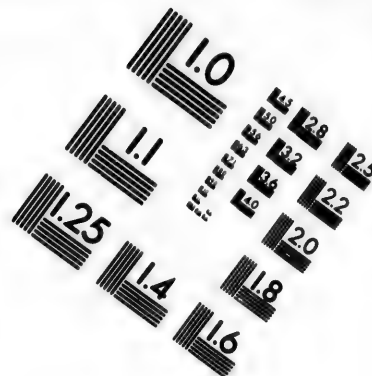
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