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In SIX VOLUMES.

WITH A

General PREFACE, giving an Account of the Progress of NAVIGATION, from its first Beginning.

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Curiously Engraven.

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VOL. IV.

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The THIRD EDITION.

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LONDON:

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For HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the Golden-Ball in Pater-noster Row,  
MDCCXLV.

COLLECTION

Voyages and Travels

Now first printed in one volume

in six volumes

with

in six volumes

with

General History of the Islands in the South Sea

By Captain James Cook

London, Printed by R. and J. DODD, in Pall-mall, 1781.



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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.*

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In Six P A R T S, *viz.*

- I. Of *TURKY.*
- 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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Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-*  
*noster Row.*

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## The P R E F A C E.

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 ingenuously 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.

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A. MAP of  
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*A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Part I.* GEMELLI.  
LI.  
1693.

Containing the most remarkable Things he saw in *TURK 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.

**W**ERE 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, (though 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 Risi*, 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*. He embark'd on 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 demesn of the crown, and beautified with many curious structures, erected by several Families

GEMEL- milies on account of the wholesomeness of  
LI. the air.

1693.

The *Spanish* nation owes the discovery of a new world, and the *Portugueses* that of the *East-Indies*, to *Flavio 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*.

Licofo Point.

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

Palinuro Town.

*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.

Scalea Town.

Running 40 miles farther, on *Wednesday* 17 we put into *Scalea*, 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.

Paola City.

Pizzo Town.

*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 publick affairs.

Tropea City.

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 myself, 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 this 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 wish 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 myself 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 *Cbina*; 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 imbark'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.

C H A P.

## CHAP. II.

*A short description of Messina, and an account of all the author saw till he came to Malta.*

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LI.

1693.

Messina  
describ'd.

THE city *Messina*; formerly call'd *Zancle*, is seated in the province of *Valdemone*, 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 capacity 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 above-mentioned, that it may be call'd the prime mart of *Europe*, and a necessary thorough-fair 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 myself 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 myself 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 knew neither the master's, nor the vessel's name. This did not daunt me, but inquiring 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 *Lacquanti* and his wife.

We sail'd with a fair wind through the famous and dangerous straits 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*, *Pez-zulo*, *Giampileri*, *la Scaletta*, *Aitala*, *Ali*, *Fiume de Nisi*, *Savoca*, and other villages seated near the sea-side. The tartan

‡ WAS

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was clofe up in *Ali*, but the mafter of the feluca, to fave putting me afhore, faid it was another, and therefore continuing our voyage, not without anguish of heart we pafs'd by *Tauromina*, a royal city feated on a mountain, and 30 miles diftant from *Meffina*. From this place appear'd to the view *Calatabiano*, *Mascari*, *Jaci*, *Ognari*, and the ground of the city *Catania*, utterly ruin'd, and bury'd in the afhes of its neighbouring mountain, after the dreadful earthquake which happened that fame year. The few citizens that remain'd unbury'd, live in poor cottages about *Jaci* gate. Having feen this deplorable fpectacle, the fun fhining out on *Thursday* 9, we proceeded on our way, (having run 60 miles) without landing, and leaving behind us the royal cities of *Lentini* and *Carlolentini*. At noon we put an end to this fhort voyage of 90 miles, arriving at *Agufia*.

Catania  
deftruy'd.

Agufia  
city.

*Xiphona*, now call'd *Agufia*, was firft put into a pofture of defence by the emperor *Frederick* II, and afterwards better fortify'd. Hither the knights of *St. John* of *Jerufalem* retir'd, after the lofs of *Rhodes*, before *Malta* was given them. This city had the fame misfortune as *Catania*, being overthrowen by the laft earthquake, and therefore the people, like the others, liv'd in cottages. The caftle which was one of the beft in *Sicily*, as well for the natural ftrength of the place, as for the great fortifications about it (having two bridges and four gates to the fea) was much damaged, efpecially the dwellings of the foldiers. The city lay to the eaft along the hill, and had a good port, defended by four forts.

Siracufa.

Going aboard another vefTel, I came in the evening in fight of *Siracufa*, or *Zaragoza*, a city that had fuffer'd much by the earthquake. As far as I could perceive from the fea, it is commodioufly feated, with a large caftle on the fouth, and a fort on the north. Here we were feiz'd with much fear, feeing the boat of a vefTel which we thought to be a turk coming aboard us, infomuch that we ran afhore to defend ourfelves under the fhelter of the neighbouring rocks; and, in fhort, we obliged the boat to make away; which it feem'd belong'd not to pirates, but to the town of *Trapano*.

Noto city.

That night we could not advance much, and therefore on *Friday* the 10th lay in fight of the city *Noto*, deftruy'd as well as the reft by the earthquake. At night we lay at the fifhery of cape *Passaro*, where I had falt-fifh prefented

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

Going aboard again on *Saturday* 11, the contrary wind obliged us to land on the fhore of *Spaccafurno*, 55 miles from *Siracufa*. *Sunday* 12, having fail'd 40 miles, we arriv'd at *Brazetto*, a town on the fhore of the town of *Sancta Croce*, whence that night I went to *Scoglietti* in the county of *Modica*, to get another vefTel to carry me to *Malta*.

Accordingly *Monday* 13 I went aboard a fmall bark to crofs that narrow fea, there being no better vefTel, and being becalm'd a few miles at fea, we flood in great fear of *Turkifh* pirates, that paffage of 60 miles being never free from them in fummer.

The calm continu'd *Tuesday* the 14th, when feeing the boat of a tartan making towards us, and believing them to be rovers, we forfook ours loaden with wood, and defencelefs, and fled in our boat, the feamen not allowing me fo much liberty as to take my gun. The others feeing us fly, forbore purfuing any further; by which we perceiving that the tartan was of *Malta*, return'd to our bark, and continu'd there all the reft of the day. The wind coming up in the evening, we fail'd all night, and got into the port of *Malta* on *Wednesday* the 15th before day, but waited for *Pratick* till two hours after fun rifing.

The ifland of *Malta* was given to the knights of *St. John* of *Jerufalem*, by the emperor *Charles* the Fifth, for the yearly tribute of a hawk, which at prefent the vice-roy of *Sicily* receives in the name of his Catholick majefty. Its length from eaft to weft is 22 miles, the breadth 12 and the compafs 60. The city of *Malta* is in 35 degrees, 40 min. of latitude, and enjoys an excellent climate. It was befieg'd by the *Turks* with a great power, in the year 1565, but without fuccefs. The port lies to the northward, and is large, and can contain very many fhips, dividing itfelf into feveral very deep bays; in the moft retir'd part whereof is the place call'd *Bormola*, on the right of it the borough, and on the left the ifland, places inhabited by the common fort, who are about three thoufand fouls. The entrance of this port is well defended on the fide of the city, by the caftle of *St. Elmo*, which is well furnifh'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 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 *Recasoli*, 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 fortified 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 furnished 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 aforefaid *Lazaretto*, call'd *Marsciamscet*, 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 carried 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 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 mentioned 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 called *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 Catholick 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 entertained 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 prepared 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 inclos'd with banisters of fine marble: Opposite to him sat sixteen of his pages, on benches covered 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 antient 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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The great  
master.

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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 arched, as are the twelve chapels on the sides. The walls are rich in gold, and the floor adorned 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 *Roccella*. 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 ma-  
ster's pa-  
lace.

*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 fringed 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 adorned 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, designed to supply publick necessities, being kept in the little tower in the great master's palace.

The *Maltese* 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 pasteboard. 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 course 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 gave 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 hungary table, because the order allows but two *Sicilian Taros* a head for their expence. The structure is stately, and of late embellished by the great master *Caraffa*. Not far from it is the *Albergo*, or inn of *Casile* 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 *Polverista*, a palace of the order, little inferior to that of the great master, which is lett, being divided into several apartments. Below it I saw another, called *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 ho-*  
famousst in *Europe*, as well in regard *spital.*  
the sick are serv'd by great crosses and knights, and all in plate; as for the good order observed, notwithstanding the great number of sick. Before it is a great court, and on the sides a noble apothecary's

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 served, that many knights when they are sick go into it to be cured.

*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 embroidered on a scarf of black silk, the end whereof is tied 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, kissed the gospel, and so made his offering, having had the *Pax* given him, and been incensed 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 other 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 *Cavaretta* of *Trapano*, and on the fourth, the great seneschal *Caraffa*. The great master was served in gilt plate, and his meat was brought apart; the three knights that carved were covered. 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 removed to the place where they now are, building such a beautiful city by reason of the conveniency 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*, whither I had resolved to go, I readily agreed to give twelve crowns for my passage to *Alexandria*.

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### CHAP. III.

#### *The author's voyage to Alexandria.*

HAVING provided all necessaries, I embarked on *Tuesday* the 21st, with a fair wind, which held all night, and *Wednesday* the 22d. It failed a little on *Thursday* the 23d, but came fair again on *Friday* the 24th, and carried us in sight of the island *Gozo*, 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 *Bichier*, eighteen miles beyond *Alexandria*. This is a small castle, provided with many pieces 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 though miserably poor, being wholly devoted to idleness, will not work upon any account.

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account. There is a plentiful fishery, and particularly of mullets, whereof for a farthing they sell a large cut, and the roes of them dried 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 though 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 returned on *Thursday* the 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 forced to go before the *Aga*, with the *Jew* of the custom-house, who decided the matter to the *Frenchman's* cost, though 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 ordered for *Cyprus*, I resolved 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 31st, I was forced 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 searched my baggage, *Saturday* the 1st of *August*, about sun-rising, I set out for *Alexandria* in a *Germa*, or boat, and arrived there in the afternoon. Here another customer *Jew* searched my baggage, to recover his duty, because he of *Bieber* had searched 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 confessed, and received on *Sunday* the 2d, to gain the indulgencies of the

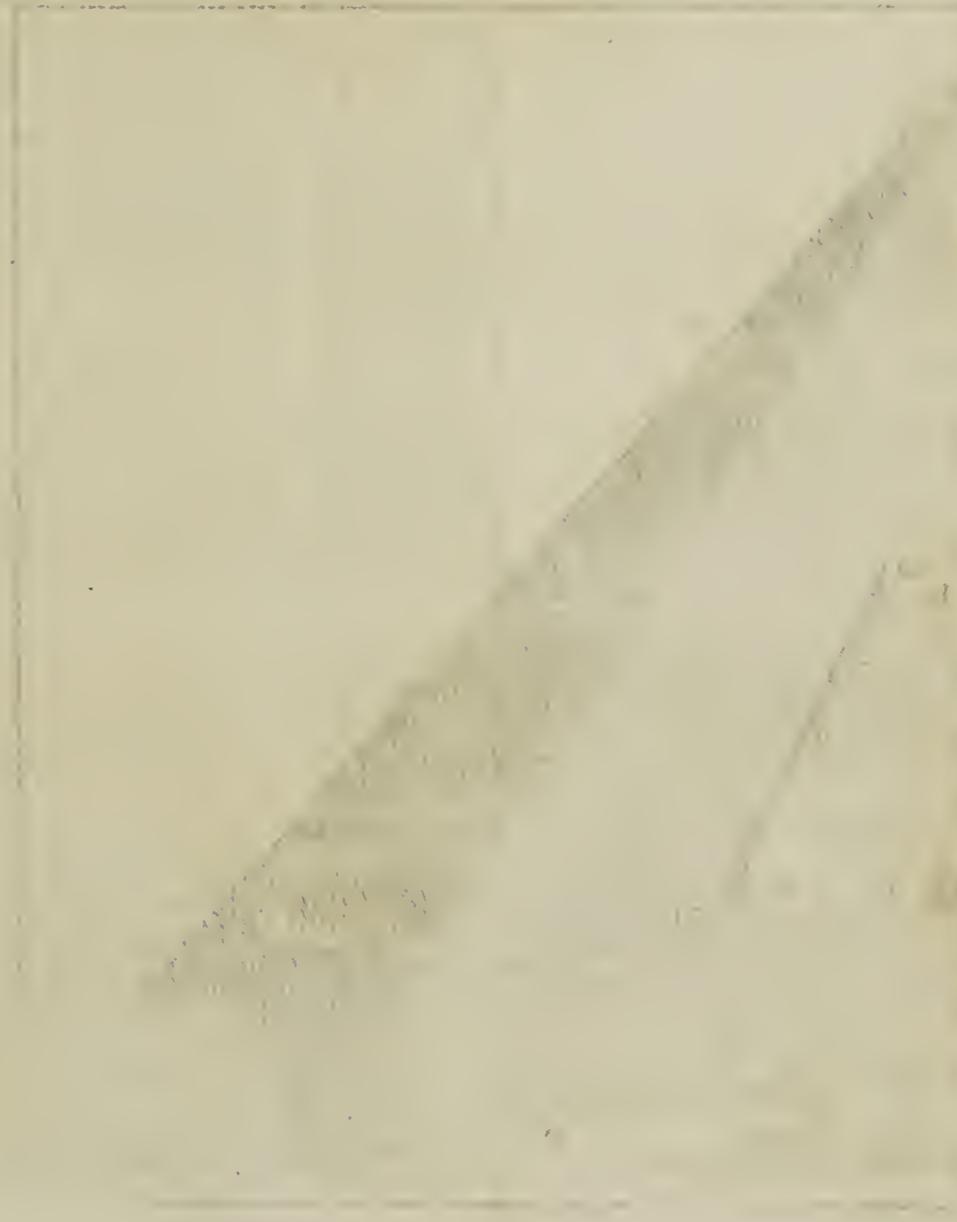
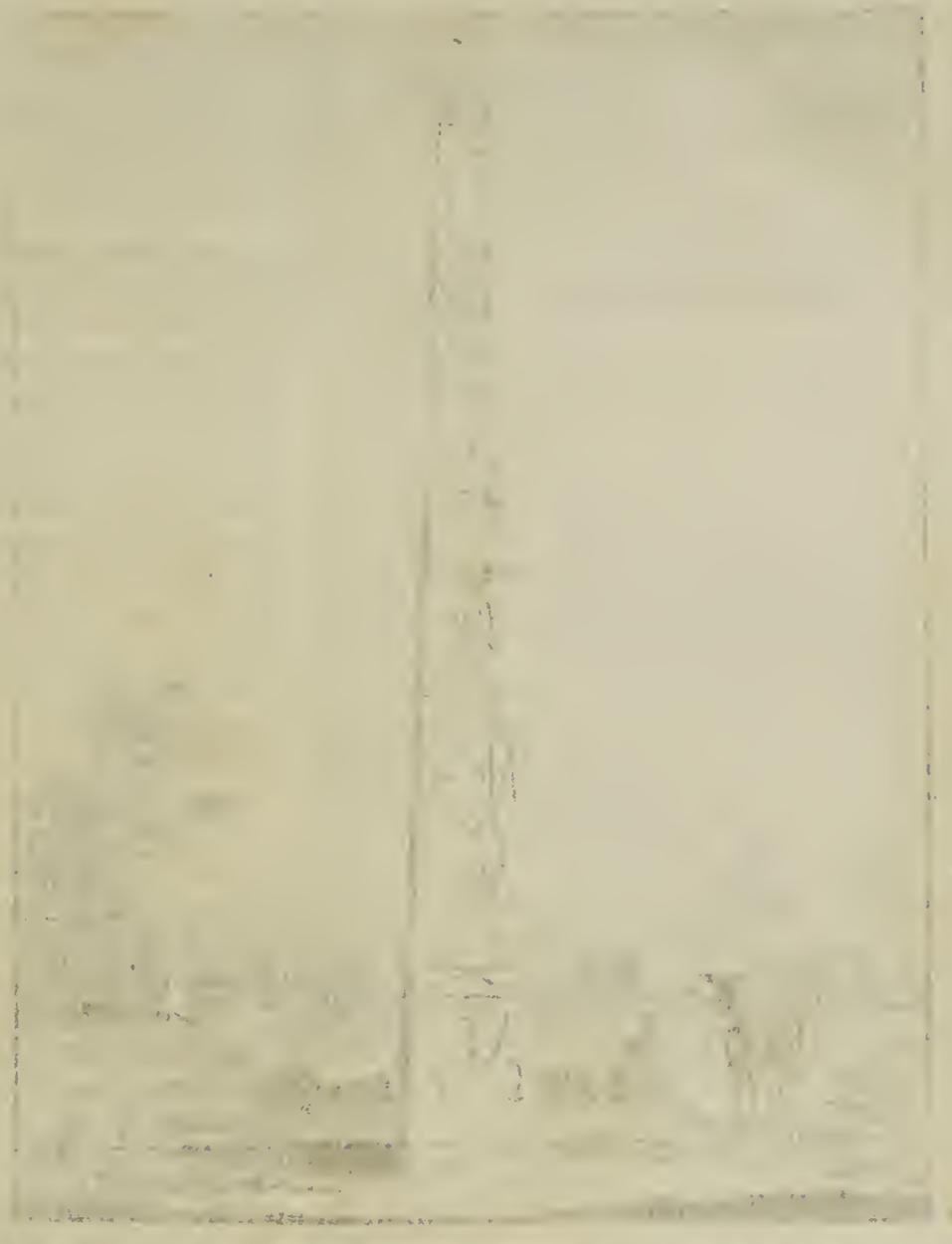
*Portiuncula*, giving thanks to God for my happy arrival in *Egypt*, after a voyage of 1200 miles, or 400 leagues from *Malta*.

*Alexandria*, or *Scandaria*, as the *Turks* Alexan-  
ria 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 ancient 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 reduced to a worse condition, and perhaps utterly abandoned, 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* itself 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 filled 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 university; and it produced 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.

The 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 pitiful 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,

was



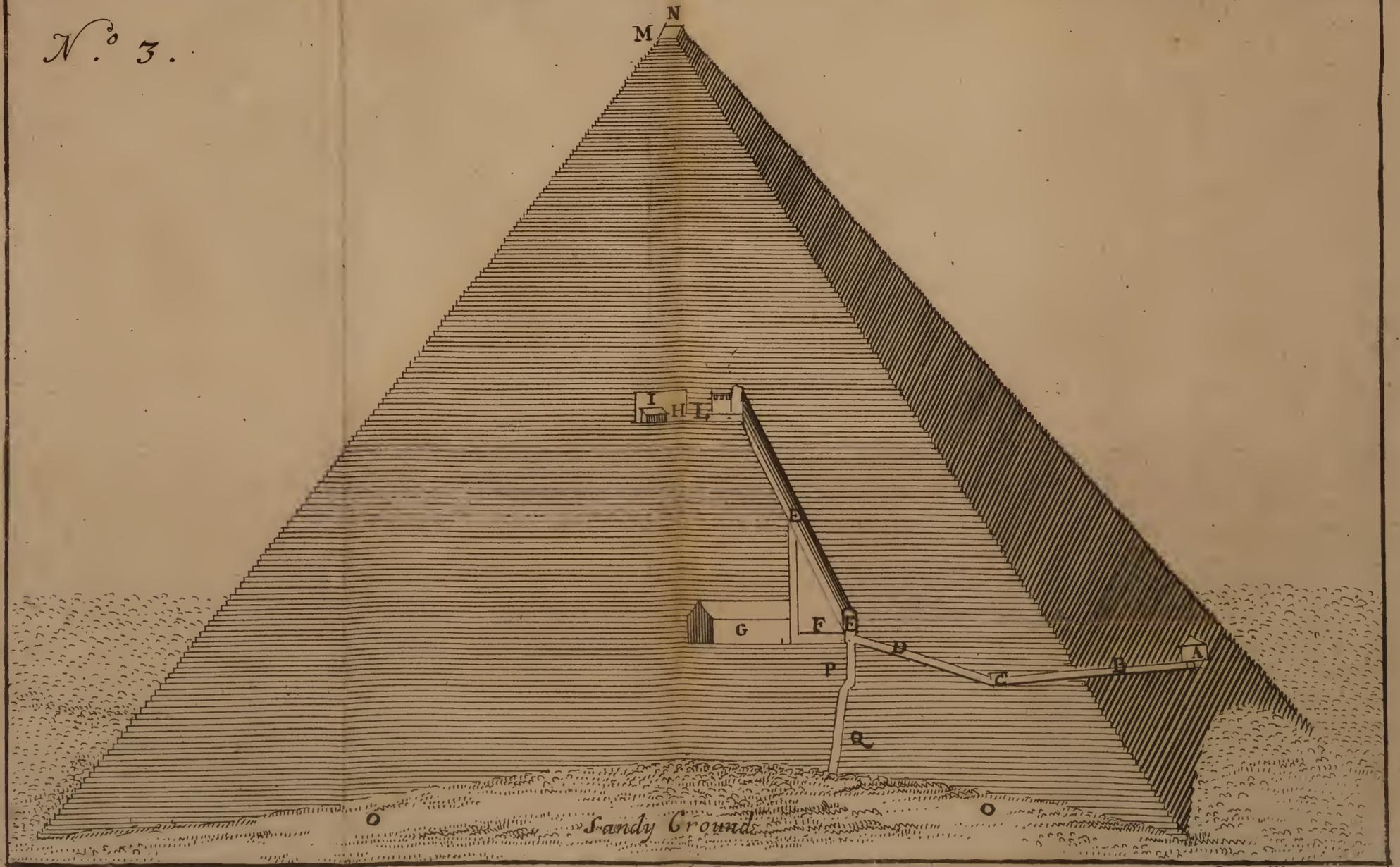
N<sup>o</sup> 1



N<sup>o</sup> 2



N<sup>o</sup> 3.



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 saved my life, still flying as fast as I could, because the crowd increased, so that my periwig dropped 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 charged me not to go far from his quarter, but I not regarding it, broke the injunction, though with such imminent danger. In my return I observed, that there was another convenient harbour to the northward, formed by a neck of land lying between the city and the sea.

*tian* hieroglyphicks on all sides. I took not the dimensions of them, but by what I could guess by my eye, they seemed 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 demolished by time.

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*Marc. Anthony 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 removed thither *Wednesday* the 5th. Here we fared 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 concerned, and use all their endeavours that I might observe, and write all things compleatly, 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 countryman, which was much forwarded 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 farmed for 250000 crowns a year, including *Grand Caire*, *Roseto*, and *Damiata*.

*Pompey's pillar.* *Monday* the 3d I went with a *Janizary*, assigned 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 intire piece of red marble, except the capital, pedestal, and base, on which there are certain *Egyptian* hieroglyphicks carved. The height of it is 100 feet, 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* enginier 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 being but 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 demolished, the other standing. They are of a mixed marble, and carved with *Egyptian*

CHAP. IV.

*The author's voyage on the Nile, and description of Grand Caire.*

THE *French* persuaded me to cloath my self after the country fashion, that I might appear less odious in the sight of the *Arabs*, and particularly the *Biduines*, 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 designed to

take. I ordered all my affairs on *Thursday* the 6th, and on *Friday* the 7th in the morning, being clad like an *Arab*, went aboard a small *Saique* bound for *Bichier*, whither I arrived 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 conveniency

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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 angels in comparison of the *Arabs*. This *Capigi* for a piece of eight hir'd a small *Germa*, or boat, in which we lay that night for want of an inn.

*Saturday* the 8th we set out at break of day, but we had scarce sail'd four 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 *Bickier*. The *Turks* and *Arabs* are very fearful of the mouth of the *Nile*, which is five 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 *Ethco*.

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. Melo* 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 *Ethco*, 15 miles from *Bickier*, and as far from *Rofeto*, we took the common conveniency of the country, and about sun-set came to *Rofeto*, all a sandy way, which produces no grafs, 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 lettise 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 *Cleopaira'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 four 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 intolencies 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

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 *Measci*, with a *German Franciscan* father. This *Measci* 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 passed by two villages, and after sailing ten miles by *Mirimbel*, seated on the island; then by *Mutkubus* on the right, and *Deffin* on the left, then by *Samsair* on the right, and *Figar* opposite to it, higher up by *Berutks* 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 it in good company.

Atl. 5 p. Egypt, Tur. Prov. Nile river. The river *Nile*, or *Abanbi* (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 *Zambre*, and the other *Zaire*, whence crossing that kingdom, *Ethiopia*, and other countries, it runs down to fertilize *Egypt*, and loses itself 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 slothful, 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 sun-setting we run about sixty miles, leaving on the right *Fex*, *Selmib*, *Miniecuirafed* and *Edsuck*, and on the left *Atflub*, *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 shore. There were no crocodiles 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 boil'd 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* far'd 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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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 sheeps 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 *Chiaforzear*, they told me, we were half way. At sun-set we found ourselves near the villages of *Sicabul*, *Nigili*, and *Comscirich*, 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 *Mahomet*.

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 view of *Menuf*, 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 itself into two branches, the one running towards *Ro-*

*feto*, 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 *Niloscope*, 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 cryer 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 *Jani-zary*, 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 <sup>Grand Caire.</sup> 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 myself in the father's house, after dinner, I hir'd two asses, and went with a friar to old *Caire*, <sup>Old Caire.</sup> 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 chappel.

chappel. The church has nothing great, and the castle is a dark prison. They say it belong'd to the antient *Copti*, or circumcised people, as did another adjoining to it, destroy'd by the *Turks*. These *Copti*, 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 Catholics. 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 disinhabited, there being not above 3000 souls in it, and it is dreadful to see its ruins scattered 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 Mahometan* prince, tributary to the *Great Turk*. These boats perform their voyage in twenty-two days, but with some trouble, because of the crocodiles. Opposite to this great city, on the left side of the *Nile*, is another called *Ciza*, the head of a government, and famous for the houses of pleasure, built there by the *Mamaluke* 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 within 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 middlemost, about four spans from the ground, they show a hollow in the wall, where our lady lay with her infant. In the apartment 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* language, whereof they understand little or nothing, they are so ignorant. Not far off is the font, made like a well, into which they let down the water, baptizing 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 observed, that *Old Caire* in former ages was a great city, its ruins 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 arches, as for the distance of three miles. Then we met part of the *Bassa's* retinue, going to wish a good feast to a lord of *Old Caire*, beating four drums, and before them two *Dervices*, or *Mahometan* 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 forced to take many affronts from the rabble, to save being bastinado'd for answering. After some stop because of the narrowness of the streets, one of the servants stepped forward, and taking one of the fathers by the hood, had like to have pulled him

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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 master's clubs shod with iron, hanging at the pummel of their saddle) and he had certainly done it, but that a *Maronite* 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 continued *Friday* the 14th, abundance of cattle and fowl being continually slaughter'd, whose flesh the Catholics 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 appeared mounted on good horses (which is not allowed to Christians) who are obliged 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 called *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 declined 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 though 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 desired the *French* consul to procure me a *Janizary*,

Bigness of  
Caire.

that I might do it with more safety. The said consul sending 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 destroyed 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 *Bulack*, *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 called a magazine of the most valuable commodities, brought by the *Persians*, especially along the canal of *Hali*, 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 produced 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 *Isaiab*, chap. xix. speaking of them, called one the city of the *Sun*, which was the chiefest, because there perhaps king *Pharaoh* resided. Of this there appears no other footsteps and remains but only an *Obelisk*, and some few ruins, the very name being lost, and this now called *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 *Pbaraob* gave to *Joseph* and his family. The third was *Misrin*, 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 *Memphis*, destroy'd by the *Mahometans*, under the emperor *Heraclius*, and afterwards built 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 aforesaid 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 *Mahometan*.

*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*, GEMEL-  
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The Ca-  
stle. about it good shops, and mountebanks in the middle. Two gates at the end of this place led into the castle. We

entred 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 thirty-eight 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* Joseph's  
Well. 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 caused 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,

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not only the well, but the steps to go down to it, which in some places are seven 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 believ'd. However it is, if the most receiv'd 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 infinite 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 compass; 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 without the necessary cannon; so that a few shot would lay it level. I should rather 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 *Mahometan* 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 courteously in the gallery, giving us coffee, sherbet, 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 abundance 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 *Caravan* 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 *Zecckines* 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 not 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 Materia*, in a garden call'd the garden of *Balsam*: 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 devotion, as was said above.

Not far from this garden, stood formerly the antient *Hierapolis*, or city of the sun; the first the divine sun of justice enlightened by his presence, when he entered *Egypt*. I saw some remains of its antiquity, particularly the abovemention'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 *Chibaga*, lieutenant, or deputy of the *Bassa*, who

who they said, was a crafty knave; and having stayed 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 horseback, and 200 soldiers well clad and mounted. Then followed two Persons, one of whom carried the scimitar, the other on the left, in a bason covered with silk, the breeches of red cloth, called 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 Ot-

*toman* emperor's letter on his breast, and the *Cbiaga*, 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 *Bassia* expected them, and thus the solemnity ended.

We returned 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.

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## C H A P. 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 delivered 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 learned 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 looked 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 called *Chercalfib*, 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 ancient city, formerly called *Olfos* in the *Coptan* 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 destroyed by the *Mahometans*, when they came into *Egypt*.

Advancing further, they came to the village called *Habselnarab*: Near to it is the city *Behnese*, built by an antient *Abagus*, or philosopher, called *Beknes*. Without it is a well made by one *Rogoes*, a notable magician, to discover the increase of *Nile*; it is now called *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, called *Boftaa*, or dropping, through the intercession of *St. Michael* the arch-angel, sent that night by God to stir and bless the river; and they are the more confirmed 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* we have

Habselnarab city.

A notable well.

Voyage up the Nile.

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spoke of, having done wonderful things through his knowledge of the secrets of nature, was by the ignorant multitude placed among the number of their gods; erecting a statue to him over the well, which was adorned by the natives for a considerable time.

Siribis  
city.

Being passed *Habsel arab*, the fathers came to very uncouth mountains close to the banks of *Nile*. At the foot of one of these mountains called *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 turned 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 called *Minieleben-Echafrin*, and many other ruins of vast cities, where the *Arabs* have their dwellings, being places inaccessible to any but them.

Miniele-  
ben-E-  
chafrin  
city.

Antinopo-  
lis city.

On the 6th of *May*, they came to *Sackiel-musa*, that is, *Moses's* well, near which, towards the east side of *Thebaida*, is *Antinopolis*, a most antient 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, *Dioctesian* martyred 160000 christians; and *Nestorius* was confined to it, by order of the first council of *Ephesus*.

Mellani  
city.

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 crocodiles.

Abafede  
mountain.

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

*Moses*. 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 called *Marrofaluk*, and on the mountain that overlooks it, called the *Green Mountain*, stood the monastery of *Elma-bar-rach*; where there is a tradition that the blessed virgin, her son, and St. *Joseph* stayed some time.

Thence they went to the city *Afiul*, formerly called *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 called *Doronche*, of the name of a goddess; the other *Sciob*, 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*, or the city of *Venus*, where there are many ancient structures ruined. The bishop of this place subscribed to the council of *Calcedon*.

On the 11th they came to *Giabel-essahare*, that is, the mountain of necromancers, formerly called *Isis*, of the goddess of that name, to whom the people of the middle *Thebaida* used 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 buried in the ground, at the entrance into a cave. The *Egyptians* believe, there is a great treasure under it, which the necromancers have often endeavoured 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 joined again by means of the devil. Let him that pleases believe it. Under this mountain the fathers stood exposed 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

Labta, Benavid, and Fau cities.

of another dreadful mountain, under which is the city *Labta*. Ten miles from it is another destroyed, called *Benavid*, which in the *Copti* language signifies, house of the stars, because the inhabitants worshipped the stars. Proceeding further they came to the ancient city *Fau*, in the *Copti* language called *Saupi*, and in the *Greek* *Crocodilopolis*; the vast ruins testify its antient greatness.

Achmim and Afiolh cities.

After many sufferings and hardships, the fathers arrived at *Achmim*, by the *Greeks* called *Oxyringus*, a city of the middle *Thebaida*, antiently a bishoprick, as may appear by the acts of the council of *Constantinople*, *Dorolhaus* 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 called *Afiolh*, antient as the other; its bishops *Colofrius* 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 lived holy, religious men, and which stir up devotion in the most stony hearts. Here they stayed 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 called of the *Abassine Moses*, a holy hermitage in past ages. Hence they advanced eighteen miles further a-foot, and found a lake they called *Birchel-Elban*, surrounded 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, adorned 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 necromancy.

Nalopolis and Grege cities.

The fathers returning to the entrance of the vale, prosecuted their voyage, and after advancing some time westward, arrived at the city *Mascia*, in former times called *Nalopolis*, where there are many antient monasteries, and other structures to be seen, now ruined. Going forwards they came to the city *Grege*, but before they arrived 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 entertained in the

house of a christian, whither many other christians of the country came, very desirous to be instructed, and therefore proposed several doubts concerning the catholick rites, the *Roman* church, and the pope. They remained very well pleased and convinced by the discreet answers of those religious men, who were well versed in their language; saying, they had never heard such sound doctrine; and not having seen such a habit before, they were never satisfied 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* reproved them, but it availed nothing; but when he was gone half way, he was rescued by some christians of the country.

They continued at *Grege* till the 20th of *May*, and setting out on the 21st, the same christian furnished 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 stayed to mend it. Sailing thence and coming to the island of the river, they saw a crocodile six or seven fathom long. At night they came to the foot of a wild mountain, called *Eltareg*, 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 crocodiles, and continuing their voyage under dreadful mountains altogether unpeopled, still met with more crocodiles. About night-fall they stop'd at a place, where one *Joseph* was head of the *Arabs*. Their provision being quite spent, they stayed the 23d at a town called *Difne*, and sent a *Turk* to buy a *Medine*, that is about six-pennyworth 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 ancient city *Dandara*, being the third built by *Hermes* the philosopher, in which was a magnificent temple, with many statues and stately structures all ruined. 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 called *Chofeir*, whence *Pharaoh's* time they traded to *India*, and

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Pardis and  
Elbeliani  
towns.

Difne  
town.

Dandara  
city.

Caane, or  
Bericon.

Chofeir  
port on the  
Red sea.

part

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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 inquire 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 pacified, 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; ordered the master of the boat not to depart without his leave. A christian of the country, the rest of the inhabitants being *Mahometans*, 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 inquire 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 received six *Medines*, he was appeased, being able to get no more of the poor fathers.

Coptus  
city.

Six miles further, entring into the upper *Thebaida*, is the ancient 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 Typhomia, 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 opened 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 shewn, that this was of great*

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*advantage; and now all the Indian, Arabian, and Ethiopian commodities brought up the Arabian gulph, are conveyed 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 Ephesus, as may appear by its acts.*

Proceeding on their way, the boat was forced to stop till midnight for want of 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 parched with the sun, they turned back to put in with much labour at night to the city *Naccade*. The fathers being come thither, went to the bishop's house almost famished, 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 proposed to them concerning our holy faith, to which they gave excellent answers, the bishops in those parts being very ignorant. The city is beautiful, ancient, 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 called *Luchso*, 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 called *Luchferem*, that is, two lights, or else had the name for being composed 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

digious bigness, of which all from the shoulders upwards being broke down, 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 remained whole still, had not the natives gone about to break an urn they had on their heads, hoping to find some treasure 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 sixteen pillars of several pieces, but forty-seven spans about, and further on a great square building, composed of one hundred pillars, thirty-seven spans about. Hence they went to a temple of idols, covered with vast great stones, each of which was thirty spans long, nine in breadth, and six 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 six rods in breadth, all of large free stone, with hieroglyphicks covered 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 carved, fourteen spans thick, and of a proportionable height. In the midst of it is the place for the shows, almost a mile about, hemmed in by six rounds, making in all about 200 large pillars, adorned 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 pursued by the *Bassa*, retire to it. In the same city is a lake of green salt water, not coloured by corruption, but as they will have it, by art magick; nor is it known whence it springs, or whither it flows; but it swells as the *Nile* grows small, and sinks as that river rises: what is more, dirty linen put into it immediately turns white. They say it had formerly a hard stone bottom in all parts, being a quarter of a mile about.

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 blessed virgin and angels to be seen, painted after the *Grecian* manner. They call this place *Samcavenegium*, that is starry hea-

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ven, because the roof, through certain holes, artificially represents several stars, and signs of the zodiack: at present it serves the *Arabs* for a stable. GEMEL-  
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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 buried in the ground; near to which there are two others of the same make and bigness, but thrown down by misfortunes of times. Not far off there were two idols of the finest marble, fourteen spans high, on column of porphyry, of a prodigious bigness, which led into a street, covered with flat stones thirty-six spans long, and twelve in breadth, all over covered with hieroglyphicks, and supported by a wall of stones of an incredible bigness. 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 designed, 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 bigness, 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 *Medinalhabu*. 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 called *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 *Licophi*, now called *Armant*, renowned for many temples, and great structures, besides statues and columns. It was once the seat of a bishop, and *Voluscianus*, one of those prelates, was at the council of *Ephesus*; 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 crocodiles of several sorts. Armant-  
city.

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Democrat  
city.

The next morning at sun-rising they passed by the city *Democrat*, built by an ancient philosopher of that name; at present it is called *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 covered with mats, for want of better materials. Close by is the city of *Latona*, now called *Asne*, under the tropick of *Cancer*; the country about it is a continual oven to *Europeans*, not used 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 resolved 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 called 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 *Armant*, forty miles from *Asfun*, forbearing to row at night through weariness. In the morning *F. Joseph* fell to the oars 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 *Copti* 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 *Arabick* books, which did not avail them, for those very books serv'd the more to confound them; yet they never would give over, nothing talking to the purpose. After which, the good fathers returned down the same river to their *Hospitium*, or house at *Grand Caire*.

## C H A P. VI.

### *The descriptions 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 *Pulac*, on twelve asses. 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 *Pharaoh's* tomb, into which the entrance is through a hole half fill'd up with sand. *F. Fulgentius de Tovars*, 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

taken twenty years before, causing himself 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 covered with marble, since taken away for other structures. 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 downwards. 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, sixteen 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 empty sepulchre, said to be *Pharaoh's*, of white, red, and black marble, seven foot two inches in length, three foot and an inch broad, and three foot and three inches 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 layed before the structure was finished, because there is no way it could be carry'd in.

Between the two ways already mention'd, on the right hand, is a wall, which appears on the ground perpendicularly 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, descending 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 shoulders upwards, is twenty-six foot in 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 plainly, by the following cut.

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See Cut, Number III.

- A. The entrance into the pyramid, three foot six inches high, 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 high.
- I. The empty sepulchre, 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 companions were bargaining with the *Arabs* to shew us 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 entrance

Other Py-  
ramids.

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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.

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 appeared 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 darkned. Being frighted at this vision, he brought together 130 soothsayers, 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 *Alseida*, 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 rich 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. Whosoever 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, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* affirm; and is made out by the tomb, to be seen in the biggest of them, whether it be of *Cheopos*, as *Herodotus* writes, or of *Chemis*, 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

The true origin of the Pyramids.

continue

An Arabian Fable.

continue so long with the bodies, as these continued intire, not to inform, but to keep them, as their first habitations; they therefore used all possible means to preserve them from corruption, by imbalm-ing 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 moved *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; though some say they made them so, to represent the figure of their gods. Yet it is believed, 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 polished, *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 raised 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 swallowed by any man that has not a *Greek* fancy.

We purposely forbore seeing the others that were further off, being above thirty, scattered about the desert, and were led by the *Arabs* to see the wells or sepulchres of the mummies, which those covetous barbarians keep concealed 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* imbalm'd. There are many of them found in caves under ground, near the ruins of the ancient *Memphis*, 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 fathom deep in sand; nor are they all of a

depth, but the shallowest of them is forty-two feet. At the bottom of them are square openings, and a passage ten or fifteen feet long, which leads into square arched rooms, each side of them being fifteen or twenty feet in length. By each of them is a stone, on which the imbalm'd bodies lie, some of them in chests or coffins of black mulberry-tree; others in tombs cut out in the same stone, shaped 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 *Mahometans*, and they to Christians, though 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 served for epitaphs; and besides there are in each room several sepulchres 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 feet 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 imbalm'd that fell to my share; being good, as they say, for wounds, and some distempers.

The *Egyptians* imbalm'd these bodies, I mean those of persons of note, ripping up their bellies with a very sharp stone; then taking out their bowels, washed them with wine, and drawing them thorough an aromattick 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 nitre, and left it there seventy days, after which they wash'd it again, and wrapp'd it close in linen swaths, which they anointed on the outside with a sort of gum, which they made use of instead of salt. These bodies they placed 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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A laby-  
rinth.

Being come out of the well, the *Arabs* conducted us to see a labyrinth, where the ancients buried 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 buried; 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 returned 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 about 500000 crowns revenue each of them, which they spend in supporting the *Mahometan* pride and arrogance with magnificence, keeping hundreds of horses in their stables.

## C H A P. VII.

*The author continues his travels to Jerusalem.*

**M**onsieur *Benovit 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 bestowed on me during my stay there, and prepared to set forwards. Accordingly on *Friday* the 21<sup>st</sup> 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 *Mahometans*; for they say, that it being dear living in comparison 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 *Sucs*; for I should have embark'd aboard them, to take a short cut to the *East-Indies*, as the consul had advised me, whereas the way I was now going was very tedious.

*Saturday* the 22<sup>d</sup> we continued 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 *Rofeto*; which is the reason it often happens that the boats, by reason of the shallowness are stopp'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 *Rofeto*.

*Sunday* the 23<sup>d</sup> we arriv'd at *Damiata*, within an hour after day, having run 108 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 the *Nile*, in 30 degrees of latitude. It is ill-inhabited, by reason of the unwholesomeness of the air, and is not above half a mile in length, and as much in breadth; yet because of the conveniency 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 beautified by the emperor *Adrian*.

I endeavour'd immediately to inform my self, whether there was any conveniency 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 *Hisba* 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, stopp'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 aboard 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 *Damiata*, which he knew was not in my power. After much contending, I being sometimes silent because I did not understand, and other whiles expressing myself 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 myself 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.

*Jaffon*, *Jaffa*, *Joppe*, *Zaffo*, or *Artuso*, *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 *Tabitha* 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 set 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 tilled 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 sepulchre 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 *Hospitium*, the house of *Nicodemus*, who took our favour down from the cross.

*Friday* the 28th leave being come from the father guardian of *Jerusalem*, I paid the customer for *Casarre*, or tribute, fourteen *Allulchelb*, 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 show'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 *Elah*, 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 *Philistians* towards *Rama*. Hereabouts I also saw the noted castle 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 *Demascus*, 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.

## C H A P. VIII.

### The description of *Jerusalem*, and the holy places.

*Jerusalem*  
city.

*Jerusalem*, formerly call'd *Salem*, *Solima*, and *Capitolina*, by the *Turks* *Curumobareck*; and *Leucost*, and by the natives *Chutz*, 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 itself 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 *Solo-*  
mon's

mon's temple. *Simon Maccabeus* having subdued and restored the regal seat to it, 611 years after its first erection, *Pompey the Great* came eighty-one years after, took it, and left only the name and shadow of its magnificence. The tyrant *Herod*, having taken it after a long siege from *Antiochus*, in whom after 106 years the race of the *Assamoneans* ended, cruelly abandoned it to fire and sword. Nor was *Agrippa* any better, being the last of his stock, who died wickedly as he had lived, about the time of *Julius Caesar*. In him ended the regal title among the *Jews*, but not the calamities of *Jerusalem*, since not only the city was afterwards destroy'd, but its famous temple wholly overthrown by the emperor *Titus*, who with famine and sword slew a million and an hundred thousand citizens about the year of our lord 71. He that would have a further account of its miseries, may find enough of it in both sacred and prophane histories, that being a subject from my purpose.

The present *Jerusalem* is not the same it was formerly, for its compass is less than three miles, and the inhabitants under 20000. It is seated at the foot of the aforementioned mountains, high on the west, and low on the east. It has six gates, which are those of *Bethlem*, mount *Sion*, *Sterquilinia*, or the dunghill-gate, *St. Stephen's*, *Herod's*, and of *Damascus*; besides the golden gate, which is shut up. The walls are not strong, nor have they any bastions, but small towers, without cannon, or a ditch, except on the west side, where it is not very deep. Close by is the castle built by the *Pisans*, on the ruins of *David's* tower, which reaches over the walls of the city. There is but a small garrison in it, and some pieces of cannon dismounted, which they dream to have been *Godfrey of Bolloign's*. The old castle, when *David* had fixed his court in it, after expelling the *Jeubusites*, was by him called *Sion*.

In the city they drink no other water but what they keep in cisterns, which scours the belly like a purge; for that of the *Fons signatus* runs only to the temple of *Solomon* and the *Cadi's* palace, and for many years past water is as dear as bread. The city and country about is govern'd by a *Sangiack*, subordinate to the *Bassa* of *Damascus*.

The fathers had been shut up seven months by reason of the plague, which had raged all about them; and the Christians being to be admitted to the blessed sacrament, within a few days, the time was anticipated for my sake. Hereupon

all the faithful went on *Sunday* the 30th to hear mass at the father's church, where I observed that the women there do not cover their faces, with a mask, like the *Egyptians*, and all their body is wrapped in a white sheet, wearing on their head a *Tadema*, that is, a cap with several points. An infant was baptized, and the father chose me for godfather.

About evening I went to visit the holy places, attended by a father appointed for that purpose, and the interpreter of the monastery. First we went to mount *Calvary*, and ascending many steps, entred into a small church, supposed by the *Greeks* to be the place where *Abraham*, by order from God, would have sacrific'd his son *Isaac*. A few steps further is a dark vault, formerly *St. Peter's* prison, and the *Turks* still make use of it as such.

In another *Greek* church, which was once the house of *Zebedee*, they shew the place, where *St. John Evangelist*, and *St. James's* sons were born; and behind it the apartments that belong'd to the knights of the holy sepulchre. Then we pass'd through a midling arch, which they call the iron gate, through which *St. Peter*, when delivered out of prison, went out of the city with the angel. Not far from thence we came into *St. Mark's* house, where they say *St. Peter*, when the angel left him, withdrew to meet the rest of the apostles; who are said to have there begun to baptize in a stone font, still to be seen: At present this place is a little church of *Sirians*. At a small distance is the house where *St. Thomas* lived, which now is a *Mosque*, and the houses of the three *Marks*, of *Cleophas*, of *James*, and of *Salome*, into which there is no entring, because they are inhabited by *Turkish* women. Further on, entring into a spacious court, I saw the church of *St. James*, with a good monastery inhabited by fifty *Armenian* fathers. There are two great gates to the church, which is supported by four large pillars, making a square, and three isles, laid with good marble. It was built by the *Spanish* nation, in honour of *St. James*, who was beheaded in that place; and the particular spot on which he suffered martyrdom is seen in a small arch, in the third chappel on the left side of the gate. In the first on the same side, is worshipped the body of *St. Macarius*, bishop of *Jerusalem*. The *Armenian* patriarchs seat 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 speckled stones, on the biggest whereof, brought from

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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 baptized by *St. John*; the third on the left, was on mount *Thabor*, in the very place where our Saviour was transfigured. 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 Catholick Christians, and close by the remainder of an old wall of the house in which the blessed virgin died, and *St. John* said mass 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; appeared 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 delivered 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 council where it was decreed that circumcision was not necessary. Here the pillar was kept at which our Saviour was scourged. Here *St. Peter* said his first mass on the feast of *Pentecost*, as did *St. John*. Here is to be seen king *David's* sepulchre 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 *Manasses* was buried. 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 repaired by *Sancho*, queen of *Naples* and *Sicily*.

On mount *Sion*, which is close by, and where the ruins of *David's* palace are still to be seen, is another small but neat church, kept by the *Armenians*, in the place where *Caiaphas* the high priest's house stood, in the porch whereof was the fire at which *St. Peter* was warming himself, when he denied *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 confined and scourged the first time. On the altar is fix'd, and takes up a great part of it, the stone of the holy sepulchre, which the *Armenians* took from that church, during the war of *Candia*, when it was given them in custody, the Catholick fathers being cast into prison. In this same place *Judas* sold *Christ* for thirty pieces of money, and here he restored them to go hang himself in despair.

In a cross-way without the city, they shewed 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 examined concerning his doctrine and disciples, and struck over the face.

We went out again at the *Porta Sterquilinia*, or dunghill-gate, so call'd because of the filth hard by it, through 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.

Entring the city again, we went down towards the lower part, and pass'd through a garden under the arches of the temple, where the virgin *Mary* was presented by her parents. It was once a church called 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

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 called *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 *Paralytick*. 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* poured 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 obtained 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 *Mahometans*. Without the gate, along a street that goes down I was shewn the place where *St. Stephen* was stoned, 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 buried. Descending forty-seven steps, I saw on the right, the altars, where *St. Joachim* and *St. Anne* were buried, and on the left about half way the stairs, where *St. Joseph* was interred; on the floor of the church, near the

well, stands the altar on which the *Copti*<sup>GEMEL</sup> 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 buried, 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 grotte, or cave, where our Saviour sweated blood. It was enlarged 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 *Gethsemani*, 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 *Gethsemani* 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 stoned; 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 *Englishman*, who bought it of a *Mahometan* 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*)<sup>Pilate's house.</sup> 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 carried up, which were long since removed to *Scala-Santa* at *Rome*. In the first floor is a lightsome arch'd room, which was the *Prætorium*, 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 crowned 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<sup>temple.</sup> 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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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 *Nebuchadnezzar*, 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 prophan'd it; and being still restored, tho' not to its first splendor, it was destroyed 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 chappels, and dwellings of priests, as also the *Cadi's* palace, where our patriarch once lived, 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, inclos'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 octogon, 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 *Pilate'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 *Pilate*.

In the square is the arch that supported the balcony, or open gallery, where *Pilat* shewed 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.

The place  
where  
Christ was  
shew'd.

Further on is the door, through which the blessed virgin passed to meet our favour, 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 *Pilate's* the *Bassa*; and in *Herod's* one *Mustapha*, a *Turk*.

Where  
Christ  
fell.

Other par-  
ticulars.

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 affixed according to custom. At a little distance is a small tower of hard stone, which deserves not the name of a fort, called the tower *Antoniana*, where *Saladine* fortified himself, when he took the holy city; and hard by are the ruins of the palace of *Godfrey of Bulloign*, 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 obliged to his goodness, because he continually attended me in some indisposition I had, and treated me affectionately with sweet-meats of the country.

Going out on *Tuesday* the first of *September*, betimes in the morning at *Bethlehem* gate, and ascending to mount *Sion*, the way the apostles carried the blessed virgin to her tomb, as has been said before; I was shewn, opposite to it, the valley call'd of *Ill-Counsel*, because there *Caiaphas* 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,

Valley of  
Ill-Coun-  
sel.

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 sepulchre 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 *Nehemiah* 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 *Isaiab* 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 linen of her infant *Jesus*; there are above twenty steps down to the water.

Valley of  
Jofaphat.

Proceeding along the valley of *Jofaphat*, 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 *Pharaob* 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 *Pharaob's* fig-trees, are the sepulchres of the *Jews*, who on that score pay the *Turks* a *Zeichine* a day, whether they bury or not. Further on is the sepulchre 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 sepulchre of *Absalom*, all of a piece as far as the first cornice, like *St. James's* cave, and it being empty, I went in as far as the cupola. Behind this was made such another sepulchre, cut out of the hard rock to bury king *Jofaphat*. 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 arches of the golden gate, through which our saviour entred in triumph on *Palm-Sunday*, but it is now shut, as was said before. After even-song, the holy sepulchre being open'd, I went in to visit all the holy places belonging to it.

Having heard mass betimes on *Sunday* *Bethania* 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, entring at a narrow door, there is a descent of twenty-eight steps to his sepulchre, 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 sat, 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 Christ ascended into heaven, leaving 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 *Mahometan Santone*. Next, in a great court inclos'd with a wall, I saw the stone on which the apostles sat, call'd *Viri Galilæi*, 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 pre-

GEMEL. LI. 1693. fage of her death; and on the same side is the cave, where St. *Palagia* did penance 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 sepulchres 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 60 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 *Jeremiab* 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 sepulchres, with two or three buying 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, though difficult, to the third royal sepulchre, whose

marble tomb is broken. These sepulchres 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 *Jeremiab'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, which being ended, and the gates opened, we went on, seeing near the city *Bathsheba's* bath, inclos'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 saw, 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 *Mesopotamia*; and the remains of the sepulchre of his wife *Rachel*, who dy'd there, are half a mile further.

Before

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 ourselves in the monastery of the *Capuchins*.

Bethlehem.

*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 catholicks. 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 catholicks, 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 enclosed 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 Saviour'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 say mass, 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. GEMEL-  
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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* chappel, 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 say mass, 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 refused 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 valourous nation maintain'd itself there forty years after the taking of *Bethalia*, which was at the foot of the hill. There are still remains of structures on the top.

Within *Betlehem*, a pistol-shot from 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

Our lady's cave.

GEMEL- 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 *Bethlehem*, on the way to *Tecue*, where the prophet *Habukkuk* 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 inclosed garden (truly inclosed 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 order'd, that the spare-water of the upper falls into the lower. The first is two hundred paces in length, and ninety in breadth; the second, two hundred and twenty, and ninety; the third of the same breadth, one hundred sixty 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 *Mosaick* work about the hill, perhaps the remains of some delightful mansion-house.

Saint George's chain. A mile from the aforesaid fountain, is a church, dedicated to St. *George*, with a monastery, inhabited by four *Caloyers*, 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 *Bethlehem*.

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 *Bethlehem*, I saw a plain in the valley, call'd *Senacherib's* field, where the angel in one night slew 185,000 men, that went to besiege *Jerusalem*: but though 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 incamp.

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* baptiz'd 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* Zachary's monastery, half a mile short of it is the house. house of *Zachary* (formerly a nunnery) whicher the blessed virgin went to visit St. *Elizabeth*, and there compos'd the *Magnificat*. The building is half buried 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, where St. *John's*. 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.

Holy  
cross.

Four miles from *St. John Baptist*, in the same valley, is the monastery of the *Holy Cross*, with thirteen *Greek* fathers, in the place where they say the wood of the cross was cut. The structure is good, and the church, though small, handsome; adorned with painting, and the pavement of *Mosaick* work. On the high altar is a hole, where the tree stood that was cut down to make the holy cross.

Drawing near to *Jerusalem*, is the place call'd *Gibon*, once the place king *David* delighted in, where *Solomon* was crown'd. Very little appears of the structure, besides a fish-pond fifty paces in length, thirty in breadth, and fifteen in depth. Here are the sepulchres 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 distance to take a view of the place, where Christ fell into the company of the two disciples, *Luke* and *Cleophas*: The village of *Beleazar*, where *Abfolom* murder'd his brother *Annon*, for forcing his sister *Thamar*: The house of *Cleophas*, where Christ made himself known in the breaking of bread: The field call'd *Gabaon*, where *Joshua* overthrew five kings, making the sun to stand still, that he might have a compleat victory: *Samuel's* fountain, and his sepulchre: The sepulchres of the *Jews*: The sepulchre of queen *Helen*, and that of the queen of *Sheba*: The cells of *St. John Chrysofome*, *St. John Damascen*, and *St. Basil*; the grave where forty martyrs were found: The oratory of the abbot *Arsenius*: The fountain and oratory of *St. Sabas*; and lastly, the cave of *Engeddi*, where *David* cut off the hem of *Saul's* garment, when he persecuted him.

The holy  
sepulchre.

*Saturday* the 5th I paid sixteen piastres, to have the holy sepulchre open'd; which charge no Christian that enters the gates of *Jerusalem* can avoid, the *Turks* to that effect taking notice of their coming in. After dinner, I was very charitably receiv'd by the guardian and twelve friars that live there; they making the usual procession, together with the priests of the upper monastery, that I might visit all the holy places; which ceremony also is practis'd at *Bethlehem*, when pilgrims arrive there. That night I was shut up in this sacred place, because the *Turks* lock it up, and carry away the keys.

*Sunday* the 6th I heard mass, and receiv'd the blessed sacrament in the holy sepulchre. In the court before the gate of the church, there are six chappels, or little churches, call'd *St. Mary of Golgotha*,

*St. George*, *St. John Baptist*, *St. Mary Magdalen*, *St. Michael*, and *St. Angel*; kept for the most part by *Greeks*, *Armenians* and *Coptis*, who all have their churches and dwellings in the same place. The *Greeks* are about twelve, the *Armenians* forty-one, and only one *Copti*. The *Sirians* and *Abissinians* have no place there.

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The church of the holy sepulchre has nothing beautiful, but inspires piety and devotion. It is very ancient 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 necessity, it rains down in winter upon the chappel of the holy sepulchre, there being no light to be let in any other way. It is all round up to the top, with fourteen marble pillars, and six very ancient pilasters, which support the arches about the church, over the which there are several rooms, eleven of the *Franciscans*, and six of the *Greeks*, but dark, and without ornament.

These last have a beautiful church on the right hand of the gate, with good paintings, and a cupola, as also an excellent choir, and altar; near which is a majestick chair for their patriarch. The *Franciscans* officiate in theirs adjoining to the sepulchre, which though small is decently adorn'd. There are in it two round pieces of marble, near which our Saviour appear'd to the blessed virgin after his resurrection. Thorough an iron grate is seen the pillar, at which Christ was scourg'd, which is of marble; of several colours, and three spans high; near which is a stone, that was found in the sepulchre. In the same great church, descending four steps, is the place where our Saviour appear'd to *St. Mary Magdalen* like a gardener, but covered with a round marble, out of respect. Still proceeding along the first arch'd way on the side of the church, which on that side has two isles, there is a descent of three steps into the prison where our Lord was kept, whilst the cross was preparing: it is a dark arch'd chappel, supported by small pillars, which divide it into three isles. Turning back towards the left, there are two holes, where, they say, Christ fell: And going on to the second arch'd way, behind the *Greek* church, is the chappel of *Longinus*, arch'd like the rest, meanly adorn'd, and possess'd by the *Greeks*, as is that of the prison. Close to it is another chappel, with the place where the soldiers divided our Saviour's garments, kept by the *Armenians*. On the same side there is a descent of thirty steps to the chappel of *St. Helen*,

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which is bigger than the rest, with a good cupola, supported with 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 one 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* sepulchre, and on the left, that of *Godfrey* of *Bolloigne*, brothers. There is another, they say, is *Melchisedeck'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, inclosed within iron banisters. Below it is a place kept by *Armenians*, mark'd on the pavement by a round stone, where Christ's friend's 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 sepulchre 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 sepulchre, half bury'd in the ground. A narrow hole gives a passage into the sepulchre, 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. Though 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 *Coptis* have their chappel adjoining to the back part of it; opposite to which (first passing thorough the chapel of the *Sirians*, and then thorough 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 *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 ginging, 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 sepulchre, 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 three hundred pounds 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 letter, which those people verily believe was writ to them by the blessed virgin:

gin: 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.

The *Greeks* also open'd to me their *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where I worshipp'd some precious relics; 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 Santon* 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 sepulchre, 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 wherewith 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 restored to the *Capuchins*; the marquis *de Chateauneuf*, his most Christian majesty's 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

for benefactors, immediately next to the crown'd heads. Thus seven masses being sung every week in the holy sepulchre; 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 republick of *Venice*, and the seventh for the marquis *de Chateauneuf*.

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 allowed 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 Catholics received the blessed sacrament. I should not have had that conveniency 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.

## C H A P. IX.

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

I Returned 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 sepulchre, and the other on mount *Calvary*, for the happy success of my voyage.

Getting on horseback without *Bethlehem* gate, with only the guard of the muletier, whom there they call *Muccaro*, I took along *Jeremiah'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

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me go to them. I stopp'd till my *Muccaro* came up, who had staid behind to eat figs (whereof as also of grapes, olives, and pomegranates, there is great plenty on the neighbouring hills); he being come had a quarter of an hour's 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 myself in a country, where two naked men durst impose upon me.

But I far'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 promised 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 admired 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 *Betlehem*, seven *Arabs* and three countrymen 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 killed 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 can-

not 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 hast to *Rama*. Being come thither, I stay'd all *Wednesday* the ninth expecting the conveniency 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 12th 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 with a fair wind, and sailing all night arrived on *Tuesday* the fifteenth at the ancient *Ptolemais*, now called *St. John of Acre*, mostly ruin'd and void of inhabitants. I went to the monastery of the *Franciscans*, where I was furnished with necessaries to go to *Nazareth*.

*Wednesday* the sixteenth I set out with an interpreter, and got into *Nazareth* about evening, the day's journey being twenty-five miles. *Thursday* the seventeenth I perform'd my devotions, worshipping the holy place, where the angel saluted the blessed virgin, served by the *C puchins*, who received me with much civility and affection. *Friday* the eighteenth, having visited some other devout neighbouring churches, I returned 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 19th there was no conveniency of boats, and therefore I departed on *Sunday* the 20th after noon. That night we were becalm'd, but *Monday* the 21st made much way, yet came not to *Jaffa* till *Tuesday* the 22d; *Wednesday* the 23d I bargained for my passage to *Damiata*, aboard a *Saique* that was returning thither, and embark'd on *Thursday* the 24th to return to *Alexandria*, where I had left my equipage.

*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 *Hisba*, 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 piasres 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 described; 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, I say it over again, that a Christian who travels into *Egypt*, and the holy land, must arm himself 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 people. 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 contrary, so that we made little way; the same on Sunday the 4th. Thro' the negligence of the ignorant sailors, the bark run aground, 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 embark'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 into 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 *Bichier* 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 Grimau*, 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 *Bichier*, to procure my passage aboard one of those vessels. Wednesday the 7th I went about to take my leave of the consul and merchants. Thursday the 8th monsieur *Grimau* treated me with all that the country affords; and Friday the 9th, being to depart the next day, I supp'd at the consul monsieur *Tamburin's*, with all the *French* that dieted 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:

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First under the yoke of the *Pharaohs*, and since, from time to time under the *Ptolomeys*, *Romans*, *Agarenes* of *Arabia Felix* and *Turks*, who are now possess'd of it. The Christians of the country call'd *Egypt Massir*, the *Turks Missir*, and the *Jews* *Iretsf-*

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*Eretsmisraim*. 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 *Afna*, or *Isne*, 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 *Missraim* 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 not amount to 15000 souls. One of the principal causes of their decrease, has been their constancy 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, slothful, 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 infus'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 other 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 *Becchafichos*, 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.* GEMELLI. LI. 1693.

Containing the most remarkable Things he saw in *TURKY*.

B O O K. II.

C H A P. 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.*

**T**HE boat being ready, I went aboard it on *Saturday* the 10th of *October*, being bound for *Bickier*, 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 ashore I went to pay my respects to monsieur *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 *Bickier* 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.

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Rhodes.

The city *Rhodes*, once one of the most flourishing in *Asia*, is in the latitude of 36 degrees. It maintain'd itself a long time as a commonwealth, gaining to much reputation by sea, that the emperor *Antoninus Pius* doubted not to decree, That the pretensions of one *Eudemon* 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 *Mahomet II.* they held out a siege of three months, by the valour and conduct of the great master *Ambussou*; 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, streight, and well pav'd; and in the midst of the greatest is a row of white marble stones from one end 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 buildings it appears to have been in the hands of Christians, their magnificence being nothing diminished by the brutality of the *Mahometans*, 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 foresaid fort is square, having four little towers at the angles, and an octogon 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 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 foresaid port, from whence to the city it is shut up by art. In this second port stood the famous *Colossus* of brass, set up by *Chares* of the city of *Lyndus* (disciple to the famous statuary *Lisippus*) who in the term of twelve years finish'd it, with the expence of 300 talents. The height of it was seventy cubits, and no

Atl. p. 3. descrip. of holy land Plin. lib. 36. Maillet descrip. de L. univers. tom. 2. p. 286. Marmol. Africk, tom. 1. pag. 141. man

man could fathom its thumb, 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 *Mahavia*, a chief of the *Saracens*, who made himself master of the island, and sold 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 intolerant 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 of *Rhodes*, formerly call'd *Ofusa*, *Asteria* and *Aethrea*, 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

*Filerno*, *Lyndo*, the country of the famous *GEMEL* statuary abovementioned, *Basilica*, *Catavia*, and others, inhabited by wretched *Greeks*, *Jews* and *Turks*.

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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 *Saique* entred 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 *Mahometans*. *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 myself 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* tartan 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 offered 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. *Sanfon*, a renegado of

The  
island.

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*Marseilles*, and vice-admiral of the *Algier*-vessel lost 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 tartan, 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 tartan, 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 ancients *Merope* and *Cos*, is a longish island, on the east, looking towards *Natolia*, from which it is parted by a streight 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 *Æsculapius* 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 plane, 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 *Sanfon*, who stay'd that night in the city about some business, and because the *Bassa* would send a servant of his aboard the tartan.

*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*, *Carico*, and *Lero*, inhabited like the others by *Greeks*.

*Sunday* the 15th early we pass'd by *Lyiso*, an island not inhabited, and then by *St. John de Parno*, formerly possess'd by the knights of *Malta*, *Naccaria*, *Liforni*, and *Samos*, formerly consecrated to *Juno*, who had a temple there, and famous for having been the country of *Pythagoras*, the fortunate *Polycrates*, 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 *Saique*, leaving a quantity of wood on the shore, which our tartan 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 streight between the islands *Soma* and *Forni*: 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*.

*Ethalia*,

Scio island. *Ethalia*, 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 *Salzizadau*, or *Sachezadau*, 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 freight 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 <sup>GEMEL-  
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1693.</sup> 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 easy rates, because the nearness of *Natolia* supplies all the island wants.

The christian women are clad after <sup>Women.</sup> 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, <sup>Churches.</sup> the *Duomo*, or cathedral, that of the *Jesuits*, the *Dominicans*, *Capuchins*, and *Recolets*, besides other small ones, both within and without the city.

The mastick of this island is the best <sup>Mastick.</sup> in the world; for which reason, the grand seignior sends one every year, to be present at the gathering of it, with an express 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 cotton gather'd here, yields the natives some profit, the poor people getting their living by working at it.

*Thursday* the 19th, at the *French* con- <sup>A notable  
passage.</sup> sul's house, I saw a young *Venetian* renegado, 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 required 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,

GEMEL- was, that he leading an ill life in his  
 LI. order, and the superior intending to  
 1693. punish him, he fled to *Scio*, and had re-  
 course to the catholick bishops; to ob-  
 tain his pardon of the order, which  
 being refus'd, in despair he turn'd *Mahometan*. From that time forward he  
 always did the bishop ill offices with  
 the *Bassa*, falsly accusing him of hold-  
 ing correspondence with the republick  
 of *Venice*; which calumny could not be  
 taken off, without a great deal of mo-  
 ney. 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 mo-  
 nastery in the mountains of *Syria*, sub-  
 ject to that of *Jerusalem*, fled to *Barut*,  
 and thence to *Seyde*; and not being ad-  
 mitted, 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 com-  
 forted him from the wall, with the  
 hopes that he would obtain his pardon  
 of the father guardian; but the plague  
 still continuing, and there being no ad-  
 mittance, they agreed to retire for some  
 time to *Darbessin*. *B. James* perceiving  
 the business was protracted, and de-  
 spairing of pardon, return'd to *Seyde*,  
 in the beginning of *May* 1693, and  
 going to the seraglio, desir'd to be  
 made a *Mahometan*. He was receiv'd,  
 and circumcised, 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 *Mahometanism*. The other an-  
 swer'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 *Mahometans*. *B. James* reply'd,  
 he publickly own'd his crime, and was  
 ready to die a martyr for his faith and  
 religion. He still persisting in his holy  
 purpose, and returning on *Wednesday*, the  
 aforesaid father superior gave him abso-  
 lution 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 martyr-  
 dom. *B. James* answer'd No, I will die  
 for the faith, and I find my self so re-  
 solv'd, that I do not fear being burnt  
 to death, which at first terrified 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 a-  
 bundance of people were, carrying a cross  
 in his bosom, and setting one foot on his  
 turbant, and the other on his green gar-  
 ment, 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 catholick faith,  
 and that the *Mahometan* religion was  
 a cheat, and their prophet an impo-  
 ster, who led souls to hell. A great  
 multitude flock'd about him, hearing  
 these words, and some understanding *Ita-  
 lian*, ran to acquaint the *Bassa*, who or-  
 dered the friar to be brought before  
 him, in the most abusive manner, as  
 was perform'd, those barbarians break-  
 ing the cross. Being brought, he ask'd  
 him, whether he was mad to behave him-  
 self after that manner? *B. James* told  
 him, he was in his right senses, and had  
 been mad when he embrac'd so infam-  
 ous a religion. A court was held af-  
 ter 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, pro-  
 vided he would own what he did, was  
 in a fit of madness, the good man would  
 not do it, but expected death with an  
 unparallell'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 terrify 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 *Piastres*, 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-witneses to it;  
 and because all the christians of the  
 east have celebrated his festival, I thought  
 fit to make mention of it, for the in-  
 formation 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 con-  
 sul's son and four other *Frenchmen*;  
 who conducted me to an inclos'd court,  
 about

**Greek nuns.** about which there were many little houses, inhabited by *Greek nuns*. To say the truth, it appear'd more like a stew 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 partridges.** 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 *Smyrna* 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 *Archipelago*, 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 tartan, on *Tuesday* the 24th, and the wind being fair, soon left the land of *Cuchimel* 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 Carabornus*, leaving *Metellin* on the left. The wind freshning at night, we entered the gulph of *Smyrna*, steering towards the city, thorough the passage the continent leaves on both sides for the sea. The wind fal-

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 *Smyrna*, 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 *Xans*, or vast 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 suitable to his purse.

*Smyrna*, *Lamira*, *Lamires*, or *Sarchi-* Smyrna city.  
*nia*, is seated in 38 degrees of latitude, partly on the plain along the *Aegean* sea, commonly call'd *Archipelago*, and partly on the hill. It is thought to have been founded by the *Amazons*, in the year of the world 3203, or by *Theseus*, 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 *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, *Pargamo*, *Thyatira*, *Philadelphia* and *Laodicea*. The compass of the modern city is about four miles,

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its shape irregular, somewhat drawing 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 hovels, after the *Turkish* fashion; some of them very low, and of mud-walls, rebuilt since the last earthquake, which levell'd the greatest part of *Smyrna*; but the *Xans*, as I said before, are magnificent, 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 *Europe* and *Asia* are brought hither to be sold at good rates. Provisions are not so cheap as in the other *Turkish* dominions, because of the great resort of strangers, who amount to above 50000 souls, between *European* christians, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jews*, *Turks*, and others. 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 garri-son.

The port.

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 on *Saturday* the 28th. Being upon the hill that commands the city, I observ'd on the left hand, an antient structure, which they said had been the palace of the *Greek* council, when *Smyrna* 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 aforesaid empress, and under it some *Turkish* characters, with a marble tomb, and by it an antient church, converted into a *Mosque*, but all ruin'd, and several 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.

The 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 *Holland*, live very great, in stately houses upon the shoar; for that employment, in a place of such great trade, and where there are so many rich merchants, is very profitable.

Consuls.

There are three monasteries for administering the sacraments to catholicks; one of the *Jesuits*, another of *Capuchins*; who being *French*, are maintain'd by their king; and the third of poor *Venetian Recolets*, who live miserably. There are several other monasteries of *Greeks*, and synagogues of *Jews*.

Monasteries.

*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 innumerable other birds. This I could do without any apprehension of the *Turks*, because the *Franks* have all imaginable liberty at *Smyrna*, cloathing themselves after 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 produces as much variety of shell-fish, as the land does of fruit, which is extraordinary 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.

Game.

All these delights and pleasures are allay'd by the uncomfortable dwelling there is in that city, where the malignity of the air causes pestilential fevers, but especially 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 themselves happy to be hired at any rate.

They

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, camelet, 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, 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 diskindness. 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 desir'd a pass for *Constantinople*, he very civilly granted it. GEMEL-  
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*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* clothes from thence to *Smyrna*; but others said he would have had 100 piastres of each to discharge them, whereof 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 allowed for their maintenance to receive fifty piastres of every vessel that comes in under *French* colours. *Wednesday* the 9th I din'd with monsier *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, complained 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.

## C H A P. 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 Gallipoli.*

**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

GEMEL- those scoundrels. About midnight we  
LI. fail'd with a fair wind.

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*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, entring the bay of *Smyrna*,  
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 sail'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 compass. 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 westermost 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 *Molova*, having run  
sixty miles.

Troy  
ruins.

*Tuesday* the 15th four hours before  
day we sail'd again, the *Turk* not daring  
to keep out at night for fear of pirates,  
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, insomuch  
that the wind ceasing, I caus'd my self  
to be set ashoar, to divert my self,  
viewing the remains of that famous  
place. I found for above a mile long  
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 day's 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 *Mecca*; 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 compass  
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 *Archi-*  
*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,

Tenedos  
island.

its

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 *Ammazamamma*.

Toffi  
island.

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*.

Forts en-  
tering the  
Dardanel-  
les.

*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 *Gbiaurchivij* in *Asia*, three miles from the entrance of the *Dardanelles*; so that they were forc'd 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-Iffar*, 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, can 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.

Sestus and  
Abydos.

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

wind, which before noon brought our *Cbiamber* between the two other forts, by the antients call'd *Sestus* and *Abydos*; 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. *Abydos*, 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 part. 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 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 soap, 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 antient city of *Schie-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.

Q

Being

GEMEL-  
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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 *Gallipoly*. 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 forty-two degrees of latitude, is a city three miles in compass, seated in *Romelia*, towards the west. It is not wall'd; and the houses though 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 havock 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*; infomuch, that the *Bassa*, who governs it, makes about one thousand *Piastres* 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 *Lapsic* was erected. *Gallipoli* has plenty of corn, wine and fruit, especially excellent winter melons, of which I bought nine very good ones for three *Carlins* 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.

*Raphael*, son to *Simon* the vice-consul, us'd all his endeavours on *Friday* the 18th, to find some safe conveniency 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 signified 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 order'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,

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 coachman 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* hasten'd 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 through a plain and well cultivated country, with now and then a pleasant small rising ground, still keeping the streight 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 through a

cultivated country ten miles to the village of *Juligia-Mussurma*; after which we entered 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 city. *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 inclos'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 travelled 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 a-crofs like a taylor, 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 *Casunbiu-pri*; near which is a famous bridge with one hundred and sixty-four stone arches, two miles in length, over the river and morafs of *Coghine*. This river is as wide as the *Volturno* of *Capua* in the kingdom of *Naples*, and its channel being too small, it often overflows.

*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*.

*Orestesit*, *Oreste*, or *Viscudama* in former times, now in our language *Adrianople*, 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

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his imperial court thither, and some of his successors continued it; so that it was not only supported, but the number of its inhabitants increased: 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 called *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*, *Valachians*, 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 watered by so many streams; and in winter for plenty of game. For the most part, the streets are set out with good shops, covered 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,

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and near the grand signior's seraglio, called by the *Turks*, *Serrayovasi*. He received 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, called *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 piastres a month for each shop to the founders heirs, or such as have purchased them, and half a piastre to the *Mosque* of *Vecerseli*, granted by the grand signior, to whom it belong'd.

Near this exchange is the street called *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 *Thurs-* Selim's  
day the 24th, I went to see sultan *Selim's* mosque.  
*Mosque*, so called 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 admired on all sides. There are four gates to the first spacious place about the *Mosque*, and three others to the inner, covered 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 signior's seats; 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 bannisters 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 inclos'd with wooden bannisters, as I suppose, for the *Mullah*, or *Mabometan* priest, near which was a fountain. The other inclosure or tribune, which belongs to the grand signior, on the right of the prin-

principal nich, which we should call the high altar, is inclos'd with lattices, 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 covered 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 stair-cases, 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 through other doors to the other stair-cases, they may. The surveyor that contrived it was one of the best in *Europe*, and the contrivance is worth seeing.

I went thence to see the *Mosque Eschigiami*, 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 signior 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 *Bissten*, 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 Eschigiami*, by grant of the grand signior. It was almost noon, and I heard a disagreeable sort of musick sounding 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 signior. Adjoin-

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ing to this exchange, are the shops of the silver-smiths and goldsmiths in a long cover'd street.

After dinner I went with the *Jew* to the *Mosque of Uccerfali*, 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 sustained by twelve good pillars of green marble; besides six white ones bigger than the others, which are before the aforesaid gates. The roof is covered 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 inclos'd with lattices for the grand signior, and another on the left close to the pillar, but without lattices. The floor was cover'd with good carpets.

Thence I went to view the grand *Visier'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 this 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 turned 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

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

The grand  
signior's  
attendants.

Friday the 25th, being *Christmas-day*, I went to hear mass, and receive the blessed sacrament in the church of the *Raguzians* in the old city, whither a *Capuchin*, 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 signior goes to the *Mosque*, as has been observed 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 observed his coach and retinue. It was all of wood gilt on all sides, with wooden lattices 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 appeared, and on each side was sixteen silver nobs 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 in the court 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, fastned on a piece of board, as I observed speaking of *Grand Caire*; but some officers do not wear it, and others cover it with green cloth. There were also about eighteen *Chiaus* on horseback, 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 observed, 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 signior'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 *Isioghan*, that is, the grand signior's pages.

Prayers being ended, I saw the grand signior *Hamet II.* come out, and get in-  
signior.  
to his coach, from the steps of the *Mosque*. He was of a low stature, full-bodied, 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 *Sclattar*, 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 *Chiaus* 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 guittar, 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.

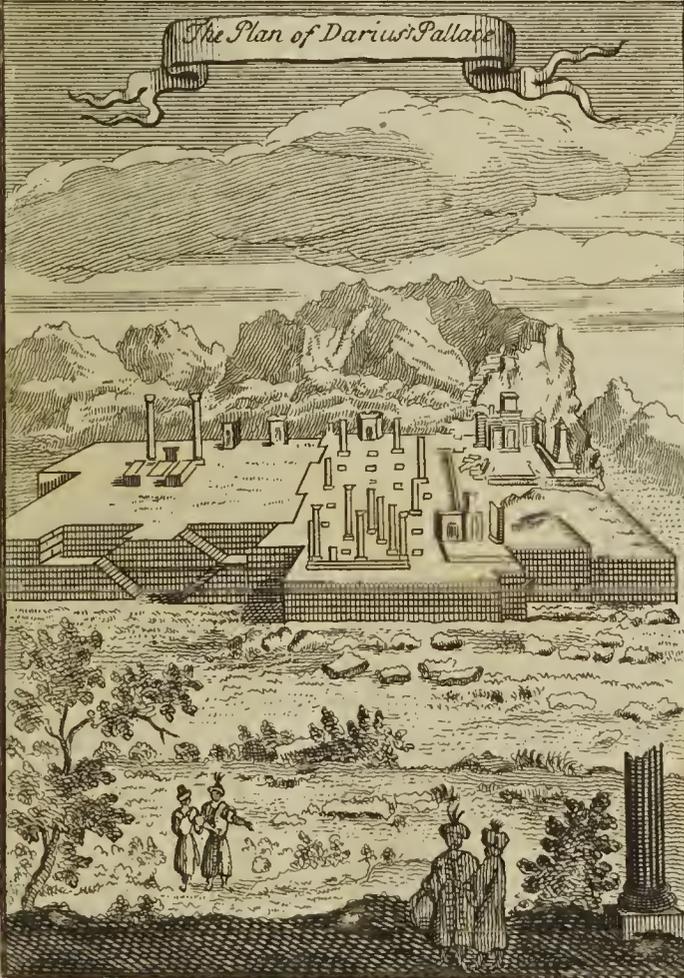
Saturday the 26th, crossing over both arms of the river *Tungia*, which waters the north side of the city, on two stone-bridges, I saw on the right a great *Mosque* called *Gregni-Jenimaret*. Before  
Gregni-  
Jenimaret  
mosque.  
it is a spacious court encompass'd with beautiful structures cover'd with lead, for those that serve the *Mosque*, and poor people maintained 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,



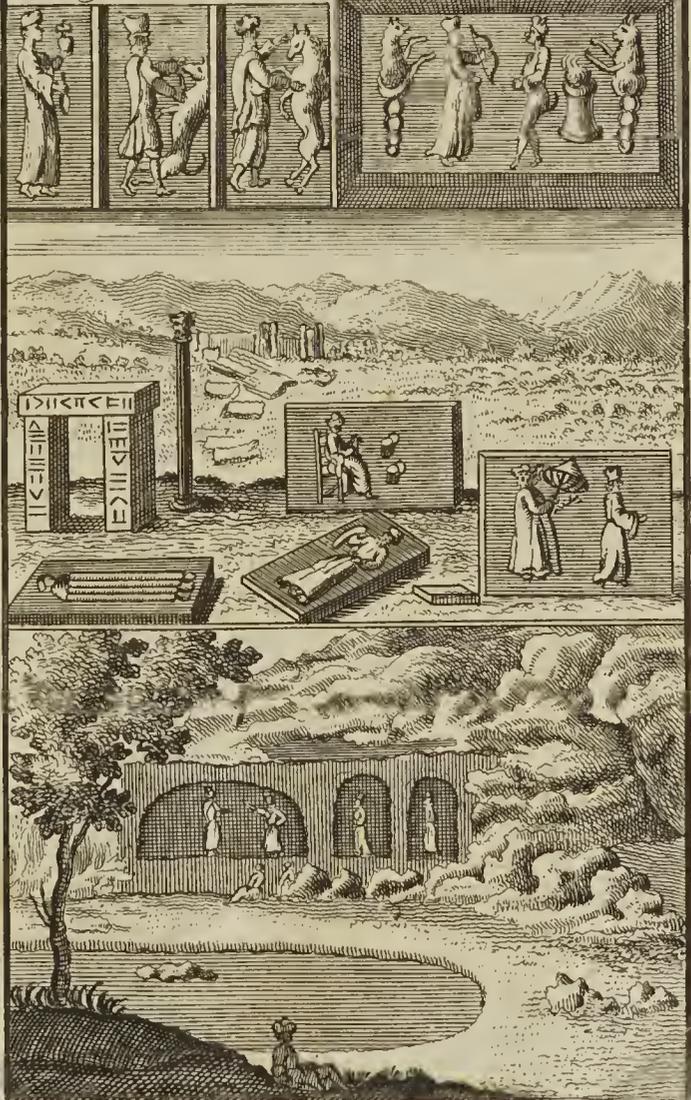
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The Plan of Darius's Pallace



Figures in Darius's Pallace & other Antiquities





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 leaded 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 marquis of *Orade*; who every campaign follows the grand visier, to direct warlike affairs, and improve military discipline.

*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 with 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 are all the shoemakers 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 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.

Going on *Monday* the 28th to see the dervice 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 inclos'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 *Mullab* uses to read, sitting cross-legg'd. Eight spans above the ground, the wall was all crusted 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 inclos'd with banisters, 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 boarded up, in which six or 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 turbant 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

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phet *Jeremy* in, in the holy week; after which the superior made a short speech, or sermon, expounding a book, out of which a dervise, 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-legg'd, after the *Turkish* fashion. The dervise 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 dervises stood up, and passing by the place where the superior had sat down again, made a low bow to him, which the superior return'd, standing up, and then sat 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 petticoat, 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 dervises, 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 dervises had done; the fringe that hung down from his half turbant 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 dervises 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 clothes before my chamber-door; and inquiring 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 *Vancleve*, 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. *Vancleve* answer'd, That the room had been taken for a *Frank*, who would never bear with his 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 *Jenichiupri*, that is, *The New bridge*; and a hundred 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 *Few* 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 *Adriano-ple*. He was of a proportionable stature, brown of complexion, and of a fierce coun-

countenance, but about eighty 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 horseback follow'd him, well clad after their manner; besides as many more sent by the grand vizier to do him honour.

1694. *Friday* the 1st of *January* 1694, being a festival among the *Turks*, I went before the seraglio, to see the grand seignior go abroad. Four *Bustangis* on horseback went before, carrying red cloth to cover the closet, or tribune. Some time after, it being about noon, twenty *Chiaus* appear'd on horseback, after whom came fourteen *Ischioglans*, or pages, of the grand seignior's, and ten great men of the court, all on horseback, and lastly the coach, attended by twelve *Obadascis*, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber; twelve white and black eunuchs on horseback, and several *Baltogis* 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 adorn'd 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, fastened behind. Being saluted by the people, he return'd it civilly, bowing his head low. After him came the *Scattar* out of the coach, (contrary to the practice of *Christendom*, where the master comes out last) carrying the scymitar. 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 turbant, 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.

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There is no truth in what *Tavernier* writes in his relation *du Serraille*, tom. 3. pag. 384, viz. that the grand seignior wears three plumes of feathers in his turbant, 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 turbant. Not satisfy'd with what I had seen with my own eyes, I inquir'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 *Chiaus*, 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 turbant 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 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

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Grand  
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Muphti.

The fe-  
raglio.

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

The seraglio or *Serray*, which in the *Persian* tongue signifies a royal house, is a regular structure on a plain 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 *Isioghlans*, or grand seignior's pages. There is nothing 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, called *Ibrahim*. But there are still alive two nephews of his, the sons of *Mahomet* the IVth, his brother; one of them call'd *Mustapha* thirteen years of age, and the other *Hamet* of eighteen, but kept prisoners according to the antient policy of that family.

### C H A P. 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 informed concerning them, by particular inquiry 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 sorts, 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 *Kizlaragasi*, 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 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 *Mahometan* 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

The Kizlaragasi.

fold 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 *Affan*, *Butan*, *Pegu*, *Ara-can* and *Golcanda*, and the blacks from *Africk*, among whom the most deformed 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. 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 in to the emperor, without being conducted by him; and if any business would admit of no delay, and were brought in writing, the answer must pass through his hands. He by a peculiar privilege, granted to no other, wears a turban, and 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 zecchines a day for his table.

Four great eunuchs. Next to him there are four others, which are the *Nozadabasci*, 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 linen, and attend the emperor when he travels. He has under him a deputy, call'd *Seraikesodasi*, to whom it belongs every half year, to change the carpets of the rooms in the seraglio. The third is the *Haznadar*, or *Chaznadar-Basci*, who is intrusted 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 *Testerdars*, 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 GEMEL-  
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The other officers of the seraglio are Dogangi-Basci, and others. the great falconer, call'd *Dogangi-Basci*; 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-Basci*, who has charge of the baths; the *Ciamaci-Basci*, chief of those that wash the linen; 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 *Ischioglans*. They wear what colour'd 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 Bustangis, Bustangis and their Basci. *Bustangis*, 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-Basci* 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-Moglans*, 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 Baltagis. 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. *Capigis*, and their chief is call'd *Capigi-Basci*; whom the emperor makes use of to execute his commands.

Those

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Halvagiſ.

Those that wear the white cap not 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 *Kifargi-Bofchi* has full authority; yet every kitchen has its supervisor call'd *Aragi-Bafci*; besides the *Muchek-Enuri*, who provides all things necessary for the kitchen and tables, even of ambassadors, according to the orders he receives from the grand vizier.

Hastaler-  
Agafi.

The *Hastaler-Agafi* 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 among the seraglio's, and have them brought up to the *Mahometan* law and exercises, dividing them into two ranks; one of the *Azamoglans* 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 *Ischioglans*, 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 *Ischioglans*, 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*, governour of *Constantinople*; the *Bassa* of the sea; and the *Aga* of the *Jani-zaries*. These are of such great authority, that they sometimes depose, and raise sultans to the throne, as happened to the emperors *Mustapha* and *Osmán*; 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, fastened 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 colours. 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

does not rise to compliment them, except to the *Muphti*, who has the same honour paid him by the grand seignior.

The Cai-  
macam.

The *Caimacam*, or governor of *Constantinople*, is the vizier's 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 prince's anger in case of any failure, because all faults are laid at the prime vizier's door.

Bassa of  
the Sea.

The *Bassa* of the sea is captain general, and admiral of the fleet; and the *Begs* governors of the maritime provinces, and captains of the grand seignior's galleys, which are to be always in a readiness to put to sea.

Aga of  
Janizaries.

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.

Begler-  
begs.

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

Spahis,  
and Zahims.

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

Chiaus.

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

Emirahur-  
Basci.

The *Emirahur-Basci*, tho' he lives abroad, serves as first gentlemen-usher in the seraglio, and when the grand seignior appears in publick, he goes before him.

Ckmeggi-  
Basci.

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

The chief of those that receive the taxes is call'd *Caragi-Basci*, who together with the customer and chief of the merchants, is to furnish money for the publick expence, as occasion requires; the grand seignior 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*.

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Caragi-  
Basci.

The great *Muphti* is the head of the *Mahometan* 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 seignior'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 *Romania*, renders 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 *Mullahs*, 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 *Naipis* of small ones are subject to these.

The Cade-  
lescher.

Mullahs.

Cadis.

Naipis.

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

Imans,  
Hogias,  
Scheikis  
and Mue-  
zins.

The *Dervices*, 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.

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## C H A P. IV.

*The author's journey to Constantinople.*

BEING resolv'd to depart for *Constantinople*, I took my leave of the baron de *Chateauneuf*, 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 sollicit'd; obtain'd the restoration of the holy places in *Jerusalem* to the catholicks, after the *Greeks* had been long possess'd of them; and brought the grand seignior to oblige the *Bassa* of *Grand Caire* 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 *Hapsa*, in a caravanera 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 *Calestron*. Setting out betimes on *Thursday* the 7th we could travel but twenty miles, to the village of *Chiorla*, 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 inclos'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 strait.

*Saturday* the 9th at fifteen miles end we pass'd thorough *Cbeck-mangia*, a small village still upon the strait. Here is a good fishery, for the strait 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 *Cartergi*, 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 caravaneras 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

over-

overfeer of the caravanferas, 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 purfe; for I was fo far from finding this entertainment, that it coft me two carlines (about a fhilling) 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 reft did for their money.

Monday the 11th I took a room in

the *Frenchman's* inn, paying half a ducat for my felf, and a quarter for my man. We eat well enough at a round table; and I being half ftarv'd, as having found nothing good upon the road, nor any conveniency to drefs it, did eat heartily, whereat a captain of a *French* vefsel admiring, he turn'd to his companions, and faid, This man eats like a devil, thinking I did not understand *French*.

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## CHAP. V.

*The description of Constantinople, and its greatnefs; as alfo of the grand feignior's Seraglio.*

Constanti-  
nople de-  
scrib'd.

**C**onstantinople, at prefent 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*, forfaking *Rome*, made it the feat of the empire; and as a perpetual memorial would have it call'd *New Rome*; and the province of *Thrace*, in which it is feated, *Romelia*, or *Romona*. 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 call'd *Urbs*. So that the *Greeks* of *Romelia*, when they would exprefs, they were going to *Constantine's* new city, us'd to fay, εἰς τὴν πόλιν *Eis ten Polin*, that is, to the city; whence, it is fuppos'd, came the other corrupt name of *Stambol*, or *Stambol*, now given it by the *Turks*.

It is advantagiously feated on the ftraight of the black fea, once call'd *Bosphorus Thracius*, in 42 degrees of latitude. Its fhape is triangular, and the fea which wafhes two fides of it, makes there the fineft port in *Europe*, beyond all difpute. The angles of this triangle are call'd *Yedicala*, or *seven towers*; *Serra-ovafi*, or *feraglio*; and the gate of *Agevaffaco-capfi*, towards the point of the bay, or little ftraight of *Cbitana*. 'Tis true, the fides are not equal, that between the *seven towers* and the *feraglio* being much longer than the others; and that between the *feraglio* and the point of the ftraight of *Cbitana* crooked; opposite to it, beyond the ftraight, flood *Chalcedon*, an ancient city of *Bitinia*. *Constantinople* is reported to have been built

by *Paufanias*, king of *Sparta*, in the year of the world 3469, and 96 after the destruction of *Troy*, at the fame 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 inclos'd by *seven hills*, which does not at all leffen its beauty, or the delights its air and foil afford. Within its compafs, being twelve miles, or rather fifteen, including the *seraglio* and its gardens, are contain'd about a million of fouls; it being the moft populous city in *Europe*, next to *Paris*. The houfes are low, being built of wood, or wood and mud, and therefore very fubject to fires.

The royal *Mofques* are noble ftructures, as are the other publick buildings, and the palaces of great men magnificent. There are rich and graceful *Bazars* or markets, fuitable to the greatnefs of the city; and feveral fountains of good water, brought from far in long aqueducts, to ferve all parts. The ftreets are narrow and crooked, and tho' pav'd, not to compare with ours in *Italy*. It abounds in good fruit all the year; as alfo in fish, frefh, excellent bread, and all an *Epicure* can defire, at very reasonable rates. This city was the theatre of religious controverfies betwixt catholicks and hereticks, according to the inclination of the emperors and empereffes; and therefore four general councils were celebrated there; the firft under pope *Damasus* in year 381; the fecond under *Vigilius* in 553; the third under *Agatho* in 680; and the fourth under *Adrian II*, in 869.

The grand feignior has two *seraglios* The fe-  
in *raglio*.

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in this metropolis; one in the midst of it 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 straights; that is, the great side by the great straight, 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 inclos'd by a single wall with old towers, those towards the sea square, and those towards the city round, where the *Azamogians* 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 confused apartments, and gardens on its uneven ground planted with cypresses, and other trees; but the leading of the top, and the gilt *Minares*, or turrets, yield a noble prospect, as 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 straight 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 *Azamogians*, 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 *Odes*, or lodgings for the *Ischiogians*. In the third is a great hall where the grand seignior gives audience to the am-

bassadors 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; whither 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 straight, as towards the land, it yields a most wonderful and surprizing 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 straight into *Asia*, and after lamenting the ruins of *Calcedon*, it is recreated 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 straight. 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 straight, 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*, *Asacapsi*, *Carackicy*, *Cassun-Bassa*, *Tarsna*, *Divanana*, and *Afcuy*; besides many magnificent palaces and gardens of *Bassa's* and great men of the country, on the hills, and on the banks of the little straight. Hence it is, that coming from the sea, the eye is as it were distract-ed 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.** *Galata* being look'd upon as a suburb of *Constantinople*, as being but half a mile distant, which is the breadth of the narrow streight, it is not to be parted from its metropolis. This city, long possessed 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 catholick patriarch lives, and their church is a parish, as is that of the *Dominicans*.

**Pera.** *Pera* is seated along the little hill adjoining to *Galata*, being but narrow and uneven. Here the ambassadors of christian princes reside, as the emperor's, 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 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 dervices 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.

**Biscitafi village.** *Wednesday* the 13th I went a-crofs the streight in a boat, to see another monastery of dervices in the village of *Biscitafi*.

*citafi*, 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 apartments 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 inclos'd, with a summer-house in the middle.

Having seen this village, I went to the *Fondacchi* other call'd *Fondacchi*, 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 a 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.

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## CH A P. VI.

*The description of St. Sophia, and other imperial Mosques; as also of other remarkable things in Constantinople.*

**T***Hursday* 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 interval 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 *Mosaick* work; which, tho' time and the *Turks* have destroy'd much, still shews several figures made in the time of the *Greeks*. The

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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 *Europe*. 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 nich is a good closet, 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*. Abundance 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 chapels; 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 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 *Mosaick* work; but the faces of the saints and angels have been all battered and spoiled 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 interr'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 *Mosaick*, 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 *Mosaick* work, half defac'd by the barbarity of the *Mahometans*; besides these nine doors, there are four on the sides, and two behind the nich, or high altar opposite to the great seraglio.

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At the angles of this structure there are four towers, with balconies about them, into which the *Muezims* go five times a day to call the *Turks* at the set hours to their *Naama* or prayers. Before the front is a porch, where the *Makometan* 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 Tombs. the said *Mosque*, there are on the left side, separate from the body of it, tombs of several sultans along the inclos'd church-yard. The first is of *Mahomet*, the second of *Scim*, 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 painted within, after the country fashion; as the walls without are cas'd with ordinary marble, and within with a finer sort, 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 sultanes's 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 sepulchres. One thing peculiar I observed 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 Hamet's *Mosque*, in the *Asmedian*, or *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 sustain'd by four large round pillars) is 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 inclos'd

Sultan Hamet's mosque.

clos'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 observation 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 that serve them, there are others for poor people, who are there instructed in virtue, and maintained 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 buried in the ground; the verses are these:

A pyramid.

*Difficilis quondam Dominis parere serenis  
Jussus, & extinctis palmam portare Tyrannis,  
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*.

Near this place is the sepulchre of *Ha-* GEMELL-  
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*met*, and his children, built after the same manner as those already described, that is, cas'd with marble inside and outside, and the ground cover'd with carpets. Hamet's  
sepulchre.

I went out of curiosity to the *Jessir-Basar*, to see the market of slaves. The  
slaves  
market. This is a place inclos'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 signior, 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 *Biscisten*, a place The Bis-  
cover'd, where there are many rich shops, cisten. 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 *Searsci*, where there are walks full of The Sear-  
sci. tables, with good shops, affording all things a man can desire.

In my return I pass'd through the *Volidaxan*, which is a large square inclos'd, The Va-  
lidaxan. 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 IV.* and the revenue of it assigned for the maintenance of the *Mosque* built by her.

Before I took boat to return to *Galata*, I saw the *Janisarchi* on the shore of the The Ja-  
nistarchi. *streight*. This is a structure consisting of two long arches, in one of which, there are several drugsters shops, and in the other linen-drapers. 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 unwholsome, as has been found by experience in the late plagues.

*Sunday* the 17th, after hearing mass, I Sultana's  
mosque. went again to *Constantinople*, to see the celebrated *Mosque* of the favourite sultana, mother to the emperor now reigning, and to *Mahomet IV.* 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 round all the *Mosque*,

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*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 covered 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 through a cover'd gallery in the first court, and behind the *Mosque*. On the left of the nich is a marble pulpit, as also a beautiful gallery about it, adorn'd with curious pillars.

In the first court, which is inclos'd, there are several dwellings for the *Imans*, or priests that serve the *Mosque*, with fountains 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 Esquiodalar.

Monday the 18th I went in the morning to see the old quarter, or *Corps de Guard* of the *Janizaries*, call'd *Esquiodalar*, which signifies old house. This is a structure inclos'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 yet seen, 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 nich, 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 signior, 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 nich, is a round chappel, embellish'd with good marble, and the pavement covered 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 observed 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 *Bajazel'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 midling ones by it. At the ends are four other cupola's all white within, and adorned with *Arabick* characters. On the left of the nich, near the pulpit, is a tribune for the grand signior, 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. *Bajazel's* sepulchre is a-part in a round chappel, crush'd with marble within and without, with all the ornaments mentioned in the other imperial sepulchres.

It was very dangerous going to *Constantinople* for me, because there was a *Caimacam* or governor, who was a great enemy to Christians. He had caus'd fifty bastonadoes to be given a *Preuckman*, for wearing yellow shoes, he having forbid *Franks* to cloath themselves after the *Turkish* fashion; and the same to a poor *Greek*, because he carried a bottle of wine. He carry'd himself so rigidly, aspiring to be grand vizier, that he valued 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,

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 dreadfullest man in the world. For this reason, I desired 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 gaol. But, since I was travelling the world out of curiosity, I would not 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 *Calolicos*, a name given him by *Mahomet IV.* when he serv'd as a *Baltagi*, because he was a good horseman.

*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 *Scutaret*. 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.

Then I went to see *Leander's* tower, call'd in the *Turkish* tongue *Cbisculafi*, 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 *Sestus* and *Abydos*. Returning home, the stream carry'd us near the point of the *seraglio*, whence we return'd along the shore of the streight.

*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 relieve, 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 feet high, as *Peter Giglio* observes. Thence I went to see the aqueduct, called *Chemmer*. 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 *Antechemer*, there are a greater number of arches, better made, and larger.

*Thursday* the 21st I went to see *Mahomet'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 chappel, is the tomb of sultan *Mahomet* the founder.

All the way I went that morning, was among houses 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 *Chemmer*, or *Mahomet'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 *Zughure-Yuchsci*, where they were re-building.

After dinner I went to the *Vizier-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 inclosed 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 strengliened it with twelve iron hoops. It has this peculiar beyond the other columns, that there are about it eight *Cordons* or wreaths of stone running up to the top of it.

I proceeded to the *Atedan*, or *Hippodrome*, to the *seraglio*, or palace built by

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An aque-  
duct.

Maho-  
met's  
mosque.

Vizier-  
Xan.

Ibrahim's  
palace.  
Ibrahim-

Scutaret.

Leander's  
tower.

Arcadius  
and Ho-  
norius's  
pillar.

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*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 betimes, I pass'd over to *Constantinople*, to observe the compass of its walls. Beginning next the straight, and going out at the gate of *Egri-Capfi*, or the black gate, I went towards that of *Agevasfars-Capfi*, close to which the straight 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-Capfi*, the place where the *Turks* made the breach, at which they entred and took the city. Coming to the great straight, which at the point of the seraglio stretches out a small arm, I went in at the seventh gate, call'd *Yedicula*, 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 happen'd 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 *Osman* 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 were angels and saints cut in the marble in half relieve, which shew it was built by the Christians.

The walls of *Constantinople* next the straight 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 musketiers.

Continuing my walk round within the gate of *Yedicula*, there being no going on the out-side but by water, I came to the seraglio; and proceeding from thence along the straight, I made the towr 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-Capfi* 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 over-looks all the straight, 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 *English*; 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 *Bassa's*. This place is inclos'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 *Scesade-Cesede-Basci*, I went in to see the *Mosque* of *Scesade-giamisi*, 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 sixteen 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

there are the tribunes, carpets and lamps as in the others. Having seen a sepulchre, which they told me was *Ibrahim Bassa's*, I went out, and seeing others in my way, curiosity led me again into the first court; where in a chappel I observ'd two tombs of sultans with feathers in their turbants 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, and having forty zecchines about me, made haste 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* renegado, for he spoke the language better than myself. 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 arfenal.

*Saturday* the 23d I hir'd a boat, the day being fair, to divert myself on the straight. 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 *Asacapsi*, *Carachioy*, *Casfun-Bascia* and *Tarsena*, where the galleys are. Going ashore, I had the curiosity to see them building galliots, bri-

gantines 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 *Darube* in the *Hungarian* war. Close by was the captain *Bassa's* house, water'd on three sides by the straight, and handsomly built. At a small distance, on the top of a hill, near the shore was the village of *Divanana*. 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 *Iriday*, 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 the famous palace and garden of *Serray-Badiscia*, on the straight, adorn'd with many rows of cypress-trees, and abundance of lettices 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 *Afcuy*, where the straight 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 *Jevassere-Capsi* and its suburb *Juph*. The water four miles from *Galata* is fresh, by reason of the river that runs from *Belgrade* into the straight. 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 *Frenchmen* at the table, yet the wars between nations are not to break private

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vate friendship, especially in a strange and barbarous country. The *Englishman* eat and drank heartily, as did a *Genoese* his companion, and the six *Frenchmen*; for by the same token they were all drunk, and painted one anothers faces without being angry. Not being able to hold out at drinking with them, I went away to bed, making 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 *Carachioy*, I met the son of *D. Joseph Marchese* 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.

*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 *Bassa* 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 re-  
mains of  
Calcedon.

After dinner, I went over in a boat to *Asia*, to see the remains of the antient *Calcedon*, where landing, I found no-

thing to prove there had been such a city, but the fair ground it stood on. It is two miles west of *Scutarey*, 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.

## C H A P. VII.

### The author's voyage to Smyrna.

**D**esigning to go by land into *Persia* with the caravan, I resolv'd to return to *Smyrna* 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 op-

portunity of the caravan, which I fear'd would set out very soon, I resolv'd to go aboard a *Turkish Chiamber* that was bound for *Smyrna*. 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 *Natolia*.

*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 are five of them; the biggest is call'd *Marmora*, on which there are four small villages, or hamlets; the second *Bascialiman*, which are five villages; the third *Echnich*, has but one; the fourth *Baglia*, has two; and the fifth *Imaral*, has

has two more. The foil is so good that they supply almost all *Constantinople* with wine at a moderate price; for an *Oka*, weighing forty-eight ounces, which 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 *Echnich* 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 sail'd not on *Wednesday* the 3d, because the sea ran high. That same night *Uffin 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*; *Cololicos* 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 *Bichier* 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 wastes, 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, though 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

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afraid I should have been thrown into <sup>GEMEL-</sup> gaol. However, the *Aga* being a discreet man, said it is enough if he saw <sup>LI.</sup> 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. <sup>1694.</sup>

*Sunday* the 7th after dinner we had the usual visit of a customer and *Janizary*, who taking an account of all there was aboard the ship, ask'd me whither I was bound, and whether I had a pass. I answer'd, I was bound for *Smyrna*, 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, this *Rais* would not sail, 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* priest's, 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 *Chibbers*, one *Siaque*, and a *Londra*, but ours being the best sailer, outstrip'd the others, and came first to the straight 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 *Smyrna*, 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

Y

sent

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sent word betimes, they were ready to depart.

*Wednesday* the 17th we fet out early. Going out of the harbour, I observ'd a small castle, with nine pieces of cannon level with the water. A *Bassia* 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 *Smyrna* 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, *Nasi Nasi*, 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 though there be more *Greeks* than *Turks* aboard, yet the first are worse than the latter, and bear the same hatred to catholics; besides that in matter of trade they are greater cheats and knaves than the *Turks* themselves. The *Armenians*, though schismaticks, have not so great an aversion; but rather endeavour whenever occasion offers, to do catholics 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.

*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.

*Tuesday* the 23d being the last day of *Shrove-Tide*, about three hours in the night there happen'd an earthquake, a very frequent misfortune at *Smyrna*; 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 Massacueva* 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 *Smyrna* 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, loaden 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 *Smyrna*. *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 satisfy'd I should be imprison'd,

Earth-  
quakes.

Falseness  
of the  
Greeks.

English  
and Dutch  
sighted,  
and  
French  
honour'd.

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 *Massacueva*, 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 myself of that incumbrance, 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, *Brancaleone* not satisfy'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 satisfy'd I was *John Massacueva*. The consul add'd, 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 that I was a doctor of the civil law, and desir'd him to call some learned jesuit to examine me. *Brancaleone* reply'd, I might have study'd since that business happen'd. 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*, though 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. *Brancaleone* 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.* *Brancaleone* 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 satisfy'd, and went his way, leaving me in my chamber, to reflect on the strange accidents a poor traveller is subject to.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*The author's journey to Bursa, the metropolis of Bithynia, and the description of that city.*

**B**EING apprehensive lest *Brancaleone'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 myself and servant for fifteen piastres, paying half as much apart 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 *Smyrna* to *Bursa*, like the *Procaccis* or messengers of *Naples*. We travell'd thirty miles; ten plain, and twenty mountain, to *Manasia*. Here we join'd part of the caravan, that set out the day before, and lay that night at *Bungerbaschi*, to wait for the other travellers.

*Manasia* is a city as large as *Smyrna*, Manasia city. seated at the foot of a high mountain. 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 five hundred aspers a day

GEMEL- a day by the grand feignior, which the  
L. I. Turks look upon as great pay.

1694. I left off going by sea, because of the insolency 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 myself 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; though 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 caravanfera, 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 though 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 *Falembi*. 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 forced to make use of the pannel for a table, those muletiers using no saddles. To this was added the inconveniency of the caravanfera, 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

a few para's I gave him now and then. 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 travell'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 *Curiungiacb*, 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 day's journey; and therefore travellers must take up with the conveniency of the *Xans*, or caravanfera's. And here I remember that those barbarians use the words *Nasi Nasic*, 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 other small ones are seated in a plain, inclos'd with mountains, much like that of *Aquila* 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; inso-much, 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,

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 *Geschisdag*, or *Reschisdag* 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 *Bitynia*, 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 *Rhindacus* flows, which passes *Bitynia* 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 Prusius*, call'd for his eloquence *Chrysostronus*, 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 *Bitynia*, 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, inclosed 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 mentioned, 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 *Bagarbaschi*, which is a great plain watered 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 *Biscisten*, an inclos'd cover'd place, or exchange, where they sell rich commodities, and better *Serfcis*, or *Bazars*, with rich shops; and going on saw several streets of all sorts of handicrafts, and all very populous. The houses and

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Noble  
baths.

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

Having laid up my baggage in the *Xan* of *Eschiengi*, I took a *Jew* to shew me the city, but as we were going to the castle, he was sent to gaol 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 hour's walk from the city. Going into the first, call'd in the *Turkish* language *Capligia*, 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, covered 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 stone's throw from it is another bath called *Chiuchiurtli*, 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.

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 *Amuret Beg*, and three others of sultanessees 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 *Eschi-Capligia*, 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 *Capligia* the grand signior 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 *Eschi-Capiglia*, into another little bath in the village of *Cicheric*, for the service of the inhabitants.

After dinner I went to *Bugarbasci*, 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-giami* to see the *Mosque* of *Uli-giami*, that is, mosque. 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 return to the city, it is govern'd by a *Molli*, 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, chestnuts, hazlenuts, and the like.

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## C H A P. IX.

*The author's return to Constantinople.*

Montagna  
town.

**S**aturday the 20th I set out for *Montagna*, and arrived 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 straight, 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 *Caichs*, which are small barks with three oars, being ready to set out, I imbarc'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 Santones*, whom they call *Dervices*, 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 straight, 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 straight, 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 travelled 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 staid 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 straight, 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 *Caich* to meet it, I found it at the point of the seraglio; and desiring the *Rais* to deliver me my equipage, he

said

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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 *Meur*, and with much difficulty the customer condescended to take single duties, pretending to the double, without regarding the *Tasckare* of *Alexandria*, saying it was a separate kingdom, where the custom-house, like those of *Aleppo* and *Seyd*, is by the grand seignior assigned 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 *Makometan* 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 inclose 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 *Smyrna*, with a design to embark for *Trabexond* 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 *Saique* belonging to a *Greek*, I would not slip the opportunity; but taking boat after dinner, went ten miles off to the castles where the *Saique* 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 my self 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 fathers 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 beforementioned are seated where the straight 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 shore; 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 *Saique*, having paid the customer his due, who farms all the customs of the *Ottoman* empire, except those of *Caire*, *Aleppo*, and *Seyde*, for 1500 purses of 500 ducats each. I had the prospect of the straight over again, pleasing my eyes, on the side of *Europe*, with the sight of *Galata*, *Toppana*, *Biscitasci*, *Orla-chioy*, *Crey-Jasny*, and *Arnaut*; and on the *Asian* shore, the delicious *Scutare*, *Euscongju*, *Estaurus*, *Cinghil-cray*, and *Elissar*. Having left my baggage aboard, I returned 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 *Saraviana*, which is much lower than *Cesada-Basci*; 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 looked more like *Greek* than *Latin* characters. On the other

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.

Cavach  
seraglio.

*Thursday* 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 myself 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 inclos'd 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 *Mahomet'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, designed 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 *Darsena*, I saw that small fleet, well mann'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 inquiring 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 all together 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 delivered me to the gaoler, by order of the captain *Bassa*. I was seiz'd with much dread, considering myself to be taken up as a spy, 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 skiped like a doe. The first thing the barbarous gaoler 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 hulls 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 received 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 restored. After these searches, he clapp'd a heavy chain of fourteen links on my left foot; then he led me to the coffee-house, and thence to an *Armenian* baker's, 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

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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 *Saique*, 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 *Fobri*, 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 proveditor general, and spoke to them for me. Being deliver'd out of that dreadful gaol, 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, hastened away to find the *Rais* or master of a *Saique* bound for *Trabezond*, and agreed for a cabin by myself 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 *Saique*, 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 persuaded 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 *Saique* 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 *Saique*. All these disasters beset me in passion week, and certainly I never had one so lamentable and dismal.

## C H A P. 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 excessments.

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 *Sunday* 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

Ramadan  
fast. They keep a month's 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 sit 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  
feast. After this fast, they have the feast of the *Great Bairam* (like *Easter* among Christians) which they celebrate with publick 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.

Circum-  
cision. 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 being no mention of circumcision throughout 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 divorc'd from her.

Publick  
structures. They have *Mosques*, colleges, and hospitals with good revenues, as also monasteries of dervices, who are religious men, who lead an exemplary life, under obedience to their superior.

They have also another sort of vagabond religious men, call'd also dervices, who are clad like madmen, and sometimes go naked, and some of them slash their flesh in several parts of their body. Thus they are look'd upon as faints, and live upon alms, which no body refuses them. These men may take up and martyr 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 faints, 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*, though but of a little village, has no superior to whom their lies any appeal; but if he is not a lawyer by profession, the assessor must subscribe to the sentence before it can be executed, though 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 *Spabis* 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 dare not give a third, but fly so precipi-

tately 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 *Mufti*, *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 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, though 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 under-garment reaching down to the ankle, the upper a little shorter, with close sleeves, all generally of red, blew or green cloth. On their heads they wear turbants

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of the same cloth made close, and wrapp'd about with several rounds of fine white linen 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 *Mosques*, 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 turbant 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, hazlenuts, and others which they keep all the year about.

Climate. The climate also differs according to the several positions of so many king-

doms. 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 *Ægean*, 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.

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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 *TURKY*.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

*The chronology and succession of the Ottoman monarchy.*

**T**HEIR 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 soldier 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, join'd him; so that growing by degrees more powerful and formidable, and having taken several cities, he made himself master of *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Pampilia* 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*, *Lycaonia*, *Phrygia*, *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 *Galipoli* 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* having murder'd his brother, Bajazet. 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 wasting *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 *Bithynia*; 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*, *Mahomet* and *Mustapha*.

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

*Amurat* the second, next mounted the Amurat throne. He passing over into *Thrace*, the second. by the assistance of the *Genoeses*, overthrew his uncle *Mustapha*; and then, *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland* and *Hungary*, breaking the peace at the persuasion of pope *Eugenius* the fourth, he paid the *Genoeses*

*Genoeses* 100000 crowns for liberty to pass over into *Europe* at *Gallipoli*, and accordingly wafted 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.

*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 *Genoeses*, now call'd *Caffa*. He dy'd in 1481, when he had reign'd thirty-one years, and liv'd fifty-eight, leaving two sons, *Bajazet* and *Zizismus*.

Bajazet the second.

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

Selimus.

*Selim* the first, his son, ascended 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.

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

Selimus the second.

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

Amurat the third. Mahomet the third.

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

Achmet, Mustapha, Osman.

Then came *Achmet*, and then his brother *Mustapha*, who was depos'd, and *Osman* 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*, murdered by them.

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

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

GEMEL-LI. 1694. Achmet the second. Amurat the fourth. Ibrahim.

*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, though 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 possess'd 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.

Mahomet the fourth.

In his place they set up *Hamet* the second, after he had been forty years a prisoner, who being unexperienced 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*.

Hamet the second.

His successor was *Mustapha* the second now reigning.

Mustapha the second.

## 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 brocard I gave the captain *Bassa*; I imbark'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. *Maundy-Thursdlay* the 8th we did not fail, because the *Rais* had business, and I went ashore to visit the holy sepulchres. *Good-Friday* the 9th I din'd with Monsieur *Mener*, bid him adieu, and thank'd him for all favours receiv'd.

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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 *Saique* left the port of *Constantinople* in such haste, that I had not time to hear mass. Having run nine miles to the village of *Gregnickioy*, 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 *Saique* 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 *Saique*. *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 straight are no less populous and pleasant than those from *Constantinople* to the first; for on the side of *Natolia* are the villages of *Calignia*, *Cibuchli*, *Erigerli*, *Beicos* and *Cavach*; and on that of *Romelia*, *Stegni*, *Gregni-ckioy*, *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 straight 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 *Ergile*, where is a good port, a rarity in the black sea. The same wind continuing till two hours in the night, those drowsy brutes furl'd their sails, and making fast the helm laid them down to sleep, leaving the *Saique* to rock upon the waves.

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

miles an hour, and at noon came up with the other *Saique* 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 *Felucca's*, carrying with him six horses, besides as many more aboard the *Saique*. The country that appears along the sea, is most mountainous, and abounding in chestnuts, 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 forc'd to have the *Saique* 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 indu'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 monsieur *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.

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. *Villot*, 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 compleated my joy.

The fathers told me what they had suffer'd during their voyage. Imbarking aboard the second *Saique*, as was said before, they were carry'd to *Unia*, 500 miles from *Trabezond*, 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*, by the *Turks* call'd *Tarabassan*, is seated in the latitude of forty-two 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 twenty thousand 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 render'd 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 *Chiaus*; the other on the plain, being sometimes the place of abode of the *Bassa*, or *Beglerbeg*, who governs the city without any *Sangiack* 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 shore, expos'd to the inconstancy of the sea, which renders the little fishing there is very difficult. Of all the land produces, only the oil 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,

GEMEL on Saturday the 24th to the customer, for a *Taschare* 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 piaftres; 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 *Taschare* 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 *Saique*.

Whilst we diverted ourselves with the

*Jesuits*, we provided to set out for *Arzerum* with the first caravan. In order to it we hir'd two 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 caravanfera'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 expell'd by the *Bassa*, (like those of *Trabezond*;) at the instigation of the schismatick *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 *Is-paban*, 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.

### C H A P. III.

#### The author's journey to Arzerum or Erzerum.

Tuesday the 27th I set out after dinner with the aforefaid fathers, and a good caravan. After four hours of mountain and dirty way, we lodg'd at the high caravanfera 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 caravanfera 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 *Agagi-baschi*, which is shorter by two days journey, is impassible 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 used 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 ourselves 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 *Calolios* 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

being quite spent with labour of climbing a-foot, broke out into these words: *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 alms 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 myself 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 easy 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-Xane*, that is, silver-house, because of the ruins of this metal there are in that neighbourhood, where the country produces plenty of apples, hazzle-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 *Balaxor* 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 laid 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 GEMEL-  
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1694. ovens to bake bread and for other uses. 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. Strange  
ovens.

The village being for the most part inhabited by *Armenians*, they all flock'd in crouds 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 goose, to make them the better remember those things, calling it a game of devotion, because the said mysteries were printed on it. Zeal of  
the Arm-  
nians.

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 missioner 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 sup'd 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. Dalmafius* 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. Villot* say I was one of the king of *France's* huntsmen, sent to serve the king of *Persia* in that employment. After travelling twelve miles 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 sold 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 *Cbiaus* 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 day's 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; 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 6th being to ford over the river *Euphrates*, then swoln with water, we thought better to go three leagues about than to expose ourselves 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 *Carasce*, which is there less than the *Vulturnus* of *Capua* in the kingdom of *Naples*. We travell'd along on the left of it eight miles on the plain of *Erzerum*, our day's 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.

#### C H A P. IV.

*The author's arrival at Erzerum, and the description of that city.*

**F***Riday* 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

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 custom, that things liable to pay may not be taken out to defraud the custom-house.

I took a stately room in the caravan-*sera*, 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

*Asiæ* Nov. was created, and placed by God in the most delightful garden of paradise. The country is noble for having been first

Gen. 8.

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 ancient traditions, and upon the credit of antient patriarchs. Prophane authors will have it that *Theffalus* 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 *Agas* of the *Fanizaries*, both of them commanded by a hill, 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-

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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-*sera*'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 *Torneſe*, 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 barley in forty, (according to *Tavernier*'s account) for whilst I was there, they were actually sowing to reap in *September*.

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The river *Euphrates* has its springs in a mountain call'd *Apbrat*, or *Mingol*, 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.

*Euphrates*  
river.

*Incer.*

*Auth.*

*Asiæ* desc.

lib. 4.

c. 17.

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 *Laeromiere*, of the province of *Blois*, came with the caravan from *Persia*, and the next day turn'd *Mahometan*, 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

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on

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on the black sea; and that therefore they carry their credentials sew'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  
of the  
Turks.

The au-  
thor and  
fathers or-  
der'd away  
to *Trabezond*.

*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 piastres, to send them away together with *F. Philip Grimaldi*, who was going to *China*; which was done with some tumult raised 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

They ob-  
tain leave  
to go to  
*Persia*.

I would

I would pay my quota; which the *Dominican* was very unwilling to do.

After dinner the *Nazar*, or protector of strangers, who had been acquainted with the business by his brother the *Mussellin*, 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 *Mussellin* sent for some fathers that could speak the *Turkish* language, to expound some maps given him by the renegado *Laeromiere*, who could not do it: *F. Villot* 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 *Mussellin* 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 your design to do again, notwithstanding the grand seignior's order. The *Mussellin* reply'd, why do you not go upon the mission into *Germany*? Because the *Germans*, said the father, are our king's 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 employ of the empire in the reign of sultan *Mahomet*) 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. Villot* being to stay, eight zecchines were sent by brother *Manfredi*, on *Sunday* the 16th, to the *Mussellin*; after which the *Chiaga* sent to inquire about the rest and hasten our departure, signifying that *F. Villot* must go when the map was made. The *Nazar* sent for brother *Manfredi* again on *Monday* 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 *Nazar's* came to the caravansera 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 piastrés a piece, we prepar'd to leave *Erzerum* privately.

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#### CHAP. V.

*The author's journey to Kars, and the danger he was in of being robb'd.*

They proceed on their journey.

**T**uesday 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 travell'd over that day was plain, and much resembling the plain *Apulia* 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 in

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in eight hours travell'd twenty miles out of the common way of the caravan, which always passeth thorough the little but beautiful castle of *Hassan-kale*, seated 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 pigeons being sold for five *Torneses*, or five pence.

More ex-  
tensions.

*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 receive it, without giving us the trouble of going back to the fort. Twelve miles further we had a worse re-encounter, 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 commanded 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 scoff'd at their impertinent demand, 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 provisions there worth little or nothing; and the more because the natives live upon 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 *Mingol* 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 *Catergi*. 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 contents them. The women of this village cover their faces, almost after the manner of *Egypt*, with little plates of silver, worth about a *Carline* of *Naples*, which move prettily with their heads;

and they wear two rows of buttons on both sides 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 abounding in mineral waters. Going thence we met with three *Janizaries*, who pretending they belong'd to the poll-tax gatherer, would have us pay that duty. We refusing 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 *Misingbert*, a village in a valley 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 travellers. The fathers and one *Coggia Abram* 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 robbers; 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 imagin'd them; for two of them had matchlocks 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* refusing, because we were not yet out of danger, one of them threatned to run him thorough with his spear; which made me persuade him to pay, rather than indanger 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

Knavery  
of the pre-  
tended  
guards.

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 frighted fathers and I being left to oppose the robbers, I alighted with my gun 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 *Ceraon-Basci*, 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.

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## C H A P. VI.

*A short description of Kars, and the continuation of the author's journey to the frontiers of Persia.*

**S**unday 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 caravanfera 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. Ferr. 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 *Bassia*; 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 ourselves 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

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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, but for fear of bringing my self into further trouble.

Ani-ka-  
gae 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 aforefaid 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 *Arpasuy*, 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 intire, 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 *Arpasuy*, 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 part.

Mount  
Ararat.

*The End of the First Part.*

*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.

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*The Author's entring upon the Persian dominions, and journey to Erivan, with  
the description of that city.*

**T**HE 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 entring 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 *Catergis* 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.

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 piastre 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 rested, 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 *Vertabietto*, 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 aforesaid flowers.

*Thursday* 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* *Eghiamiasen*, 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. With-

in,

First vil-  
lage of  
*Persia*.

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in, 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 our saviour 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 standard of the cross every where set up; which is not permitted by the *Turks* on any account.

The monastery. Close 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 caravanera for pilgrims; for the monks go through another court and larger gate to their cells and church. The whole place is inclos'd with high mudwalls, within which compass there are several vineyards and gardens.

The patriarch. 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 St. *Leo*, Pope, because he approv'd the council of *Calcedon*, which condemn'd theirs and the *Greek* heresy.

The second monastery. The second monastery, with the church dedicated to St. *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. The third monastery a mile and a half from these, is very small, and dedicated

to St. *Rcrima*. There is but one altar in the church, which has three doors, and good vineyards and fields belonging to 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 *Turky*.

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 caravanera 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 *Zangli*; 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 *Cham* 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

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deserv'd well. The *Persians* coin their money after this fashion. Having plac'd the metal in a trench, with coals and 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.

*Sunday* the 30th I went to take the air on the bridge there is over the aforesaid river, consisting of good arches, near which, under the shade of thick trees, there are small rooms for the diversion of the *Cham*, 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.

*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 *Medan* 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 inclos'd with a work thrown up of earth, and by the neighbouring hills, which in time of war might much endanger 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.

*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. Ac-

ording 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 *Abassis* 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 fardel, I sent for my horses, and found the *Mahometan* 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 *Nakcivan*, 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 abovemention'd, and prepar'd for my journey.

Before I go further it is fit I give an 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 the 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 *Dutchman's* relation is fabulous, who tells us that in the year 1670, being 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, the air grew more temperate;

The bridge.

The river.

The suburb.

Kiekart church.

Mount Ararat.

Molef def. del Univ. to. 2. p. 214.

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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 *Noah'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 *Dutchman* to persuade us the terrestrial paradise is there; but I

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*.

## C II A P. II.

*The author continues his journey to Tauris, with the description of that city, and of Nalcivan.*

**S**aturday the 5th, that I might not lose the second opportunity, I caus'd my luggage to be loaded on my man's horse, and set out in haste, with *F. Dominick*; *F. Dalmatius* being gone that morning to his mission at *Sciamaki*, and *F. Martin* staying at *Erivan*. 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 advisable 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 caravanera 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 musket 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.

*Monday* 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 forded 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 *Rattar*; but at last they seeing me resolute let him go, taking an abassi a 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 *Arpasu*. This river though 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* catholick 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 caravanera 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 *Shem*, the son of *Noah*. As for this water's petrifying in a ditch ten miles off, *Tavernier* dreamt it, for none of the *Persians* or *Armenians* that were acquainted with the country, knew any thing of it; much less that the caravanera was built with those stones.

*Tuesday* the 8th riding fifteen miles we came to *Nalcivan*, 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

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 ancientest 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 of 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 caravansera's, 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 myself 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 myself and man for five abassis a-piece, 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.

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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 *Sciabas* 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 underground. The two caravanseras 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 *Gibon*, 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 haul'd up with a rope. The ferrymen 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 caravansera of *Deradus*, which not being big enough to hold all, we were forc'd to lie in the open air.

Thursday

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*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 *Alacki*, 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 *Noah'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 imployment 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 *Schiackit*, who take an abassi a parcel. After riding ten miles in three hours, we pass'd by the excellent caravanfera of *Jamgbet*, 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 *Sofiana*; 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 Sophia* king of *Persia*, that he little or nothing concern'd at that news, said, *Let Amurat come forward, for he will de-*

*stroy 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, thro' dry and barren plains, lost a great part of his army, and was forc'd to turn back with dishonour.

*Tauris*, or *Ecbatane*, is seated in the *Tauris* province of *Adirbeitzan*, (as the *Persians* city. call it) in 33 degrees of longitude, and 40 of latitude. It was once the metro-Justin. polis of the empire of the *Medes*, whose Epit. Hist. original was eight hundred and seventy-six l. 1. p. 6. 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, incompass'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 *Guilav*, and other places; so that a great number of people is employ'd in that work. Though 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-Casan*, which some, without Scian-casan tower. 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 *Atmeidán*. This is a great square, to which most of the merchants and artificers resort, because there is a better trade there than elsewhere.

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 genteel 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-Bascia* 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 intire 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 blue and gold, and in some places curiously painted with fine flowers, in others with odd fancies. The nich, whither 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, whither, they say, *St. Helen* sent a piece of the cross. At the end of the *Meidan* is a great palace, 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 died a little before in *Tauris*, because he was always a great friend to the Christians, and special protector of the *French Capuchin* missionaries, whom in publick assemblies he plac'd by his side, to the great regret of the *Persian* priests.

His name was *Sultan-Bigian Beg*, son 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 madman and drunkard. This man we speak of, seeing fortune frown on him, after governing *Sciamaki*, 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, *Rustan 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 grandfather Rustan.* The king ask'd, whether he had any kinsman to prefer? *Rustan* reply'd, *There was his uncle Sultan Bigian Beg;* and the king inquiring, Where he liv'd? he said, *He eat the bread his majesty's goodness had left him, at Tauris.* The king said, *That madman, your uncle Sultan Beg.* He is not mad, said *Rustan*, 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 *Rustan*, we have sent for him

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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, to's'd off 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 Capuchins*; 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 *Capuchins*, 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 be instructed together with his sons, by *F. Gabriel Gbinon*, 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 *Schi-enkaic*, which runs through the midst of *Tauris*, and has excellent water; but sometimes it swells so high, that it overflows 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 blue 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 blue silk. They told me it was a *Giarci* (there are four of them in the city) which are chiefs of the serjeants, 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 catholick *Armenian* of *Zulfa*, whose name was *Malachy*, lent me eighty crowns to be paid him at *Ispahan*, upon my bare word; a courtesy I should scarce have met with in Christendom.

Monday the 14th I went to see the Scien-  
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 *Mortofale*, 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 the gardiner

Osmanli  
mosque.

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 *Mosaick* of curious blue, 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 cyphers, and *Arabick* letters in blue and gold. The gate of the *Mosque* is not four feet wide, but all of one piece of transparent white stone, twenty-four feet high, and twelve in breadth. Here is a mistake 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 feet 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'd work, set off with flowers of gold; and the pavement is two spans lower than that of the first. The out-side 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.

Note.

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.

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On the other side of the street, opposite to this *Mosque*, is still standing the front of the palace of the great priest, or *Shac-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.

Heathen  
temples.

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 *Mortofale*) 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 *Aluscian-Taghi*, which had two gates on the sides, and one in the front. There is also a great square inclos'd with good brick walls, which serves upon publick rejoicings.

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 *Rattars*; 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

Capu-

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*Capuchins*. 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 *Rattars* 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 *Eriwan*, where, during my stay, they coin'd abaffis.

The *Capuchins* 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.

A great Bazar.

*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 *Mirca-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 feet 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*, ca-

ravanfera, coffee-house, and ice-house made by *Mirza-Ibrahim*, brother to *Mirza-Sadoc*, who had the charge of *Mustofi Mumalek*, 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.

Then we went to the palace of *Mirza-Mirza-Taer*, son to *Mirza-Ibrahim*, 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 base 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 symmetry 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 blue 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 reflection 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

is therefore called *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 *Eyffara*, 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 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 conceit, 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 GEMELLI. LI. 1694. the *Turkish* women do, the skin would grow hard.

Three miles from *Tauris* is a gold mine, Gold and copper mines. 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-Basci*, 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 *Mullab* 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 inquiring after that useless structure, the *Mullab* who was at hand, answered, *Sir, it was I that built it, that when your majesty came you might inquire 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 intire on the brink of the precipice.

### C H A P. 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-Basci*, 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 *Malacky* the *Armenian*. We went to the *Jus-Basci's* house, and staid 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 town-

men, who have never handled weapons, and makes his advantage of their pay. We travelled all night over the plain between barren mountains, and at break of day after riding twenty miles in seven hours, came to the caravanfera of *Sciemli*, built betwixt those mountains by *Scia-Sofi*, 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 *Ormus* and *Ispahan* is inhabited, and there is need of such good large caravanferas.

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Here the *Rattars* are, who take an abassi for every horse; but I paid it not on the score of the *Jus-Basci*, 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 wild geese. Thence there are two roads to *Ispahan*; the one through *Ardevil* and *Casbin*, leaving the lake on the right, and riding along the mountains; and the other through *Kom* and *Kascian*, 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 caravansera; but *Malacky* 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 caravansera 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 caravansera, and then set out to enjoy the cool air, not that our lodging was bad, the caravansera 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 caravansera of *Dautler*, built with stone, whereas the others are of brick. In *Persia* there are good caravanseras every four leagues. Eight miles further we came before noon to the village of *Caracciman*, seated in a valley. The country we travelled thro' that night was plain, but the next day mountainous, yet well cultivated, there being no part of it waste; 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 torrese of *Naples*, which is less than a penny. But the ground is stiff, and they are forc'd to plough with

Caravan-  
seras in  
*Persia*.

four or six oxen; a child sitting on the yoke of the foremost to keep them going.

The *Jus-Basci* 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, The Georgian tells his life. 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 hands, 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 *Turk*, and how easy it were for him to conquer what he pleas'd. He said, he and every body else desired 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 peopled, we came to the village of *Jus-Basci-Candi*, leaving behind us the open town of *Turcoman*, seated in the midst of a valley. The *Jus-Basci* 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 *Malacky'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-Basci* stood a good while with his hands 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

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 them 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 forc'd to take a lantern and a guide. After three hours riding the *Jus-Baschi* 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 ourselves in the aforefaid 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 caravanfera 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 *Miara*, 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 *Kaplantu*, 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 *Casilosan*. This river as well as that before mentioned, after crossing the province of *Ghilan*, 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 kings of *Persia*, and that of *Scia-Sofi* ac-

counted 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 aforefaid bridge is a rock apart from the rest, where there appear some remains of antient fortifications, and of a castle on the top. The *Jus-Baschi* told me a woman had built that fort, she whilst she liv'd being possess'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 caravanfera 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 taste than ours; there are some like ours, but on the mountains.

It is not so safe travelling 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 put a stranger to very great trouble.

Dangers on the road in Persia.

The *Rattars* having intelligence sent them by the *Odabaschi* or overseer of the caravanfera, came in the evening, but seeing the *Jus-Baschi*, durst not demand the duty; but asking him leave to practise their cheating power upon me and *Malacky*, he chid and sent them away.

*Wednesday* the 23<sup>d</sup> about night we continued our journey, and about two hours after began the usual rain with thunder and lightning. Two hours before day we pass'd by the caravanfera 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 caravanfera call'd *Nichbe*. To avoid so often repeating the same thing, I must observe once for all, that the caravanferas in *Persia* are all built with brick, after the same model, and are large and magnificent; but so uniform and

Caravanferas described.

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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 founder's 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 though there was such scarcity of trees, yet the gentry and country people all carry'd clubs in their hands, which they call *Afca*.

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 ourselves 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 any thing. 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 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 *Ispahan*. We came this way because the *Jus-Baschi* 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 *Ispahan* to serve the king. Hearing this, and seeing us with the *Jus-Baschi*, 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.

The same day we set out two hours after night, having first fitted the *Jus-Baschi'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-kuper*, and then by that of *Talife*, and having travell'd twenty-

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 antient city, as it were in a labyrinth of large and curious gardens, inclos'd with mud-walls and high poplar trees. In the gardens there are good apples, pears, cherries, plums, 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, though 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-Baschi*. 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 *Ciapar* 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.

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*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 *Persians* *Geiran*, or *Garcellis*, 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 *Karasanb*. 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. *Malachy* 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 *Malachy* 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 *Malachy*, 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-Baschi's* servants had dressed a lamb for supper. At last the *Rattars*, taking *Malachy* 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 *Rebegiup*. This caravanera is large and well built, with a lofty arch at the entrance, and four towers on the angles, though seated in a desert plain, without any village near it. Then travelling twelve miles fur-

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ther in four hours, we rested at such another caravanfera call'd *Kofckkeria*. Then going on as many miles more on *Wednesday* 30th we came to the caravanfera and village of *Dongb*, where the two afore-mention'd roads to *Ispahan* meet. Three miles from this is another good caravanfera, for those that come from *Ardevil* and *Casbin*. 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 sour 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 myself, 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 though 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 *Ispahan*. 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 above 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 caravanfera; and ten miles further gone in four hours, we came to the city *Sava*, where we lodg'd in a caravanfera made of mud.

The city *Sava* is seated in a fruitful plain, with abundance of villages about it; and looks handsome, though 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 caravanfera 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-Sadar-Beg*, had invited me and *Malacky* to a village of his an hour's 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, besides fifty *Tomans* a year, the common pay of a 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

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 discoursing 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 ourselves 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 *Turky* leather of all colours made, for the *Papuces* 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 *Ardevil*, because in it are the tombs of *Scia-Sofi* and *Scia-Abas* the second, kings of *Persia*; as also that of *Sidi-Fatima* the daughter of *Iman-Hocen*, 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 inclos'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

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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 octogon, 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 nobs 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-Sofi*. 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 *Sida-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 blue, and tiles of several colours handsomely plac'd after the fashion of the country. Returning thence I saw another good *Mosque* near this.

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.

#### C H A P. 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 caravanseras 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 caravansera of *Abscirim*, that is, fresh water; because there is a cistern for the use of all the caravansera'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 one's breath.

We set out again towards evening that same day, and at five miles distance pass'd by the little village of *Sin-sin*, and eight further by that of *Nassar-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 *Cascian*, after riding twenty miles in eight hours. The soil for only three miles about the city was fit for tillage.

The city *Cascian* is govern'd by a *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 *Bazars* are light and well contriv'd, in comparison of the others, which are every where dark and ill order'd. Two of

of them particularly deserve to be seen, where among other trades are the braziers, who make all necessaries 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 a curious workmanship of bricks of several colours. 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*. *Malachy* 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 cypresses 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 *Persians* 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 *Bazars*, some of which have particular doors to shut at night, when the noisy signal is made with fifes and kettle-drums from the *Meidan*.

That same *Sunday* we proceeded on our journey, and going out of *Cascian*, 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 *Cascian* 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.

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A notable  
gathering  
of water.

*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

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A road of  
falt.

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.

In the darkeſt of the night we met a company of *Armenian* merchants, travelling to the province of *Gbilan*, and *Malacky* told me that there is no going thither from *Casbian*, without riding twelve hours along a road of pure falt, 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 caravanſera 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 *Gaſi*; where there is a very large caravanſera, 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 my ſelf, where I ſhould lodge, having my choice of the *Carmelites*, the *Jefuits*, and *French Capuchins*, and at laſt reſolv'd to take up with the *Portugueſe* fathers of *St. Auguſtin's*, as well to learn their language, which is much us'd in *India* and *China*, 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 reſectory, 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*.

## C H A P. V.

### The deſcription of *Iſpahan*, and the moſt remarkable things in it.

*Iſpahan*  
city.

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Grand  
diſt Hiſ-  
tor. verb.  
*Iſpahan*.

Tavern.  
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*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 antient kingdom of the *Parthians*. It is a large and fertile plain, is incloſ'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 antient *Hecatompolis*; but it plainly appears to have proceeded from the union of the two ſmall villages, the one call'd *Hay-deri-dey-derti*, 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. 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 *Iſſaban* ſometimes. Whiſt the kings of *Perſia* kept their court at *Casbin* and *Sultania*, *Iſpahan* was no better than a village; but the kingdoms of *Lar* and

*Ormuz* 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-Tocxi*, *Gates*. *Der-Dext*, *Der-Abaffi*, *Der-Lombun*, *Der-Daulet*,

*Daulet, Der-Mod-bac, Der-Affan-Nabat, 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 inconveniency 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* deceas'd.

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 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 room's 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.

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Houses.

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.

Furniture.

*Ispahan* is so populous both on account of the wholesomeness of the air, and the conveniency 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.

Populouf-  
neis.

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 day's hunting. They say that the workman telling him there wanted but one head to compleat the work, he caus'd his to be fet in the place. It is about eighty spans high, and not above forty in compass.

Monar-  
Kale tow-  
er.

Thence I went to see the *Dutch* company's house, where I found *James Norgbecamer* their agent shooting turtle-doves in the garden, which was delici-

Dutch  
company's  
house.

ous

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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 for 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.

Sciarbach  
street of  
way.

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 king's, 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

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 pav'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; smoaking, 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 *Sandric*, which runs parallel to another, made after the same manner. To go to *Zulfa*, the bridge over the same river *Sanderic*, or *Rutcuria*, 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.

Another  
street or  
way.

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 ornament,

The  
king's  
great gar-  
den.

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ornament, as to serve for dovecotes. 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 fastned 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-countenanc'd, 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 died 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 *Ispahan*, 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 counsellor *Amato Darnio* 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 governor of *Ispahan*, 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 catholick, 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 catholicks of *Ispahan* 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,

Persecution of the Carmelites.

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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 feller, being threatned by the hereticks, said he had not sold it, but that being indebted fifty tomans 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 feller; but the *Divan Beg* interrupting him, said, *What, do you take the king's subjects houses away by force, without any deeds to shew?* And 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 tomans. The good fathers set out amidst that rabble, that was to conduct them by order of the governor of *Ispahan*; 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, threatned 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 *Carmelites*, it would be look'd upon as an open declaration of his being an enemy to catho-

licks; and if so, the king of *Portugal*, and other catholick princes, 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. Though this *Vert-abiet* was a hot-headed old fellow, and answer'd at first that he valued 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 tear 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, *My 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.

Stupidity  
of the  
king.

Punish-  
ment of  
an Arme-  
nian con-  
vert.

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.

The *Armenians* not satisfy'd with persecuting the catholicks, us'd their en-

deavours to do all the ill offices they could to the ambaffador, 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 ambaffador 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 ambaffador 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 king's answer or not, since there was no likelihood of the *Persians* engaging in a war against the *Turks*, as his master desir'd.

## C H A P. 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 *Ispahan*, 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 The palace. 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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is a delicate fountain, to which the water is convey'd with much labour and ingenuity. 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 rejoicings 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 midling 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 *Makometan* 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 though 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 inclos'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 *Mascit-Scia*.

Scech-loft-  
alla  
Mosque.

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 *Scech-loft-alla*, consisting of only one cupola, cover'd with small tiles of several colours.

On the fourth is the king's *Mosque* call'd *Mascit-Scia*. It has a beautiful front of the same workmanship, with two towers on the sides, ending at the top like turbants. The first gate leads into a court or cloister of an irregular fort 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 *Scech-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 *Dervices* repair to it morning and evening

Commo-  
dities sold  
here.

evening to chatter till they foam at the mouth, for some small reward they afterwards receive from the hearers.

Caravan-  
fera's.

The *Armenians* have the shops in their little caravanfera near the *Meidan*, not far from the famous caravanfera 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 caravanfera's, but at present there are only two.

It is to be observ'd that tho' people are not receiv'd *gratis* in these caravanfera's, 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 linen 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 caravanfera 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 horseback, which is done striking the ball a gallop to drive it between the two pillars.

The gate before mentioned 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 cotton, and in the porticos there are smiths,

who make nails, horse-shoes and the like.

Going home I pass'd by 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 governors 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 footman run, in order to be admitted to serve the king. He had on a pair of short open breeches, as our footmen 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-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 *Kalanter* of *Zulfa*, who was become a *Mahometan*) accused him of having books against *Mahomet*. 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 *Mahometan* religion. The matter being examin'd, and the book interpreted by a renegado *Armenian*, in the presence of the *Nabah*, and the *Sceik-leslon*, or *Axond*, two persons

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The castle.

Difference  
between  
the Ar-  
menians.

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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 *Ismaizen*, 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 Catholics.

*Tuesday* the 20th, in the evening, I saw

the nuptial ceremonies us'd in *Persia*, a man and woman, both slaves, that liv'd near our house, being marry'd. When they had eaten their bellies full of pilau at the bridegroom's house, a great company of men and women, most of them with lighted candles in their hands, it being them night, went to receive the bride. Half an hour after she was conducted between two women, cover'd with a white linen 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 on horseback, in great state, and abundance of lights set up in the streets they are to pass through.

#### C H A P. 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 cha-  
rity.

**W** *Ednesday* 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 *Thursaay* 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 bare-foot *Carmelites*, I was inform'd by father *Elias*, That the *Vert-abiet*, by his great power, had disappointed all the endeavours of the Catholics 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-ed, 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 made publick about noon, the eunuchs 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-Selarran* so hastily to the palace, that his horse fail'd him, and he broke his leg. The body was remov'd the same day to the garden call'd *Bag-sce-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 clothes, with all that is found upon the king, even to the carpet that covers him. After he was wash'd after the *Mahometan* fashion, he was laid in a room, stretch'd out on a carpet, to be carry'd thence to *Kom*, to the tombs to 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 *Mahometan* 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

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 *Mullaks* 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 governors 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, *Patscia bascena carbon olson*; that is, *This money is sacrificed 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, persuaded 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 sopperies, the king easily gave 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 ancient stock of the *Rustans*, who were sovereigns of *Persia* and *Parthia*, 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 scymitar 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 scymitar, 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.

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*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, though 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 he 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*.

The king's cruelty and lasciviousness.

He continued 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 preferment 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 *Achbar*, the son of the *Great Mogul* (who fled under his protection from his father) being in presence among many *Persian* noblemen, 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 *Achbar*, what he thought of that action; who wisely answer'd, That he was very absolute in his throne. He allow'd this prince twelve tomans a day, besides his house, and all necessaries for his stable.

Stupidity. 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 *Ispahan* left him. These thoughts were infus'd into him by his prime minister, who was look'd upon to be of the *Turkish* 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 *Suboan 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 *Ispahan*; 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 *Ispahan*, without ever restoring her jewels.

Friday the 30th I return'd to the *Meidan*, 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.

Saturday the last day of the month, Funeral. 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 performed. 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, covered 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 *Mullabs*, 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 *Atmath-Dulet*, who was permitted to ride, because of his great age. Wheresoever 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-Sof-Mirza*, whither I went to see him. I found him in the same litter encompass'd by *Mullabs*, 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 Sacrifice 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, called *Sciras*, over the river *Sauderu*. It has thirty-three good

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 called *Mussalla*, 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 *Deroga* 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 pass by three days before with three children on his back, and two things like salvers 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 *Persians*, 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 pass, if the *Vert-abiet* will let them go on.

A *French Jesuit* conducted me hence to see the village of the *Goris*, by some writers reckoned among the suburbs of *Ispahan*. 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 *Cinar-trees*, and two trenches of water.

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 sheeps 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 fire. 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 *Abram-Ebraimzer-Ateucht*, their prophet, who was preserved from fire.

Their marriages are after this manner. Their 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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bit.

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 linen; 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.

### C H A P. VIII.

*The description of the colony of Zulfa, and of the religious rites of the Armenians.*

Zulfa co-  
lony.

**Z**ulfa, Sulfa, or Giolfa, is near the village of *Gori*, and two miles and half from *Ispahan*, 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  
streets.

The houses are handsome within, tho' of mud without, the streets neater and straiter than those of *Ispahan*, 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'Estoile*, 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'Estoile's* son, by an old *Armenian*, and by three *Frenchmen*, who knew him at *Zulfa*. By this we may judge of the

A trick  
put upon  
*Tavernier*.

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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 administered among them in criminal cases; and for the civil appoints a *Kalenser*, or judge of that nation, who rates what they are to pay to the exchequer. These 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 thousand 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 bare-foot *Carmelites*, 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-abiet* hears of any, he excom-

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  
mass.

*Wednesday* the 4th I stay'd in the city, and going to hear mass 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 mass 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.

Communion.

Lent.

In *Lent* they do not receive, and they say only one mass 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-Thursday*, and then all that will may communicate; but most of them use to do it at the mass which is said on *Holy-Saturday*, before sun-setting;

after which they may eat oil, butter and eggs. GEMEL-  
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On *Easter-Sunday* another mass is said, 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 so great a devotion for *St. George*, that some of them will be three, and others five days, without eating any thing. Easter.

When any one has a mind to make his 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 mass, 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. Priests.

The archbishop's life is very austere, 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. Archbishops.

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 Fasting.

Baptism.

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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 extreme 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 christening 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 *Beleslan-Taghe*) and other sweets. It is bless'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 flambeaux in their hands. They alighted before the church and went up streight to

the altar, where standing close face to face, the bishop read in a book that rest-ed 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 mother's, and gives the ring from her son; soon after he comes, and is bless'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 *Mordifunerals.*  
*sciri*, 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 put him on a white shirt and other linen, all new, sowing 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.

When

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 camest 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 ceremony.

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 merrily; 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, notwithstanding the infinite persecutions rais'd against them by the *Mahometans*. Very few of them have imbrac'd the *Mahometan* religion, blinded by interest; for the renegado is put into possession of all his kindreds goods, and even of his father's, who must afterwards live upon his son's courtesie.

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## C H A P. IX.

*The coronation of Scia-Ossen, and the Mangeles, or audience afterwards given to the ambassadors and nobility.*

Preparation for the king's coronation.

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 tomans. 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 extraordinary, 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, over which on the left hand is the hall whither the *Vizier*, the *Nabab*, and the *Axond* 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 water; 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 others on the sides making a semicircle, and all of them make the way into the cloister. There is a curious bason 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 afore-said gate, there are three beautiful doors to go into the *Mosque*. All the outside of the structure hitherto describ'd of the two towers without, and of the two joining to the *Mosque*, is adorn'd with bricks, or tiles artificially colour'd, as is us'd in *Persia*. The five isles the *Mosque* is compos'd of, are adorn'd with gold and azure. In the middlemost, which is the largest, is the cupola 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 jasper 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

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a coffee-house, diverting our selves with snoaking 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 madmen, 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 *Casbis* 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 drunkennes 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 *Pisches*, 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 fellows ignorance and simplicity.

Understanding on *Wednesday* the 11th, that the king made the *Mangeles*, that is, gave publick audience, and an entertainment over and above, I went to the *Polish* ambassador, and with him to the palace. We entred 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, scimiter, and several other things. In this same part of the room, ten spans from the king, stood the *Atmath-Dulet*, the *Kilar-Agasi*, the *Cursi-Basci*, the *Sapper-seler*, and other great men. In the middle part of the room stood the *Chams* or governors of provinces, and the *Kisil-Bascis*, or military officers. In the lower part were those that play'd on several barbarous instruments.

The hall of audience.

When the Pope's and *Polish* 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 *Atmath-Dulet*, who they were, and what brought them into *Persia*.

About an hour after the table was cover'd after the manner of the country; that is, every body fitting 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 ambassador's 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

After dinner about noon, the audience was dismis'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 turbant 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.

As we went out, the *Polish* ambassador 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 ambassador to his house, as I was returning to the monastery, I met a great multitude of horsemen going off. Most of them, to show they were the king's officers, had a little drum hanging to the pommel of the saddle, and the rim of it silver, which they beat when they want to be aided and assisted in business of the king's.

*Thursday* the 12th I went to see the mint of *Ispahan*, near the house of the *English*. Here they coin *Abassis*, *Mamudys* and *Sciays*, after the same manner as at *Tauris* and *Erivan*. *Friday* the 13th I only din'd with father *Elias*; and *Saturday* the 14th went a shooting, and brought home abundance of pigeons.

*Sunday* the 15th the prior and I, with all the fathers, went out of town to see the garden of *Bach-Xosch-cuna*, where the king uses to divert himself, when he is to undertake a journey, till the fortunate hour appointed by the astrologers

for him to set out. Short of it I saw a good *Mosque*, with the usual ornament of colour'd bricks, but the towers threaten'd ruin. In the garden we found great variety of fruit, but not very good, because of the thickness of the trees, which starve one another. There is a little brook inclos'd within a canal of stone, and in the midst of it a little summer-house for the king. This structure consists of a great square arch, with a fountain of good marble in the middle, and four doors on the sides. Near the four angles at the bottom, there are four little rooms, and eight on the upper-floor. The arches are all gilt and painted with figures drinking, or women shewing all their parts naked through transparent veils. On one side of the garden is a little *Aram*, inclos'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 *Emanuel*, an *Augustinian*, made his escape privately, in order to go to *Rome* to do penance for his offence. He being vicar of the monastery four years before, had squandred a great deal of money idly, and therefore fearing the anger of his superior, turn'd *Mahometan*, to the great trouble of all the *Portugueses*, taking the name of *Affan-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 appear in publick. This is the policy of the *Persian* court, contrary to the practice 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 apartment.

## C H A P. X.

*Of the royal garden of Sarafabet, and the audience of leave given the pope's and king of Poland's ambassadors.*

*Wednesday* the 18th I went to *Zulfa*, and as I return'd saw the garden of *Sarafabet*, which is on one side of the way. The king goes to it from the gardens of *Ispahan* over a bridge of fourteen stone-arches, (upon the river *Sanderu*) 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, receives ambassadors. 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 communication with another gallery towards the garden.

In this garden there is a thick wood of fruit-trees of several sorts; a stone canal, with

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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-Xosch-Cuna*. The *Aram* is close by the river with small rooms, without any thing valuable about them.

Audience  
of leave.

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 ambassador's, 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 lyons, and four elephants, two great and two small ones, cover'd with cloth of gold, all in a row. The elephant presented by *Heubar* the *Great Mogul's* son, which had been first given him by *Scia-Selemon*, 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 *Inan* 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 *Heubar* pass'd by, being about forty persons clad in silk and gold, with their little turbants, 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

four in the reign of *Scia-Selemon*, when he was dismiss'd by the *Atmath-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'd silk, with gold stripes, made like a cope, and a turbant, and fash of silk and gold, and long sleeves. The king had sent *Heubar* 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 turbant 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* *Balapusse*, of cloth of silver. Two persons of his retinue wore the other two garments given him, which were of different colours. But his turbant 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 clothes 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 *Tepseis* 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, call'd

call'd *Topus*; and then some *Sofis*, 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 horses 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 joining 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 sung 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 *Efcicagasi-Basci*, 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 *Atmath-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 turbant, 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 *Atmath-Dulet*, he made such another obeisance as he had done before, and was by the same officers re-conducted 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 turbants, 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 *Curdi*; on the right side of his turbant 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 remembering.

*The End of the First Book.*

*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 II.

C H A P. I.

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Doleful  
festival.

*The doleful festival kept by the Persians for the death of Hassan and Hossen.*

**M**onday 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 hideous 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 *Mullahs* 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 *Asciur*, or mourning is over, no *Turk* can appear in publick without great danger of his life. I myself saw one on *Tuesday* the 24th who had been bastinado'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, wound 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 *Sciarback* road, or street, I met the king-riding to *Sarasabet* garden on a bay horse, with furniture of a vast value in gold and jewels. He was clad in a violet-colour'd 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 barefac'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 *Sia-Selemon*. The peasant was coming out of the country with his ass loaded with peaches, and meeting unexpectedly in the street, or road of *Sciarback*, with the king, and having no place to retire to, he fell flat on his face upon the ground, with his eyes shut. *Sia-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 whichever of those women he lik'd for his wife; and thus, tho' at first he was shy, he went home with the finest woman in *Persia*, and his purse full, to his cottage, whence he came out alone, and poor.

*Saturday*

*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 Norghcamer*, 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.

Hassan's  
Festival.

*Wednesday* the 1st of *September* being the festival of *Hassan* and *Hossen*, call'd by the *Persians* *Catl*, 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 men that were come to the feast. Several processions from all parts of the town began to enter the *Meidan* betimes. They carried pikes of a vast length, with banners fastened to them, and horses loaded with the arms and turbants 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 biers, 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 itself; because they are fully persuaded that whosoever dies in that confusion, goes directly to heaven; the gates thereof being open all those ten days for *Mahometans*. 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.

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## CHAP. II.

*Of the religion, marriages, and habit of the Persians.*

IN the *Persian* dominions there are *Mahometans*, *Pagans*, or *Goris*, *Jews*, *Christians*, *Armenians* that follow *Nestorius*, *Melchites*, *Manichees*, *Franks*, and catholic *Armenians*; but the prevailing religion is the *Mahometan*, though differing from the *Turks* concerning the true successors of *Mahomet*. The *Sunnis* or *Osmalis* say, that *Abubaker* was immediate successor to *Mahomet*, as his vicar; he was succeeded by *Omar*, *Omar* by *Osman-Mortuz-Hali*; nephew and son-in-law to *Mahomet*, 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.

Persian religion.

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*, *Mahomet'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 *Mahomet el-Baker*; the sixth *Jasor-el-Scadek*, who brought up the barbarous custom in *Persia*, that whosoever turns a *Mahometan* 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 *Mahometanism*, and so their brethren

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thren follow their example rather than lose their inheritance. The seventh successor was *Mussa-Katzim*, the eight *Ali-el-Rezza*, whose tomb is at *Masud*, 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-Mokadi-Sabed-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 *Atmatb-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 *Atmatb-Dulet*. He has two judges under him call'd the *Sceik* 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 Pifchnamaz. He that calls to prayers is call'd *Pifchnamaz*, 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*.

Mullahs. The doctors who are every *Friday* to expound the *Alcoran* are call'd *Mullahs*, 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 relick 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 buried, 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, 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 *Polferat*, 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 *Polferat*, and laying hold of his garment, will not let him pass till he is paid. They believe the porter of heaven whom they call *Rufvan*, will open the door to them, near the great fountain, call'd *Kofar*; 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 embraces 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 Paradice. in a place apart from the men, and to of women. this purpose the prior of the monastery told me, that some *Portugueses* 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-Wives. young. 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 *Caité*; which is in *Ispahan* known by

by the name of *Bazarnouche*, which pays a duty to the king. They are taken for a certain time, and the contract made before a judge. When the time is expir'd they are to continue chaste 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 *Escac-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, gi-

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ving her the *Tilac*; and this is us'd among GEMEL-  
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1694. all the *Mabometans*. Father *Francis* of *S. 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, he 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 secrecy; 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.* A comical  
story.

As for the *Persian* habit, the *Cobayas*, Habit. or vests before-mention'd, reach down below the knee, and have streight 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 fash 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 *Korason*, 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 fash hangs a dagger,

Qq

which

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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 shagreen 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 men's.

### C H A P. III.

*Of the civil government, the manners, and funerals of the Persians.*

Admini-  
stration of  
justice.

**I**N *Persia* justice is done with brevity and severity, without so many counsellors and folicitors, as are us'd in *Europe*. The *Chams*, or governors, have the administration of it in the provinces; and they appoint a *Deroga*, or criminal-judge, in every city, who has under him an *Aatas* to execute his orders. Besides, the king appoints a *Divan Begby* and a *Kalanter*, who is to look that the subjects be not oppress'd by the *Cham*.

Murder-  
ers.

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.

Highway 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 *Motheseb*, or superintendant of them, with four assistants, who every first day of 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 whipp'd; after which he pays a fine, and is bastinado'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.

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The provinces govern'd by Chams, are

|                      |             |               |             |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| <b>K</b> Ermum-Sciam | Saraes      | Gange         | Oglige      |
| Amadum               | Zura-bat    | Carabac       | Damor-cap   |
| Loreffum             | Zemin-dacur | Bardac        | Merun       |
| Cordessum            | Agiler      | Ardevil       | Marusciac   |
| Baftiari             | Geraili     | Teflis        | Bola-moreab |
| Terum                | Gelaeli     | Cartil        | Arat        |
| Reicurami            | Nessa       | Caxet         | Badcu       |
| Semnum               | Bacarz      | Dadeyum       | Dagstum     |
| Damgum               | Fera        | Vasciascio    | Aviver      |
| Baztum               | Curium      | Kermaim       | Baxerz      |
| Aferabat             | Kuscum      | Bander-Abassi | Badxiz      |
| Nasciabur            | Bol         | Sarveffum     | Cugeluc     |
| Sabzavar             | Candaar     | Lesteffum     | Rumus       |
| Effraim              | Siztum      | Affara        | Bevoum      |
| Mascet               | Soltanie    | Domdom        | Sciaster    |
| Torscesc             | Zangium     | Babarem       | Avize       |
| Xaim                 | Aver        | Tonecabon     | Dispul      |
| Tebez                | Tauris      | Oromi         | Dedest      |
| Tum                  | Gerum       | Alpauz        | Sciors      |
| Gum-lager            | Sciamaki    | Derban        | Nimruz      |
|                      |             |               | Durak       |

In all eighty-one provinces govern'd by Chams.

The provinces govern'd by Viziers are thirty-seven, viz.

|          |         |             |              |
|----------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| Sephaum  | Cuchi   | Save        | Sciape-cerut |
| Golpapum | Avarku  | Ablazim     | Com-sce      |
| Saru     | Tafe    | Casbin      | Scirez       |
| Tuferxu  | Sigda   | Afe-ref     | Gearam       |
| Nataris  | Jesd    | Faraavat    | Carzerum     |
| Ardescum | Ghescu  | Sarij       | Lar          |
| Naim     | Taaman  | Amol        | Bander-cong  |
| Arant    | Casciam | Bar-frusc   | Reset        |
| Cupa     | Kom     | Masciad-ser | Laypun       |
|          |         |             | 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  
Persians.

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 cloathed 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 *Turkey*. A-

mong other usual courteous expressions among them, they commonly say: *I sacrifice or devote myself 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; King's present, how received.

espe-

GEMEL- especially to carry the *Calaat* to *Chams*  
 LI., of provinces, who they are sure will make  
 1694. them a great present. Every *Cham* when  
 he receives this present from the king,  
 goes six miles out of the city into a gar-  
 den, to meet the messenger, attended by  
 the chief nobility and officers of the coun-  
 try, 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 pray-  
 ing, 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 tur-  
 bant. Being thus clad, he goes to the  
 king's house, follow'd 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 re-  
 ceiv'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 Ca-  
 tholick missionaries could with great ease  
 prevail with them to imbrace our faith,  
 were the free exercise of the mission al-  
 low'd in *Persia* among the natives. I re-  
 member, 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 de-  
 votion than the Catholicks themselves;  
 and reprove others who did not make their  
 obeisance to the altar; and yet he was a  
*Mahometan*.

Diver-  
 sions.

They seldom play, because *Mahomet*  
 forbid it. They do not usually divert  
 themselves with walking, like the *Euro-  
 peans*, 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 pas-  
 time of youth is to make a hollow paste-  
 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 *Portugueses* call it *Papagayo*, or par-  
 rot.

Washing.

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 wo-  
 men.

They wear no long beards, like the *Beards*.  
*Turks*, but those that belong to the law,  
 now and then clip it with scissars. 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 supersti-  
 tious observations; and therefore if two *Supersti-  
 tion.*  
 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 divina-  
 tion, that they never go about any thing  
 but at the hour appointed by the astro-  
 logers, who are look'd upon as oracles  
 by them. Therefore no man neglects  
 buying the almanack, or *Tacum*, which  
 sets down what time is lucky to put on  
 their clothes, 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 plates on which the  
 planets and fix'd stars of the first mag-  
 nitude were engrav'd.

They circumcise their sons very young, *Circum-  
 like the Turks;* and make barren wo- *cision.*  
 men swallow that part which is cut off,  
 as an excellent remedy against barren-  
 ness.

The *Persians* have no surnames, but say *Titles.*  
 such an one the son of such an one. They  
 give learned people the honourable title  
 of *Mirza*, and soldiers that of *Beck*;  
 but they often mistake, and call ignorant  
 persons *Mirza*. Those that are de-  
 scended from *Mahomet* are call'd *Sabet*,  
 which signifies as much as lords among  
 us.

Sports, and particularly hawking, is *Sports.*  
 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 *Tobacco.*  
 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 *Opium.*  
 whatsoever forbears, they use *Opium*,  
 and

and from it borrow that stupidity and 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 another 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 ridiculous 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, sold 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 *Ispahan*. The bread would be excellent were it bak'd after the *European* manner; but the dough flatted 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 *Muserram*, the second *Sofar*, the third *Rabra-al-avel*, the fourth *Rabra-al-axer*, the fifth *Gemad-il-avel*, the sixth *Gemad-il-axer*, the seventh *Regeb*, the eighth *Sciabon*, the ninth *Ramazan*, the tenth *Sciaval*, 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 upon the day of the vernal equinox. Then all the great men go to wish 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 money if they have it not, that they may not make an ill omen for all the year that is to follow; and this conceit 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 expence in eating and sending presents to friends.

The *Persians* being lovers of learn- Learning.  
ing, they have their colleges, or *Medres*, where the sciences are taught. Here the students have only their lodging, and the *Mudres* or masters expound to them those books they read. They are particularly 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 cipher 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 *Kaber*, the fifth *Talik*, the sixth *Rugum*, the seventh *Sols*, the eighth *Kaler*, the ninth *Serenk*, the tenth *Amtumii*, 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, *Languaz* viz. the *Persian*, which they call *Belik* ges. or sweet; the *Turkish* call'd *Scia-sce*, or haughty; the *Arabian* *Gescich*, or elegant; and the fourth corrupt; us'd by the peasants 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 *Golconda* used the same language before they were made prisoners by the *Great Mogul*.

The best handicrafts in *Ispahan* are the Handi-  
silk-weavers, some of whom ingeniously crafts.  
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 *Damascus*, is now carry'd all to *Ispahan*, where they now temper as well as at *Damascus*, with vitriol. Their works in shagreen 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

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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 sold out of the kingdom. Besides this the *Pistaches* of *Casbin* and almonds of *Yezd* bring a great deal of money into *Persia*; as does the shagreen, *Turky* 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 *Turky* and others 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 send word to the *Deroga*, that

such a man is dead, for him to seal the licence to wash his body. This done, <sup>Funerals.</sup> the *Mullabs* come from the *Mosque*, with long poles, to which there are tin or iron plates fastned, or some bit of taffeta, and carry him to the grave, crying all the way *Allah, Allah*. The people that pass by help to carry the bier, at the request of the kindred. At the funerals of great men, several horses saddled 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 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.

#### C H A P. 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

Melons.

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 *Puost-Sabs*; the third *Fasteri*; the fourth *Anagabati*; the fifth *Belgne*; the last *Carpusa-pais*, or autumn melons, which keep all the year about.

The peaches are well tasted, and good, <sup>Peaches.</sup> for tho' I eat never so many, I did not find they did me any harm, notwithstanding antient writers say that they are venomous. The figs are good, but not found in all parts of the kingdom, by reason

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 *Portugueses* carry them as far as *China*, which produces none. The country about *Casbin* and *Sultania* yields good *Pistaches*; and in the provinces of *Ghilan* and *Masanderan* there are some few chestnuts, olives, oranges and lemons.

Grapes.

Among the rest there are three sorts of delicious grapes, which they call *Kisemischi*, 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 *Yed*. 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 *Abuboxra*, which are red with some mixture. The best herbs for common use in *Persia* are lettices, coleworts, borrag and spinage, 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.

Pearls.

Add to this the excellent fishery of pearls at the island *Babarem*.

Beasts of burden.

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 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 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 use of a sort of creatures they call *Onses*, 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 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 Epocha*.

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The brass money is of several forms and stamps, for in some places they are call'd *Kasbekes*, 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 *Kasbekes* are round like the *Gazes*, but there are also some longish.

Weapons  
and soldiery.

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 differ according to the several provinces. *Edzerbagan* is excessive cold, but healthy; *Mazandran* bad by reason of the standing waters; *Ispahan*, 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 in *Persia*, and extended their dominion into all the three parts of the world then known. In *Asia* they possess'd *Armenia*, *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*, *Thracia* and *Macedonia*; besides the islands of the *Ægean* sea, belonging both to *Europe* and *Asia*. Under the *Partkian* 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 *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

*Persian*  
domini-  
ons.

Hornii  
Hist. pag.  
108 &  
155.

Ptolom.  
Geog. lib.  
6.

Cluver.  
Geog. lib.  
5. cap. 12.  
Mallet.  
Desc. del  
Univer.  
tom. 2.  
cap. 8.

## CHAP. V.

### The genealogy of the family now reigning in Persia.

Tamerlane.

AFTER *Tamerlane* had routed *Bajazer'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-Cassans*; *Ismael Sofi* the third, son of *Sceik-Aidar*, with the assistance of the *Caramanians*, 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 *Jampius*, 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

*Ismael*  
*Sofi*.

*Asie nov.*  
*descript.*  
lib. 2.  
cap. 1.

*Angiolelle*  
in *gestis*  
*Ussum-*  
*Cassani*.  
*Barroso* in  
*Asia*.

of

Bizarro de rebus Perficis. of *Sopbi*, as being subject to the race of *Ismael*. Some, tho' without any ground, will have it, that this man was *Uffum-Cassan's* grandson, as being born of his daughter, and of *Sicaidari*, furnam'd *Arduelle*, of a city of that name he was possess'd of: But the truest opinion is, that he was son to *Sceik-Aidar*, as has been said, the great grandson of *Mortuz-Ali*, *Mahomet's* cousin, and son-in-law.

Tammus. *Tammus* succeeded his father *Ismael*; and *Tammus* left for his successor *Ismael* the second, who by reason of his cruelty sat but a short time on the throne, his brother *Mahomet-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.

Mahomet-Codabende. After *Mahomet*, *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.

Scia-Abas. 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 ordered, 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 ordered the head of *Ali-Culican*, (a man that had deserved well from the crown, as having in the reign of *Scia-Abas* conquer'd the kingdoms of *Lar* and *Ormutz*) 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 inquire 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 put 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 burnt, because they refus'd to drink more wine. He dy'd of an inflammation caus'd by that vice in the city *Telizon*, and in the year 1664.

The great men that were then at court immediately sent the general of the musketers, with the chief of the astrologers to carry the news to his son; who tearing his garments that moment in token of grief, sat 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 founding, the people ran into the *Meidan*, every one crying out, *Patscia-Sal-Ameleck*; that is, *I salute thee emperor*; which is all the solemnity of the *Mahometan* 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 brothers 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 though hitherto he has fulfill'd his father's command,

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Scia-Abas II.

Scia-Offen.

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yet he will not fail in time to blind his brothers and nephews, according to the

antient custom; if he does not put them to death.

## CHAP. VI.

### Of the several employments in the Persian court.

Atmath-  
Dulet.

THE prime post in the Persian court is that of *Atmath-Dulet*, who is like the grand vizier in *Turky*. 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.

Mether.

The next is the *Mether* 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-  
Basci.

The *Mir-akor-Basci* 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.

Mirscikar.

The great master of the game is call'd *Mirscikar*. He looks to the hawks, and has under him all the officers that belong to the hunt.

Segon-  
Basci.

The *Segon-Basci* has charge of the dogs and other beasts for hunting, and is subordinate to the *Mirscikar*.

Sindar-  
Basci.

The *Sindar-Basci* is head of those that keep the saddles, and hold the stirrup, when the king gets a horseback; he is also call'd *Ozangu-cursisci*.

Kebisci-  
cursisci.

The *Kebisci-cursisci* carries the king's sword.

Oriage-  
cursisci.

The *Oriage-cursisci* carries the bow and arrows.

Vakana-  
viz.

The secretary is call'd *Vakanaviz*.

Kaf na-  
dar-Basci.

The *Kaf-nadar-Basci* is in the nature of a treasurer that keeps all the money in the king's coffers.

Agati-  
Basci.

The great steward is call'd *Agati-Basci*.

Kakim-  
Basci.

The king's first physician is call'd *Kakim-Basci*, by whose advice the others are receiv'd.

Mihman-  
dar-Basci.

The master of the ceremonies or introducer of ambassadors is call'd *Mihmandar-Basci*.

Monagem-  
Basci.

*Monagem-Basci* 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 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-Basci* is he that lays the cloth of gold on the carpet before the king.

The *Sciraci-Basci* is to provide the king's cellar with wine.

The *Mescaldar-Basci* is chief of those that carry flambeaux. 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-Basci* has charge of the coffee and rose-water.

The *Giara-Basci* is the surgeon, who bleeds and shaves the king's head.

The *Capigi-Basci* is head porter.

The *Melectegiar-Basci* keeps the king's cloth, and has care to deliver it out to the taylors to make his cloaths.

The *Gelodar-Basci* is chief of the footmen.

The *Mirab* is the overseer of the waters, who gets considerably by the country people, because it is his business to distribute the water for watering the fields.

The *Zegher-Basci* 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 *Mahometans* 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-mastick, and a mineral oil, found not far from *Sciamaki* on the *Caspian* sea.

The *Nakkasce-Basci* is head of these painters or limners.

The *Negear-Basci* is nothing but the chief of the king's carpenters.

The *Ambardar-Basci* keeps the grain and other provisions for the king's own use.

**Odunci-Basfi.** The *Odunci-Basfi* keeps the wood to burn. All these mechanicks have several assistants under them, who have flesh, butter, rice, and spice allowed for their daily maintenance.

**Tuscamal-Basfi.** The *Tuscamal-Basfi* is supervisor of the king's kitchen, and commands those that are to serve at table; whence he always takes the best dish.

**Four generals.** 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 *Keselbasfis*, that is, *Red-head*, because formerly they wore red caps, who make a body of 22000 good soldiers; their general is called *Cursci-Basfi*, and has about 15000 tomans pay. The inferior officers among these soldiers are the *Mimbascis*, who command a thousand men, the *Jusbascis* a hundred, and the *Ombascis* ten, every soldier 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* renegadoes, 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-Agasi*. They are arm'd with scimitars, 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 continued 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 scimitar, 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 called *Tufingi-Basfi*.

**Guards.** The *Eseck-Agasi* is commander of two thousand *Kescelkisci*, 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-Basfi* 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 the *Caspian* sea against the *Uzbeks* and *Calmuks* 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 *Affefs*.

Now follows the second rank of those officers, who have the charge of religion, administer justice, and inspect accounts, and as in temporals the *Atmath-Dulet* is the chief, so in spirituals the *Nabab* or *Sedre* sits as supream with two inferior judges, the one call'd *Scèik*, or *Axonid*, and the other *Casi*, 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 *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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## C H A P. 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 resolved 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 bare-foot *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 moonlight, 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 second, 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 *Raitars* four *Abassis*, but would give nothing to two wretches that guarded the way in the mountains. The caravanfera here mentioned, was half a mile from the village, built twelve years before that time by *Scia-Selemon*; 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 *Cumuscia*, seated in a fruitful plain abounding in excellent fruit.

We staying here all day the fourth, I diverted myself 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 ass; 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 *Massur-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 *Aunabat*, 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 *Iyesacas*, seated on the bank of the river; though 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 allowed 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 troubled us but watching to ride by night, and being disturbed 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-

ra's was supply'd by a portable kitchen father *Francis* had furnish'd with all utensils. Thus in short we wanted for nothing but snow to cool our drink.

*Tuesday* the 7th we had some disturbance, upon occasion of father *Francis* breaking the head of an *Armenian*, who very rudely took the part of his companion, that had cheated him of forty-five tomans. We rested all day in the village, 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 thence pass'd by the caravanfera of *Chivola*; and sixteen miles further over the river *Rutcuna*, 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 famous caravanfera of the village of *Cuschifac*, 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 across with trenches; the *Persians* using, wheresoever they find water, to convey it after that manner to enrich their fields.

While we rested in the caravanfera 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 *Baberen* (a city on the *Persian* gulph, known for its pearl-fishery) or governor 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 sparkling; their horns slender, streight, smooth, round, and two spans long, with sharp black points.

About sun-setting we proceeded on our journey on a bad way, being either marshy plains, or dreadful barren mountains; among which we saw the ruin'd caravanfera of *Danbayne*, formerly good, but abandon'd because the caravanferadar, or keeper of it, had been murder'd by robbers. At length having travell'd twenty miles in seven hours, the last three a steep descent, we came to the antient caravanfera of the village of *Aspas*, where the country peoples houses are little better than cottages.

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*Thursday* the 9th we set out again two hours before night, and rode sixteen miles in six hours on a plain road to the caravanfera, 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 pieces 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 another government.

*Friday* the 10th setting out at the same time, we rode eight miles climbing, and then going down a rugged mountain; then four miles further, we pass'd by the village and caravanfera of *Mamusada*; and lastly, twelve miles beyond that, took up at the good caravanfera 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 before he reach'd this place, the way was so bad, and being bid to settle the pannel 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 *Armenians* 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 caravanfera of *Abigherme*, five miles from the bridge, one side whereof which was like to fall, being then mending. Near that place was the mountain level'd by *Alexander*, for his army to pass.

We set out late on *Sunday* evening, to go to a village near *Darius* his palace. Having lost our way in a marshy country, the *Catergis* led us in the darkest of the night to pass over a narrow wooden bridge; but my *Armenian* servant, who first try'd to pass, falling into the river horse and all, without receiving 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 caravanfera of *Policor*. Four miles

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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*.

## C H A P. 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 inclos'd with pleasant mountains. Coming from *Ispahan*, there is a way twelve miles long pav'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. 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.

Most valuable things in it. 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*.

Gardens. 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 crystal 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 it supplies not only all *Persia*, but *Indostan*, from the ports of *Bander-Abassi*, and *Bander-Condo*.

In the mint of this city they coin brass, 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 *Aspas*, 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 *Dilgusci*, from which flows a river that runs though 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.

## C H A P. IX.

*The description of Darius's palace, and other ruins of Persepolis.*GEMEL-  
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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 caravanfera of the village of *Mirxascon*, half a league distant from *Darius's* palace.

The caravanfedar, or keeper of the caravanfera, inquir'd of my servant what brought me thither, and knowing the cause of my coming said to him, if your master 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 fabric 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 <sup>an in-</sup> 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 of, but only triangles of several sorts, severally plac'd, the various placing whereof perhaps formed divers words, and express'd some thoughts. The most receiv'd opinion, is, that they are characters of the antient *Coris*, who were sovereigns of *Persia*; but this is not easily to be made out, the *Coris* 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 antients 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 a 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,

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 antient *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 feigns are 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 it self 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 intire 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 shew 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, inclos'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 in

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 aforefaid 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 antient *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 myself, how easily human 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 amphitheatre 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 join'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 spo-

ken 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 meerly 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 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 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 *Cauch*, like those the *Turks* wear, but without any border like the turbant. Under this frontispiece 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; though that particular grot or cave, the *Parvansedar* spoke of, was made by order of the *Cham* of the province, on account of the people that went 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,

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Incert.  
Aut. Asiae  
disc. 1. 5.  
c. 13.

GEMEL- instead of one there are three separa-  
 LI. tions, with each of them a tomb cover'd  
 1694: with the same stone, but without any wa-  
 ter 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 *Danae*, from whom the *Persian* nation took its name.

Others are of opinion, these are the ruins of a famous temple built by *Abasuerus* 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 *Athens*, 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 supposed 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 which the frequent resort of strangers has since communicated to the learned. A good instance hereof we have in the city *Memphis*, 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 *Persia* 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 a noble work? for my part I am of opinion it ought not only to be reckon'd 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 sepulchres 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 of opinion, that when the *Persian* empire was transfer'd to other nations, the new kings, that the natives 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 *China* was reduced under the grievous *Tartar* yoke; and these, tho' ignorant, rude, and of brutal manners,

Baudran  
 lex. Geog.  
 v. Persep.

Thevenot,  
 voyage de  
 Levant 2.  
 p. 1. 3. p.  
 7.

Mallet dif.  
 del. Uni-  
 vers. tom.  
 2. p. 172.  
 Quint.  
 Curt. 1. 5.  
 Steph. de  
 Urbibus,  
 v. Perse-  
 polis.

Gran. Di-  
 ction. de  
 Moreri,  
 v. Perse-  
 polis.

Ambaf-  
 fade de  
 Gar. de  
 Silva de  
 Figuer.  
 v. Perf. p.  
 160.

Lexic.  
 Geog.  
 Phil. Fer-  
 rar. v. Per-  
 sepolis.

Figuer.  
 in loco ci-  
 tato.

manners, yet endeavour to make that noble nation forget its antient customs, and the excellent form of its government; tho' they are sensible of the incontrollable opposition of the *Chineses*, 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 *China*, 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-relieves, 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 *American* 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 caravanfedar 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 slenderer at the top than bottom, the *Portugueses* call it *Flamengo* or *Fleming*.

*Thursday* the 16th, at night, I lay in the same caravanfera, 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 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 dressed 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 *Peripatetick*, endeavour'd by the means of fire, to reduce the not-eatable substance into the form of straw, from that of a carkas; and it was still worse, if a fish 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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1694.

*The End of the Second Book.*

*A Voyage*

*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 III.

C H A P. I.

*The author continues his journey to Bander-Congo.*

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**T**HOUGH father *Francis* was indispos'd, 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 *Gardener*, thirty miles from *Sciras*. The common day's 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.

Odd way  
of cup-  
ping.

*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 scarified 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 told fifty in three miles riding. We lost our way near the caravanfera, and were conducted to that of *Musiferi* by a guide, after travelling twenty miles in seven hours, though the common road is twenty-five miles from the caravanfera of *Babagi*. We met a *Ciater* or exprefs, who besides the bells about his waist, 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 caravanfera 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 caravanfera of *Assumayer*, which is built with lime and stone, a rare thing in *Persia*. Fifteen miles further we came to another caravanfera, call'd of *Gbezi*.

Before we set out on *Friday* the 24th, a dervise that dwelt in this caravanfera, putting on a long shirt, with a sheep's 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 caravanfera of *Mokak*, in all twenty-five miles, and eight hours riding. Abundance of partridges came tamely to the caravanfera door, to feed on the corn the mules dropp'd. 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 caravanferas at *Mokak*, the new and the old, which wants but little repair, and yet the *Makometans* neglect it, they are so inclin'd to new structures.

*Saturday* the 25th we set out again Gearon about noon, along a good road, and riding city. 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 *Persia*. It is seated in a sandy plain, incompass'd with high mountains; and though small, has a *Vizier*, with ample

ample jurisdiction. The gardens are pleasant, being water'd by the neighbouring brooks, and have plenty of good fruit, or oranges, grapes and melocotoons. The houses 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 caravan-fera well built, near *Gearon*. Here at dinner I found a roasted loin 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 travell'd five miles on the plain, began to climb steep mountains for twenty miles to the caravan-fera of *Ciartalk*. 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 frighted, 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 caravan-fera of *Mauser*, close to which was an excellent orchard of palm-trees full of dates, as also of orange and lemon-trees, but not well look'd after. The caravan-fera'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-

fera of *Dedomba*, near a little village, but did not stay there, because it was not a caravan's day's journey, or a *Manzil* 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 thro' the mountain.

A few miles eastward of *Benaru* is the mountain *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 caravan-fera of *Beli*. There were *Rattars* about the mid-way to secure the road, but not so insolent as those of *Tauris*; 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 caravan-fera of *Pacutel*, leaving the village and caravan-fera of *Dacu* five miles short of it.

*Saturday* the 2d we travell'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

C E M E L  
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Mountain  
of balsam.

Persian  
peasants.

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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 inclos'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 so 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 caravanfera 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 *Catergi* of the *Caggiaba*, but too late, so that we did not set out till *Wednesday* the 6th. Riding over naked mountains and valleys, we came in seven hours to the little caravanfera 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 caravanfera 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 caravanfera of *Scicogi*, always advancing southward, as we had done ever since we left *Ispaban*. 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 day's journey was nine hours, and we came to lodge at the village and caravanfera of *Bastack*; 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

they make cakes as thin as a wafer. In this caravanfera I receiv'd a letter from the prior of the *Augustinians* at *Ispaban*, 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 caravanfera of *Kuxert*.

*Monday* the 11th advancing ten miles, we cros'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 hollows 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 caravanfera 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 caravanfera of *Tangu*, knowing the cisterns there had no water. We might have stay'd half way at the caravanfera of *Hodundin*, where there was water, but then should not have made a day's 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 *Ciampa*, at the top whereof we found the caravanfera of *Serku*, newly built. Two miles further

we

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 caravanera 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 bisket. 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 *Barscia*; 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*, comptroller of the king of *Portugal's* revenue, the factor and secretary, with many servants a horseback. We went with them to *Bänder-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 ninety-eight pounds weight. So that I paid for my horse from *Sciras* to *Bander-Congo* thirteen abassis; my servant carrying my baggage on his mule.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the great advantage the king of Portugal made of Bander-Congo, and the extraordinary trade of that port.*

**T**HE king of *Portugal* keeps the Power of the Portugueses of Bander-Congo. aforementioned officers at *Bander-Congo* to receive the tribute of five horses, and one thousand one hundred tomans 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 *Portugueses* 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 *Mahometan* in *Congo*; and what is yet more considerable, that though a *Portuguese*, or other christian, be taken in carnal copulation with a *Mahometan* woman, he shall not be subject to the cruel law of suffering death, or turning *Mahometan*, as is inviolably 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 *Portugueses* 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 contests arising between the *Scibandar*, or *Persian* customer, and *Portuguese* commissioner, they agreed by means of the admiral of their fleet for eleven thousand tomans 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 *Mahometans* to sail the *Indian* sea in safety; and sells the prizes taken by *Portuguese* ships. The king allows each of these officers fifty tomans salary, five servants paid, and their dwelling-house; besides twenty-eight tomans 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.

The

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English  
rewarded  
for a base  
action.

The *English*, 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 exchang'd for 1080 tomans a year. True it is, *Scia-Abas* promis'd the *English* 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 *Portugueses* 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, loaden 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.

The manner of buying the pearls amongst 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.

Way of  
buying  
pearls.

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 indure 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 modesty 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

Excessive  
heat.

Strange  
Worms.

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 *Gomeron*, 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 described, which, as I was told by creditable persons, when they want to drink, go down to the brink of the sea, and setting their cloven feet exactly on the edge of the water, suck it up that way. I cannot persuade myself, 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. GEMEL-  
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The port.

*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 *Gomeron*, for I have seen *Portuguese* vessels there of sixty and seventy guns, and other large ones belonging to *Mahometans*: And I know further, that only the *Dutch* and *English* resort to *Gomeron*; 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 *Moors*, Inhabi-  
tants. *Indians*, *Arabs*, *Jews* and *Armenians*, who enrich the *Bazars* with their well-furnish'd shops.

## C H A P. 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 fastned 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 oil 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 caract in *Europe*, consisting of four grains. This fishery every year amounts to about 110000 crowns.

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Error of  
the an-  
tients.

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 bellies 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 *Catafa* 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 *Chineses* 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. Lucer* to *Cabo Blanco*, or *White Cape*, by the *Indians* call'd *Alcaldos*. 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 shells with fire to eat the fish, and by that means spoil the beauty of the pearls. 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 covered 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-coloured; 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 feet 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 board thorough; 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 taylor.

*Saturday* the 16th I paid the visit to *Joseph Pereira de Azevedo* the *Portuguese* com-

Fresh water in the sea.

Strange boats and oars.

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* the 18th walking about the *Bazar*, I met some *Arabs*, accounted rigid observers of the *Mahometan* law; they were asking an alms in a shop of *Banians*, and to get the more, and that quickly, clapp'd burning coals 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 coals and put them in their mouths.

Arabs eat  
fire.

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 thorough 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.

Others  
beat them-  
selves for  
an alms.

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*. The same night the idolatrous *Banians*, to honour the festival of their god *Divali*, 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 sweatmeats as the country affords. Not long after, women-dancers of *Syndi* came out to dance, as a presage of a good feast to the merchant. They were clad some after the *Indian* and some after the *Persian* manner, and sung in both tongues. Those that were in the *Persian* garb wore a vest of strip'd silk, down half way the leg, but wide at bottom like a petticoat, under that they had long breeches down to their ancles, with a silver edging about them for ornament. Both their fingers and toes were set out with abundance of gold

An idolatrous  
festival.

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 linen, 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 see it more than once, and from several dancers, that went about from one room to another.

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*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 *Bassora*, and myself, went out three miles from the town westward, and three from the sea, to see a very antient fort called *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 overthrow'n 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 *Mahometans*, and a ruin'd *Mosque*; but nothing more proves its ancient 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.

An anti-  
ent ruin'd  
town.

*Wednesday* the 20th happened a strange unfortunate accident. The *Scibandar* being

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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 say 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, 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.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of the tree and Pagod of the Banians, and other things the author saw during his stay at Congo.*

A wonder-  
ful tree.

The Pa-  
god.

Ceremo-  
nies.

**T** *Hursday* the 21<sup>st</sup> 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 *Portugueses*, *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 herself 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 foreheads. Their devotion towards her is so great, that to this day they very carefully preserve her house at *Diu*, a fortress of the *Portugueses*. Besides, the *Brahmans*, 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 *Catholicks* 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.

*Friday* the 22<sup>d</sup> I din'd at the *Portuguese* commissioner's. *Saturday* the 23<sup>d</sup> I went a shooting with the father vicar, and we kill'd some partridges. *Sunday* the 24<sup>th</sup> 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 consort 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 25<sup>th</sup> 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 straight between these two ports, and meet at the point of the island *Kescimi*, within the bay. *Tuesday* the 26<sup>th</sup> father *Sanseverino* of *Naples* went away for *Gomron* about some affairs of his order.

*Wednesday* the 27<sup>th</sup> we rode out with the father vicar, to see *Mullab-Hamel's* 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 *Portugueses* 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 *Persa*, as well as in *India*.

A curious garden.

Idolaters  
washing.

After mid-night, all the idolaters both men and women went apart to wash themselves on the sea-shore, the *Brabmans* 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 mishapen, 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 *Conso*, 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 *Portugueses* 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 *Bassora*.

*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 GEMEL-  
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1694. 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 *Astracci*, that is, flat roofs. All their bed is only a corded bedstead, 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* the 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 ourselves on the sea. *Thursday* the 11th an express came from *Ispahan*, 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 seaside with the father vicar, and took notice that there was great plenty of game. *Saturday* the 13th there arriv'd a great ship from *Bassora* to load for the *Indies*. *Sunday* the 14th mass was solemnly sung in our church, many *Mahometans* 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 commissioner's, 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 *Saturday* the 20th 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 *Mascate*, who were then at war with the *Portugueses*, and had four-  
Mascate at  
war with  
Portugal.teen men of war in that port. The cause of this war was, because the town of *Mascate*, 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;

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but also along the gulph of *Persia*, from cape *Ros-Algate* to *Catifa*, being five hundred miles along the shore. He also took from the *Portugueses* 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 *Mascate*, to keep a garrison there and factory.

Thus I was left alone, to the dissatisfaction of father *Francis*, who endeavoured 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 *Damam*. 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 lade 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 *Damam*, a city belonging to the *Portugueses*. 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 abassi's 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 hand,

the commissioner was pleas'd to give me some diversion at his house, sending for three women dancers. Their vests were all lac'd open before, and with long close sleeves, ty'd under the breast with ribbands, after the country fashion, and bound about the waist 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 nun's. 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 eyelids were dy'd black, for ornament, and they had several spots of the same colour, about their faces; under the eye-brows, 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 reached 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 music 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 jingled artificially enough.

While we were thus diverting ourselves with the commissioner, a messenger came from the *Deroga*, or governor of the city, to desire in his name

Persian  
dancers.

Authority  
of the Por-  
tugueses.

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 *Portugueses*, 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*.

GEMELI  
LI.  
1694.

*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.

## C H A P. 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 arrived 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 obliged us to take it in the neighbouring island of *Kescimi*, two miles distant. *Angon* is not inhabited, because it was burnt down by a *Portuguese* general, in revenge for the perfidiousness 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 *Mifar*, and some few others. There is also a regular fort of four bastions, formerly built by the *Portugueses*, 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 *Portugueses* formerly had a fort, aftern betimes, and pass'd in sight of the island of *Ormuz*. This small island is at the mouth of the gulph of *Persia*, 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 valued, because it is very black and bright; as also the red clay, wherewith the *Gentiles* dye their foreheads. In this island, before the *Portugueses* conquered it, there was a city, where the king of *Lar* resided, being sovereign of it.

Ormuz  
island.

*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 *Mascate*, still in sight of the mountain *Kumumenek* in *Persia*. 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 straight into the spacious *Indian* ocean; but still in sight of the continent. In

Employ-  
ment and  
civility of  
the *Moors*.

the

GEMEL-  
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1694.

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 hair 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 Ba-  
luccos.

Holding on our course eastward, on *Sunday* the 5th we came in sight of the islands of *Cocalita*, *Giavar*, *Giovani*, 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 called *Jasche*, resides in the city *Biscian*, and his brother in another they call *Chiu*. 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 continued *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 poured on their heads to wash all their bodies, which generally stink, because of the colour'd shirts they wear several months, without ever shifting.

Piscini  
island.

The wind came up fair when it was late, and brought us in sight of the island of *Piscini*. 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 continued 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 to westward.

*Thursday* the 9th, before sun-rising, we discover'd a small bark to the eastward, which made the *Moors* very vigilant; 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 *Sunganos* 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 conquered 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 *Sunganos* 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 continued *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 salt 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

About evening we discover'd to eastward a small vessel, suppos'd to be of the *Sanguanos*; 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 frighted 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 *Kescimi*. In sight of us was a vessel, suppos'd by us to be the *English* ship, aboard which were the fathers *Francis* and *Constantine*, which beat it out without losing ground as we did. This made me fret, and though 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 *Portugueses* call *Aquador*. It flew for above 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 *Portugueses* 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.

Flying  
fish and  
Dory.

*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 *Mahomet* 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 *Giasch*, part of the dominion of the *Baluccos*. 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, though

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 cowardice. 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, though 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*, *Pissinimelon*, *Settalau* and *Giurna*, 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 aforesaid storm, all the *Moors* in the vessel in the evening made their usual prayers and adorations to her,

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Idolatrous  
ceremony.

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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 freshned, 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 covered 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 *Cervoni*, 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 ourselves 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 *Portugueses* more blood and treasure, than all their other conquests

Diu fort  
and city.

in *India*; but they ought to spare nothing for the gaining of it, because it is a check upon all ships that sail the *Indian* ocean. This city is on the continent, not far from the fort, and inhabited by *Christians*, *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*. Its liberties extend four miles along the sea shore, till the place where they pass the river *Brançavaria*. 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*, governor 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 *Portugueses*. *Acuna* entering the city *Diu*, in the year 1535, found an old man of three hundred and thirty-five years of age, who had a son of ninety. He had chang'd his teeth three times, and his beard as often grew grey, after having been black. He begg'd of *Don Nuno* a *Rupie* a day, worth about five *Carlines* of *Naples*, less than half a crown *English*, telling him, king *Sultan Badur* had allow'd him so much; but the generous *Portuguese* instead of one, allow'd this *Indian* phenix three, in respect of his venerable age. They say all the accounts he gave agreed perfectly well with the histories of the times though he could not read. At last he dy'd at above four hundred years of age, as they relate in those parts. Father *Hiacintb de D'os* 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 *Portugueses*, 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 one hundred years; then a *Mahometan* for three hundred; and lastly, a *Catholic* at the end of his life, the said *Franciscans* baptizing him in *Bengala*, as the same father *Hiacintb* writes. They tell us of another that liv'd three hundred years at *Malaca*.

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 becalm'd,

A man of  
a wonder-  
ful age.

Maff. Hist.  
Ind. l. 11.  
pag. 259.  
lif. Decad.  
Port. d.  
India.

Vergel. de  
Plantos.  
Flores.

Decad.  
Portug.

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-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 *Portugueses*, and consequently that they were at the end of their voyage. All the sailors rejoic'd, and the merchants much more, as thinking their lives and estates in safety; and the ignorant pilot vainly puffed up with pride, for having brought the ship safe into *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 throughly satisfy'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 an 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 pirates. *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 satisfy'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 inquire 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*, GEMEL-  
LI.  
1694. four hundred miles from *Damam*. This surprizing news terrify'd me; and perceiving the *Moors* in our boat, suspected the others were *Sangalo* pirates, 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 ourselves 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 ourselves 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 darkest of the night by the country-women, in earthen vessels, one upon another. They covered 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 dependance 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* pirates, 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* pirates, 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.

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All the failors 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 *Saugano* pirates, 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 abaffis, for his ignorance. Twelve merchants and *Moorish* *Fachirs* 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-seller, 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 *Indosian*, 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 *Moorish* mariners are a whole hour spreading a sail; calling *Mahomet* 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 *Cbiarlanton*, 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 *Mangalor* not having yet had the good effect to make me more cautious, none of the failors 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 shore, 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 *Nexigon*, 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

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 twelve hundred miles, or four hundred leagues; which we run twice over, thro' 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 factor of *Bassera* being al-

ready gone for *Bazaim*; and imbracing 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 myself after my fatigues at sea.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1694.

*The End of the Second Part.*



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

Containing the most remarkable Things he  
saw in *INDOSTAN*.

B O O K I.

C H A P. I.

GEMEL-  
II.  
1695.

*The description of Damam, a city belonging to the Portugueses in Indostan.*

**N**EVER 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 human life; you may judge how great a satisfaction it was 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 myself to landing of my equipage. The *Portuguese* factor was so civil, that as at *Bander-Congo* my portmanteaus 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 wish 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 factor's, 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 myself to the factor, to have them restor'd to him, re-

presenting father *Francis's* great worth, and how much he was esteem'd at *Isphahan* by all the great ones; 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 government.

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garrison. The factor before mention'd has the charge of the king's revenue. It is inhabited by *Portugueses*, *Mestizos*, who are born of white fathers and black mothers, *Pagans* and *Mabometans*; 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.

Monasteries.

Old Damam.

All that has been here mention'd 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-contrived 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 *Ostend* 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 nor 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*.

Maff. Hist. Ind. p. 252. lit. F.

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*, retook it from *Asid Bofita 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

*Aurence-Zeb-Alanguir*, afterwards king, laid siege to it with an army of eighty thousand men; but the *Portugueses* defended it so bravely, making so terrible a 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 *Moguls* 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 swords in their trunks; the beasts, frighted with the fire of the *Portugueses* muskets, ran disorderly upon the *Mabometan* 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 *Portugueses*, retiring into the town, began in scorn to throw cockleshells, which the *Mabometans* abhor, into the enemies camp, with an engine they call *Papagayo*, made of pasteboard, strengthened with canes, and carried up into the air by the wind, and guided by a rope.

The *Portugueses* live very great in *Portu-India*, both as to their tables, cloathing, and number of *Cafres*, or slaves, to serve them; having some of these to carry them in *Palanchines* on their shoulders, and others great umbrelloes of palm-tree leaves. The *Palanchine* is like a wooden bier, painted and gilt, seven spans long, and four in breadth, with two well-wrought risings at both ends. On it they lay a *Persian* carper, 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, fastened to the ends, through which they run a bamboo, 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 *Palanchine* is cover'd with an umbrello of eight spans diameter, carry'd by a slave, or else fastened to the bamboo that crosses the *Palanchine*, and may be turn'd to that side the sun is on. In rainy weather they use another sort of carriage, call'd *Andora*, with a covering made of palm-tree leaves, sloping like the ridge of a house, fix'd upon the bamboo; there are two small windows or doors on the sides, that may be open'd, to see who goes along the street. The *Andora* differs from the *Palanchine* in nothing but the bamboo; because the latter has a crooked one, that he who is carry'd may

Portuguese way of living.

Palanchines and Andoras.

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may fit up; and that of the *Andora* is streight, 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 jolting of the *Neapolitan* 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 *Palanchine*, 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 coslines 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 cocoa-nuts, *Mansanas*, *Giambos*, *Undis*, *Ananasas*, *Atas*, *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 *Cassaras*, being like white tartuffs, or pig-nuts, 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 a stag; *Gazelles*, which are like goats; *Dives* 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 *Meru*, 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 crusted 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 *Portugueses* 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.

Birds.  
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 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

Dise.

Thevenot  
Voyage  
disc. Indies  
c. 10. P.  
319.

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 *Portugal* 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 *Portugueses* that have settled their abode 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 *Gentiles* 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 *Galavetta*, which was all pinn'd with wood, and caulk'd with cotton.

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L. I.  
1695.

## C H A P. II.

*The author's short voyage to Suratte, and return to Damam.*

**H**AVING a curiosity to see *Suratte*, and it being easy 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 frigate-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 zecchines. Then I went to see the director of the *French* company, who kept me with him.

*Suratte* is seated in twenty degrees of latitude, and a hundred and five of longitude, at the mouth of the bay of *Cambaya* and kingdom of *Guzaratte*. It is not large, inclos'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

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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 cottons 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 warehouses. 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 *Portugueses* were possess'd of it, *Barosce* and *Suratte*; for this brave nation governed 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 imperiously.

Barosce  
city.

*Barosce* above mentioned 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, were its port better, and that the vessels when they have run six miles up the river, were not forc'd to lie at *Suali*, ten miles from the city; whence and whither commodities are convey'd in small boats.

*Monday* the 17th I saw the church of the *Capuchins*, which is decently adorn'd, and their house convenient, those good men having built it after the manner of *Europe*.

*Tuesday* the 18th I went to see the tree of the *Geniles* we call *Banians*, under which they have the *Pagods* of their idols, and meet to perform their ceremonies. It is of the same bigness and sort as that describ'd at *Bander-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 *Fachirs* that do penance; whereas under the tree at *Bander-Congo* there is but one.

Banians  
tree and  
Pagods.

Under this tree and in the neighbouring parts, there are many men who have injoin'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, which they cannot drive away. Other *Fachirs* 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 womb. The women go devoutly to kiss those parts modesty 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.

Fachirs,  
or peni-  
tents.

*Thursday* the 20th a young *Frenchman* conducted me to see an hospital of the *Geniles*, where abundance of irrational creatures were kept. This they do because they believe the transmigration of souls, and therefore imagining those of their fore-fathers may be in the vilest, and filthiest living creatures, they provide

An hospi-  
tal for  
birds and  
beasts.

vide them with food. Thus the wild monkees come to eat what is provided for them. Besides the prodigious number of birds and beasts maintained there, particular care is taken of the lame and sick. But that which most amazed 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 jugling 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 thro' the streets where the *Gentiles* liv'd, threatening to kill it, that they might give him money 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.

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*Saturday* the 22d all the vessels from *Diu*, *Cambaya*, *Barosce* and other places, being come together to sail for *Goa* and other dominions of *Portugal*, and the galliots 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 galliots 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 till she comes to the mid-heaven, the flood runs towards *Surratte*; and when the moon goes down, towards *Bazaim*.

Trapoor town.

*Wednesday* the 26th at break of day we were off the town and fort of *Trapoor*, a place well inhabited, with monasteries of *Dominicans* and *Recolets*. Ten miles from this the *Portuguese*s 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 *Parances* 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 *Cambaya*, 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*,

Bazaim city.

GEMEL- gal, from *Badar* king of *Cambaya*, who, L1. 1695. terify'd by the valour of the *Portuguese* nation, surrender'd it to them, with the neighbouring islands; whilst *Martin Alfonso de Sousa* undauntedly attack'd and took *Damam*, and its fortrefs, 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 streight, and the great square or market has good buildings about it. There are two principal gates, one on the east and the other on the west, and a small one towards the channel or straight. 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 *Veedor*, and the *Desembargador*, who is a gown-man, and judge of appeals from all the *Veedor*s 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 mass 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 heels, so that they need no stockings. Instead of shoes they wear sandals, like the friars.

All the *Gentiles* bore their noses to put The Gentiles through, as they do to the buffa- tiles. loes in *Italy*. 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 thing was, A wonderful to see a man who turn'd round upon a cane, held up by another on his girdle; ful tum- 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 bamboo was thirty spans high. At last, after giving two skips in the air, he lighted on a very high beam, fix'd for 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 foldiers, to treat about some business with the governor, and deliver'd him two letters.

*Wednesday* the 2d I went in an *Andora* The country- of the monastery to see the *Cassabo*, which country- houses of is the only diversion at *Bazaim*; nothing Bazaïm. appearing for fifteen miles but delightful 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 *Chrijian*, *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, as witness *Suratte*, *Damam*, *Bazaim*, *Tana*, and other places, which often suffer under this calamity.

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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 throughly squeez'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.

*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*.

*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.

*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*.

*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 used by crown'd heads, I ask'd the reason of it of some *Portugueses*; 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 conveniency, 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 viceroy 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 20,000 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 though he had offer'd me 100,000 pieces of eight portion, I should never be induc'd to quit *Europe* for ever.

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C H A P. IV.

The description of the Pagod in the island of Salzete, by the Portugueses 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 inquiry, 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 *Derius*, with the antiquities of *Celmonar*, 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. Though 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 though he made several voyages to *India*, he minded not to see antiquities, tho' he pass'd close by them.

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 straight 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 pissmires, which covered the said

peels, and perhaps dislodg'd the souls of so many dead idolaters residing in those little bodies. I therefore refus'd the other, with thanks, desiring him to keep that sweetmeat, 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 the village of *Monoposser*, a mile distant, 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 *Portugueses*, 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 countryman, nor one of his servants; whereupon

upon I set out in danger of losing my way for want of a guide, travelling on a mountain full of monkies, tigers, lions, 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 sung 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 monkies, 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 happen'd 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 somebody 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 porticos 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 grotts, or dens, GEMEL-  
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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 holds 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 a fruit-

GEMEL- fruit-tree in its hand, and above a wing'd  
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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.

Here 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* 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 isles 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 ancient 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 viceroys 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,

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 grots 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 differing 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 grots 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 grots, 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 grot, 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 grots, 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 nich 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 grot, 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 grot 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 grots

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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 grot, 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-fulls 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 stranger 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

walk'd about along 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 satisfied 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 moun-  
tains in it cover'd with trees. The  
soil is very fruitful, and produces abun-  
dance of sugar-canes, rice, and fruit;  
such as *Mangos*, *Cocos*, *Transolins*, *Giac-  
cheras*, *Tamarinds*, *Ananas*, *Papas*, and  
other sorts, which shall be describ'd  
elsewhere. There are in it several vil-  
lages of poor wretched *Gentiles*, *Moors*,  
and *Christians*, living in houses built  
with wattles crusted 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 vas-  
sals 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  
back

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 *Portugueses* use for provisions, as they do the *Covedo*, 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 fordable. This island was given by the king of *Portugal*, in dower 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 *Verfava* 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*.

Jo. Bapt.  
Nicol.  
Hist. P. 3.  
Verb. Ba.  
zaim.

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 *Portugueses* generally say, That *Alexander the Great*, coming, as some will have it, several times to *Bazaim*, caused 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 one setting out; therefore running down to the shore, I made signs to the *Moors* 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 *Portugueses* 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 fathers 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 saluted 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 *Mascate*, after this manner. These barbarians discovering the *Portuguese* ships, stranded three of their vessels in the bay and river of *Zanghisara*, 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 *Portugueses* 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 *Portugueses* 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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der.

The return of some small vessels that went to carry refreshments to the viceroy, brought us certain intelligence of the murder of *Antony Machado 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 *Palanchine* 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 *Palanchine*, 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 stroke 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 imbrew 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 stroke ripp'd open his belly, whereof he dy'd at night. *Machado* being ready to expire, drew near to the *Palanchine*, 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 archbishop's, had not a judge stopp'd them to gain time for *Tristan* to escape, crying 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. *Machado* 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, threaten'd to plunder the *Portuguese* dominions. He gain'd many victories over the fleet of the *Arabs* of *Mascat*, 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 *Daman*.

*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.

CHAP. V.

The author's voyage to Goa.

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**S**aturday the 19th, the convoy being ready to sail, I caus'd my baggage to be put aboard a vessel of war they there call a *Manchuca*, aboard which *Nuno d' Acuna*, the captain of it, very civilly gave me my passage. *Sunday* the 20th I heard mass and a sermon in the *Jesuits* church, and then went with the procession of the holy cross that was going to the church of *St. Augustin*, whence it set out the day before. *Monday* the 21st the fleet sail'd an hour before day. It consisted of thirty-six *Parangas*, two galliots which were admiral and vice-admiral, and four *Manchucas* of war. These *Manchucas* had such a main-sail as the *Leutis* of *Trapani* in the kingdom of *Sicily*, twelve oars, and four small guns, with fifteen *Portuguese* soldiers, the aforesaid captain *Nuno's* company being distributed aboard them. The north or north-west wind prevails almost all the year in those seas, so that it being seldom fair for *Goa*, we made but little way. After eighteen miles sailing we pass'd by the island and fort of *Bombaim*, seated on the point of the island of *Salzete*, being about nine miles in length, and little less in breadth. Nine miles further I saw another small island, or rock, as big as *Nisida* at *Naples*; and on it a fort, with some dwellings of *Savagis*, who being at war with the great *Mogul*, are continually in action against the *Sydi* and garrison of the fort on the continent. This *Sydi* is a *Black* subject to the great *Mogul*, who has given him the government of the country between *Bombaim* and *Chaul*, to defend it against the invasions of *Savagi*, for which purpose he maintains two thousand horse and foot at his own cost. These two forts in the island and on the continent, are call'd *Undrin* and *Canderin*.

*Tuesday* the 22d after sailing nine miles further we anchor'd opposite to the city and fortrefs of *Chaul*. It is seated on a plain, six miles from the sea, on the bank of a river, which at flood will carry any ships up to the city. It is inclos'd with good walls, and other works, and furnish'd with excellent can-

non. A fort call'd *El Morro*, secures the entrance of the harbour, being built by the *Portugueses* in the year 1520, on the hill by their general *Sequeira*, with  
... N<sup>o</sup>. 148. Vol. IV.

leave of the tyrant *Nizzamaluc*; who granted it upon condition they should bring him over three hundred horses at reasonable rates out of *Persia* or *Arabia*, because of the scarcity of them there was in *India*, to serve him in his wars against *Hidalcan*. *Jassi*, governor of *Diu*, hearing what the *Portugueses* were doing, sent fifty sail to obstruct the building of the fort, which *Sequeira* by his industry had already made tenable. The fleets had several engagements, but always with loss to the *Turks*, so that at last they went back disabled. Afterwards the *Portugueses* made themselves masters of the city with ease. Its territory does not extend above six miles in length; on the south it borders on *Savagi*, and on the north with another fort belonging to the *Sydi*.

*Wednesday* the 23d it was late before we sail'd, waiting for some vessels of *Chaul*; and the wind failing, made but little way. The calm continu'd *Thursday* the 24th, and we were oblig'd to lie close by the coast of *Savagi*, who is a mortal enemy to the *Portugueses*. This *Savagi*, whom his subjects call *Raja*, which signifies petty king, is so powerful, that he maintains war at one and the same time with the *Great Mogul* and the *Portugueses*. He brings into the field 50000 horse, and as many or more foot, much better soldiers than the *Moguls*; for they live a day upon a piece of dry bread, and the *Moguls* will march at their ease, carrying their women, abundance of provisions and tents, so that their army looks like a moving city. The *Raja*, as to his religion, is an idolater, as are most of his subjects. All the coast from *Chaul* to *Goa*, for the space of 250 miles, belongs to him; and from thence to *Visapor* he has several forts, most of them among inaccessible mountains, besides cities and towns, defended both by art and nature.

This prince's dominion is but of a late date, for it began in *Savagi's* father, to whom succeeded *Sambagi* his eldest son who was afterwards kill'd in battie by the *Great Mogul's* general, and so *Ramrao* now reigning, ascended the throne. *Savagi* first rais'd his fortune by serving under the king of *Golconda*; then having gather'd vast wealth, and scouring the country with a great number of men  
F f f like

Maffæ.  
Hist. Ind.  
lib. 1.  
pag. 184.  
lit. D.

Savagi, or  
Ragia.

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like an out-law, he seiz'd places belonging to the king of *Visapor*, and fortifying themselves in them among the mountains, at length gather'd a mighty army, then making war on the *Mogul*, the *Portugueses*, 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 *Undrin* 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*.

Malabars. These are pirates of several nations, as *Moor*s, *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 *Madrastapatan*, a considerable city and fort. They live under several monarchs, among which the most powerful is the emperor *Zamori*, and the kings 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 Dabul ci-freshned, and brought us in sight of <sup>cy</sup>. *Dabul*. This city is seated six miles from the sea, after the same manner as *Chaul*, and eight miles from it, both in the kingdom of *Decan*. The *Portugueses* took it under their general *Almeida*, from *Hidalcan*, 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*.  
Maillet. desc. de l'Univerf. Tom. 2. p. 55. Maff. Hist. Ind. lib 4. p. 9. lit. A.

*Friday* the 25th the same wind continuing, we came in sight of the fort of *Visapor*, in which river the vice-roy burnt the three *Arab* vessels before-mentioned. Then we pass'd by *Lambuna*, and the fort of *Maliandi*, belonging to *Savagi*, and after midnight the *Ysleosquemados*, 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 *Chaul*. 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.

## C H A P. 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 qualified it with continual rains, which fall so plentifully from *June*

till *September* or *October*, 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.

*Alfonso de Albuquerque* took *Goa* from *Hidalcan*, without bloodshed, in the year 1508, a *Dominican* father setting up the standard of our holy faith. *Hidalcan* afterwards re-took the city, but  
in

in 1510 *Albuquerque* recover'd it again, 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 *Portugueses*, 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 Deos*, or the mother of God, run along for twelve miles to the powder-house, passing by the castles of *St. Blase* and *St. James*, a work of 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. Christopher*. It may be objected that these last fortifications, were raised 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 inquir'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 *Portugueses* 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 reduced 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 *Portugueses*; 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 countryman of their own, though born of *Portuguese* parents. The *Mestizos* are more

numerous; and those are so called that are born of *Portuguese* men and *Brachman* women, whom they marry'd after reducing *Goa*; and though 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.

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The *Canarines* are as black as *Ethiopian*s, but have long hair, and good faces. Many of them, both in *Goa*, and the islands, are priests, lawyers, attorneys, scriveners, and sollicitors, 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*, *Banienes* 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 *Langottis*, 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 waist. 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 *Portugueses* 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 subdued them, and received for an answer, that they were not able to deal with them by open force, and therefore pretending not to understand the impertinent *Portugueses*, they should give them water when they ask'd for bread, and rice when they demanded wine. Experience

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perience soon shew'd how frivolous the advice was; for the *Portugueses* readily found the way to cure them of their stupidity, taking a bamboo, 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 perceived the aforefaid 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 *Mahometans*, 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 *Portugueses* 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 mother's 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*, *Mosambique*, *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 *Portugueses*. There are others whom their parents out of meer want sell for only a *Zecchine*; 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 catholick 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, brutishly 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 Taverno*, earl of *Alvor*, who was afterwards viceroy of *India*, being governor of *Angola*, the son of a neighbouring king came once to visit him, and understanding that the *Portugueses* were precise in matters 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 governor's room, and seeing no chair brought him, he caus'd his two slaves to squat down, and sat upon them. The *Portuguese* admir'd the *Cafre's* 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 *Portugueses*, 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 sat 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 lions. 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 eaten 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 lions 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 lion's paw, plays with the other:

Blacks.

A genteel  
action of a  
black.

Another.

Killing of  
elephants  
and lions.

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 lion quit a cow he has seiz'd, they draw near, and saluting him after the same manner as 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 *Portuguses*; 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 observed 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.

Inhuman blacks.

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 *Portugueses* 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 the point of the island of *Bardes*, is a good fort call'd *Aguada*, with strong works, and guns level'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 de Cabo*, or our lady of the cope, 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 *Gasper 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* affords,

yield the finest prospect imaginable. Besides, there are delicate country houses called *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 place call'd *la Pavvereira*, on the same channel, and so has the archbishop. 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 peninsula's, 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 *Posilipo*, as well on account of those advantages here mentioned, as for the many boats that 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-

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1695.

GEMEL- eight villages, govern'd in spirituals by the  
LI. clergy.

1695. *Saturday* the 26th going to the custom-  
house to find the commander of the *Man-  
chuca*, and tell him that his men had  
stolen a coat and a silver case for the  
table out of my portmanteau; I saw fa-  
ther *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 re-  
quest; and the customer very civilly told  
me, that if I had any baggage I might  
take it away without searching; a piece  
of courtesy not used 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 arch-bi-  
shop for the conveniency of the cool air,  
lives in that we said was upon the chan-  
nel, 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 *Re-  
colets*, call'd *A Madre de Deos*, or the  
mother of God. The dormitories are  
large and fightly, and their gardens fur-  
nish'd with several sorts of *European* and  
*Indian* fruit. The church, though small,  
is beautiful, with three handsome altars;  
one in the middle rail'd in, and two on  
the sides. In the garden where *St. Je-  
rome'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 *Portu-  
gueses*, when the city was in a flourishing  
condition, along the channel, to secure it  
from being invaded by enemies. It is a-  
bout four miles long, reaching to *St.  
Blase*, *St. James's* fort, and *St. Laurence*,  
with towers at convenient distances fur-  
nish'd with cannon.

Domini- Returning home I went into the church  
cans. and monastery of *St. Dominick*. The  
first has three isles, made by six co-  
lumns 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 con-  
vent is magnificent, for the long arches  
of the dormitories, cloister and other spa-  
cious places, necessary for a great number  
of fathers. The gardens are also pleasant  
and curious.

After dinner I saw the monastery of *St. Augusti-  
Augustine*, seated on a high ground 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 *Malaca* and the island of  
*Borneo*, bruis'd small like millet, and  
white.

*Tuesday* the 1st of *March* the vice-roy *Barefoot*  
return'd from visiting the northern coast. *Francis-*  
*cans*. Two vessels arriv'd from *China*, having  
spent a long time in their voyage, for  
fear of the *Arabs*. I went to the bare-  
foot *Franciscans*, which is one of the  
best churches in *Goa*: for though 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 fret-  
work.

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 profess'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 au-  
thentick information.

After

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 *Jaqua*, and some *Mango*-trees caused to be planted by *S. Francis Xaverius*. There is also a chappel built in memory of the extasy or rapture the saint had in that place. In this church, though 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.

Miracu-  
lous 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. Tho-  
mas Do-  
minicans.

*Wednesday* the 2d of *March* I went to the church of *St. Thomas* of the *Domini-*

*cans*, a good fabrick on the bank of the channel. It has seven altars; the monastery is large and beautiful, inhabited by twenty-five fathers.

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1695.

*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 Merfes*.

St. Bona-  
venture  
Francis-  
cans.

The hospital of *Goa* is small, and ill govern'd though 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 though 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.

C H A P. VII.

*Of the antient and modern dominion of the Portugueses 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*

Vita Al-  
berque.

*Hope*, which he found very stormy; as *Bartholomew 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, daunt-ed 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

GEMEL- them all out of that danger. Then steering  
 LI. north-east, still coasting along *Africk*,  
 1695. this eastern *Columbus* came at last to the  
 island of *Mofambique*; and then boldly  
 crossing a gulph of two thousand five  
 hundred miles, on the 18th or *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 *Portugueses* continu'd this same way  
 to *India* for several years after, still going  
 on to the discovery of more remote coun-  
 tries, as far as *China* and *Japan*; and to  
 the southward open'd a way to the infi-  
 nite number of islands in that great *Ar-  
 chipelago*. 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 *Por-  
 tugueses* began to subdue the kingdoms  
 of *Decan*, *Cambaya*, and *Guzaratte*, ta-  
 king the forts of *Diu*, *Cambaya*, *Suratte*,  
*Damam*, *Trapor*, *Maim*, *Bazaim*, *Tana*,  
*Chaul*, *Dabul*, and other places for two  
 hundred miles along the coast; as also  
 the islands of *Goa*, *Salzete*, *Bardes*, *Ande-  
 giva*, and others; the small city of *St.*  
*Thomas*, the kingdoms of *Cochin* and *Ca-  
 licut*, and the island of *Ceylon*.

Portu-  
 guese  
 conquests.

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*, o-  
 ver *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 hon-  
 our'd with the title of general of the  
 river of *Senna*, where he has his lieute-  
 nant, 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 notwith-  
 standing the narrowness of the place,  
 there are monasteries of *Jesuits*, *Domini-  
 cans* 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 set  
 price by the royal factory; which after-  
 wards sends them to *Chilimani*, the mouth

Mozam-  
 bique.

of the river of *Senna*, running three hun-  
 dred 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 ne-  
 ver fail to bring punctually the next year,  
 unless death prevent them. This trade  
 yields above *cent. per cent.* so that the  
*Portugueses* may be said to have another  
*India* in *Africk*.

*Senna* is a little town on the right  
 hand of the river, inhabited by fifty *Por-  
 tuguese* families, who make it populous  
 enough, by the great number of *Blacks*  
 they keep. They till the ground, and  
 dig in the mines, and by that means  
 maintain their masters, instead of being  
 kept by them. The *Dominicans*, and o-  
 ther missionaries, when they return from  
 this place, carry away gold in ingots and  
 plates, so great is the plenty of it, espe-  
 cially a month's 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 *Zofala*.  
 from *Mozambique*, the *Portugueses* have  
 the fort of *Zofala*, the first place they dis-  
 cover'd in this part of *Africk*, as also the  
 small island and fort of *Mombaza*.

In *Arabia Felix* the *Portugueses* once *Mascate*.  
 had the important place of *Mascate*, and  
 its dependencies; the kingdom of *Ormuz*,  
 the islands of *Recca*, *Kescimi*, and others  
 in the *Persian* gulph; where they made  
 the island of *Bakarem* tributary, as also  
 the considerable city of *Bassora*, which still *Bassora*.  
 pays five thousand five hundred crowns  
 and a horse, yearly tribute to the king of  
*Portugal*, besides two *Zecchines* 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  
*Onar*, *Brazalor*, and *Cambolin*; in the  
 country of the *Naires*, of the castles of  
*Cananor*, *Caranpanor*, *Palepor*, and *Coi-  
 lon*, and of the fort of *Manar* on the  
 island of that name.

In the island of *Ceylon*, of seven pro- *Ceylon*.  
 vinces, (or *Carolus*, as the *Indians* call  
 them) three were brought under the *Por-  
 tuguese* dominion; with the rich country  
 of

of the cinnamon, and the forts of *Calaturre*, *Columbo*, *Cilau*, *Jasanapatan*, *Trichill*, *Mall*, and *Batticall*; 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.

The *Portugueses* 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 *Portugueses*, though 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 *Mahometans* and *Pagans*, they only robb'd the *Portugueses* 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.

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 *Mahometanism*.

If we look upon what remains to the *Portugueses* 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 northern coast the fortresses of *Damam*, *Bazaim* and *Chaul*; in the kingdom of *Guzarette* 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 *Portugueses*, 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 *Portugueses* 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* dominion, from the *Cape of Good Hope* in *Africk* to the city of *Macao* in *China*, is govern'd by a viceroy, with the title of captain-general, who resides at *Goa*, as the metropolis of *India*. There are six, and sometimes eight *Desembargadores*, or judges that attend the government, as a sovereign court or council, 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 viceroy 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 viceroy'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 shall trade but they, because they pay the salaries of the governors. The viceroy and archbishop put in many thousand *Pardaos* into this com-

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Government.

Viceroy.

Courts or  
councils.

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pany, 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.

Inquifi-  
tion.

The *Inquisition* is much respected and dreaded by the Christians at *Goa* and about it; as is the archbishop, or primate.

The viceroy 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 *Palanchines*.

Though 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 passage 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 viceroy, but all the officers civil and military, and churchmen, have sufficient allowance from the king to maintain them handsomely. The viceroy's salary is thirty thousand pardaos, which are the third part of a piece of eight. The archbishop twelve thousand; the officers of the inquisition, canons, monasteries and parishes, a competency; but all the tithes belong to the king.

## C H A P. VIII.

### Of the fruit and flowers of Indostan.

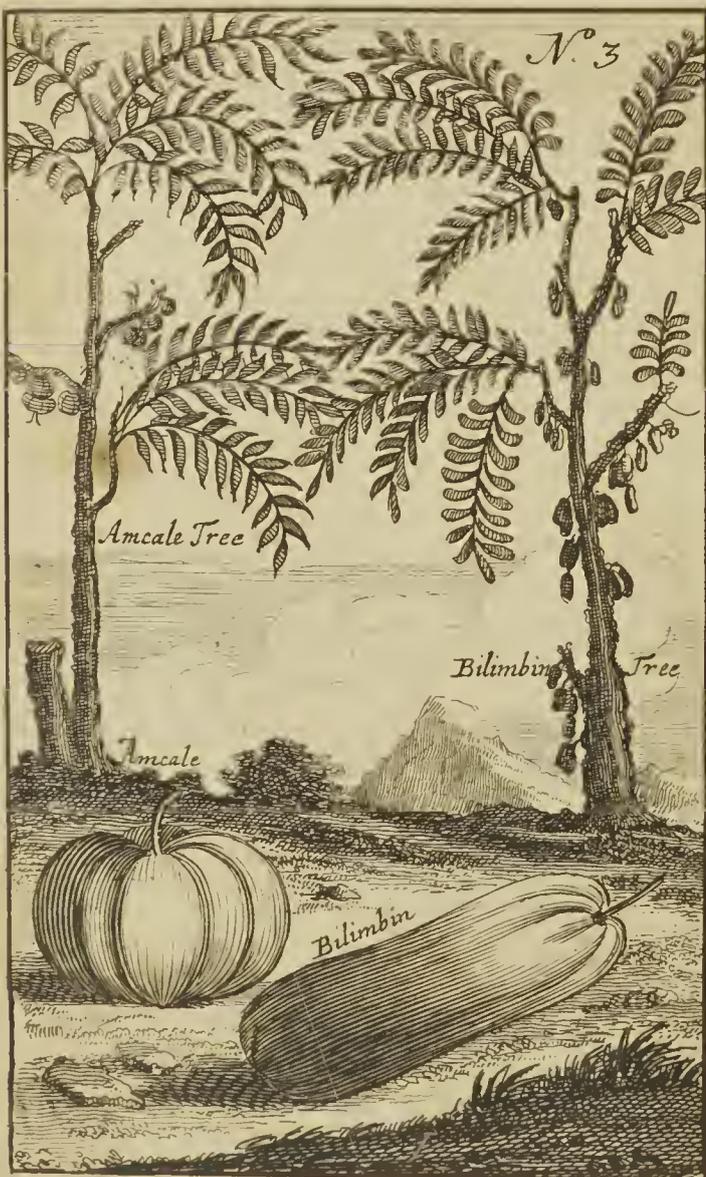
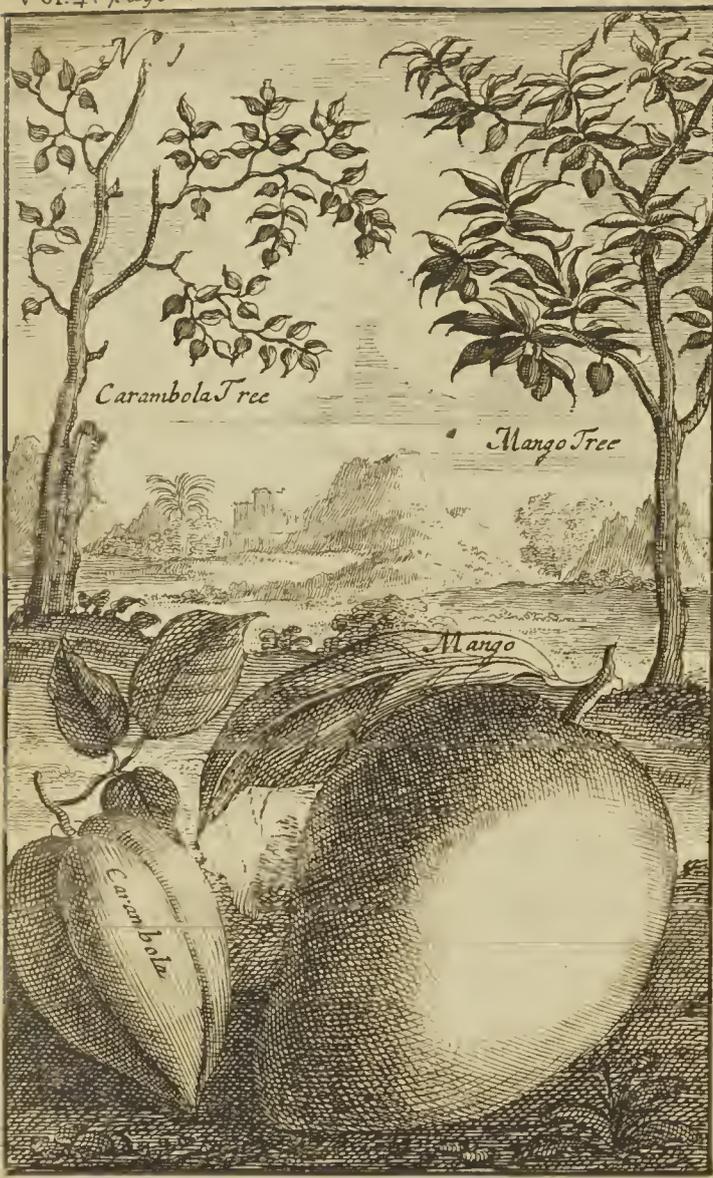
IT must not be thought strange, that being to speak of the fruit and flowers of so vast a country as *Indostan*, I should bring it in immediately after *Goa*; because all those sorts, which are found in the several parts of that tract, being to be had about *Goa*, and even some that are not elsewhere; 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 cures 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 sits 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; though 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 press'd,

Cocoa-  
tree.





press'd, and is taken before the sun rises. The *Sura* is the same liquor turn'd four, 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 streight 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 inclos'd 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 GEMEL-  
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See Cut Number I.

The *Manguera*, or *Mango*-tree, is as Mango-  
tree. high as a good pear-tree; but has larger 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 *Nicholas Alfonso*, others *Sassas*, 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 *Caramboleira*, or *Carambola*-tree, Carambo-  
la-tree. 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  
four

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four taste like a lemon. The *Portugueses* preserve them because they are cooling. The tree blossoms and bears several times a year.

Anona-  
tree. The *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*.

Ata tree. The *Ateira*, or *Aia*-tree, is as big as an apple-tree, but with small leaves. Its fruit call'd *Ata* 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*.

Cajus-tree. The *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 crest; smelling to which, a *Spanijh* preacher and missioner 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.

Jambolon-  
tree. The *Jamboleira*, 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*.

The *Jangomeira*, or *Jangoma*-tree, is Jangoma-  
very large, all prickly, and with small tree.  
leaves. The *Jangomas* the *Portugueses* 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 *Brindeiera*, 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 *Portugueses* make sauce of the rind.

The *Carandeira*, or *Caranda*-tree, is Caranda-  
low and thorny, with leaves like an tree.  
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-  
grow above twenty spans high, and the tree.  
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 *Jesuits* 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-  
as a laurel with green and yellow leaves. tree.  
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

boughts 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 *Jambojera*, 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 *Bilimbiries* all the year. The colour of it is greenish, its shape like a long pompion; 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 *Portugueses* 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*.

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The *Ananamzeira* is a plant like our 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 artichoak. The pulp within which smells like musk, is hard, yellow, and partly whitish. Its taste between sweet and sour, 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*.

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Anana-  
Plant.

See Cut Number IV. Page 211.

The *Mogareira* is a plant which from *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*.

Mogarin-  
Plant.

The *Asafreira* is bigger than a plum-tree, and in *India* produces *Safron*. The flower has a yellow bottom and six white leaves, and serves the *Portugueses* 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.

Safron-  
tree.

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*.

Pepper-  
plant.

The *Beteleira* is a tender plant like 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.

Betel-  
plant.

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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 walnut. They are call'd *Undis*, and are of a pleasant taste.

**Chiampim flowers.** The *Chiampim* of *China* is an odoriferous white flower, which preserv'd, con-

trary to the nature of other flowers, grows hard, and is sweet and pleasant in the mouth. This tree is like a little plane-tree. There is another sort of *Chiampims* 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.

*Quegadam-cheraza* is an odd sort of a great yellow flower, with long green and prickly leaves.

The *Majericam* 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 with- in, 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-mention'd) pompions, beets, radishes, coleworts, melons of all sorts, cucumbers, and many more brought out of *Persia* and *Europe*.

The End of the First Book.

A voyage

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

Containing the most remarkable Things he  
saw in *INDOSTAN*.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

*The author's journey to Galgala.*

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**H**AVING 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 *Pagan* 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 *Canarine* 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 coming 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 archbishop; 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. Blase*, 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 governor 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 *Cachiari*; 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 stair-cases. 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 *Visapor*, 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 outside up to the top of the tower, and to the chambers of

the idolatrous priests. On one side of the second room I mentioned, 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 *Salzete*, 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 *Bicbiolin*, 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 governor had sent some of his soldiers to *Bicbiolin*, to commit acts of hostility against the *Divan*, so that there had been men kill'd and wounded on both sides. *Ecb-lascanpani-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 madmen, in red vests, and little

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 *Palanchine*, 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 sash 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 noblemen 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.

The city *Ponda* is made up of cottages and mud-houses, seated in the midst of many mountains. The fort N<sup>o</sup>. 149. VOL. IV.

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*, viceroy 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 viceroy to raise his siege, and draw off. Then he went over to the island of *Salzete*, *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 *Mardongar*, that is, the fort of valiant men. This castle is held for the king, by a garrison of 300 men, under a *Kilidar*, or Castellan, who has 200 *Roupies* a month pay assigned 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 burned 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 *Betel*, she ask'd of the standers by, whether they had any business by her to the other world; and having received several gifts

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The upper fort.

An Indian woman burn'd with her dead husband.

GEMEL- and letters from those ignorant people, to  
 LI. carry to their dead friends, she wrapp'd  
 1695. 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  
*Brachmans* would go gather all the  
 melted gold, silver and copper. This  
 barbarous action was perform'd a mile  
 from *Ponda*.

A pannick When I return'd to my tent, the  
 fear. 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 perswade  
 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 de-  
 fend my self. *Miranda's* cook in the  
 mean while laugh'd at his master's cow-  
 ardice, saying, *What a brave soldier the*  
*Mogul has, to allow him two Roupies and*  
*a half a day: If he flies now no body pur-*  
*sues, what will he do when he sees an ene-*  
*my?* Here I saw them drink the juice of  
 an herb they call *Bangbe*, 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 *Chiam-*  
*pon*, a village of a few mud houses,  
 with a fort of the same sort. 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  
 travell'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 entred the terri-  
 tory of a *Pagan* prince call'd *Sonde-Ki-*  
*rani-karaja*, lord of some villages among  
 the mountains, but tributary and sub-

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*, consist-  
 ing 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 cham-  
 ber-pot of copper, on a stone pedestal,  
 with a vizor 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 cu-  
 pola hung a small bell, and without, many  
 small lights.

At night, troops of monkees 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 *Mabometan* 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 vil-  
 lages 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 *Ca-*  
*fres* and *Blacks* along the coast of *Mo-*  
*zambique* in *Africk* are of this opinion,  
 saying they do not speak, because they will  
 not work.

In the kingdom of *Canarà* a baboon A story of  
 taking a kindness to a woman, did so a baboon.  
 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 af-  
 ter to have free access to her. A *Por-*  
*tuguese* 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 answered with a sigh, this crea-  
 ture has taken away my daughter's ho-  
 nour, and makes all this noise when he  
 does not find her at home. The *Portu-*  
*guese* reply'd, why do you not kill it?  
 The peasant said he was a *Gentile*, and  
 that the queen being of the same reli-  
 gion 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 be-  
 ing afraid to be punish'd, he carry'd it  
 himself out of the cottage and bury'd it.  
 The *Portuguese* was requited for this kind-  
 ness with a great quantity of rice, as  
 he

he himself told me fifteen years after it happened.

Another. Father *Causin* writes, that a ship being cast away on the *Cape of Good Hope*, soon after *India* was discovered by the *Portugueses*, 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 delivered; but the baboon returning and finding she was far from the shore was so enrag'd, that it took the two young monsters and killed 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 delivered 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 baptis'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. Antony Machado 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, ordered a cocoa-nut to be put upon the fire, which sort of fruit the monkees 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 mew-ing about all day with the pain it had been put to.

How they take mon-  
kies. The monkees 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 *Ba-GEMEL-  
lagati*, where I found the guards and other LI.  
custom-house officers so fond of other 1695.  
men's goods, that they took twelve *Rou-  
pies* 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 A caravan  
three hours before day, and I went along of oxen.  
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 thro' 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 *Gulara-  
European* wild fig, and grows and ripens fruit.  
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 travelled 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, incompass'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 *Lecches* 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 out late on *Saturday* the 12th, after four miles travel we came into the *Mogul's* territories. Having pass'd the prince

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prince *Kirani's* 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 *Coffes* came to *Kancre* a village consisting of a few houses, where I din'd. Then I went five long *Coffes* further and lay at the village of *Etchi*, 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 *Coffes* 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 *Coffes* through a country full of green and delightful trees to *Mandapur*, a city made up of mud houses and inclos'd with a low wall; but has a good fort of lime and stone on a hill. After dinner I went two *Coffes* further to *Betchè* a wall'd town, where I lay.

Bad travelling in India.

It is far different travelling through the *Mogul's* country, than through *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 inconvenience, 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 *Mogulstans*: At 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 *Savagi'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 myself to so many dangers and hardships. 'Tis true, that excepting only this of *Visapor*, which is continually harrass'd with wars, the other kingdoms subject to the *Great Mogul* are not so inconvenient for travelling; especially about *Surratte* and *Amadabat*, where necessaries for life are to be had.

*Wednesday* the 16th having travell'd *Edoar* three *Coffes* I pass'd through a village call'd *Kodelki*, where at a dear rate I tasted ripe grapes of *Europe*; and three *Coffes* further came to *Edoar*, the biggest city I saw in that short journey. Within the first inclosure 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 *Coffes* 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 muddied 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, though I blooded, and us'd other remedies.

C H A P. II.

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*The author's arrival at Galgala, where the Great Mogul was incamp'd.*

**T** *Hursday* the 17th, after riding five *Coffes*, I pass'd through a wall'd town call'd *Matur*, and two *Coffes* further to the village of *Galgala* where the *Mogul's* camp was. Crossing the river *Kiscina* I came into the quarters of the *Mahometans* call'd *Lascaris*, 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 *Mahometans* that had made themselves drunk, to be cruelly beaten before me, bound to a flake. 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 *Mahometan* 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.

*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.

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 feofs; 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 muster 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 day's 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

The king's quarters.

The Mogul's camp.

The Mogul's good service.

GEMEL- grows rich, especially an *European* or  
 LI. *Persian*; but once in, it is a very hard  
 1695. 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 re-  
 quisite 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 but-  
 ter, 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 be himself impos'd  
 upon worse than Tavernier was with the  
 Crabs.*

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 through-  
 out his empire, and three general ele-  
 phants. 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 quar-  
 ters. Waiting, I saw his son come out  
 and mount a horseback to go meet his  
 father; as soon as he saw him, he alight-  
 ed 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 re-  
 quires, and that day made their noise

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 imbroider'd with gold; having  
 made my obeisance after the *Mogul* fa-  
 shion, 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 an-  
 swered accordingly, that I was a *Nea-  
 politan*, and came thence two years be-  
 fore; during which time I had seen  
*Ægypt*, 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 hon-  
 our 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 *Hun-  
 gary*; 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,  
 inclos'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 outsides  
 with ordinary red stuff, and with finer  
 within, and small taffeta curtains. Un-  
 der this tent was a square place, rais'd  
 four spans above the ground, inclos'd  
 with silver banisters two spans high,  
 and cover'd with fine carpets. Six  
 spans further in the middle was an-  
 other 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 bro-  
 cade, two to serve on the sides, and one  
 at the back. Soon after the king came  
 leaning on a staff forked at the top, se-  
 veral *Omrabs* and abundance of cour-  
 tiers going before him. He had on a  
 white vest ty'd under the right arm,  
 accor-

according to the fashion of the *Mahometans*, to distinguish them from the *Gentiles*, who tie it under the left. The *Cira* or turbant 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 fash, 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 this round beard, was more visible on his olive-colour'd skin.

The Mogul gives audience.

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.

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, sat 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 sat 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 fashes, scimiters, and bucklers hanging by their sides. Those that were not of the blood royal, made three obeisances.

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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 horse tails dy'd red. The other four had the spears cover'd, so that there was no seeing what they held. Without the inclosure 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 *Palanchines*, 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-

mine 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.

When

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Scia ge-  
han, Fa-  
ther to  
Aurenge  
Zeb.

When *Scia-gehan* 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 so intirely to her, beyond what became his age, that being reduc'd to extream 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 Baksce*. The two daughters were *Begum Sabebe*, 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, *Thunderer*, *Breaker of Troops*, *Faithful Lord*, the *Wise*, the *Perfect*, and the like.

He di-  
vides his  
sons.

Bernier  
Revolu-  
tion des  
estats du  
G. Mo-  
gol, tom.  
1. p. 20.

*Scia-gehan* 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 fortrefs 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 Baksce* 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-gehan's* shutting himself up, that he was dead, his sons immediate-

ly arm'd to contend for their father's kingdom. The cunning fox *Aurenge Zeb*, whilst things were in this confusion, that he might the better surprize his brother, gave out, that he had no pretensions to the crown, but had chosen to become a *Fachir*, or poor, to serve God in peace. At the same time he writ to his brother *Morad Baksce* acquainting 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 *Kasar* or idolater; and *Sultan Sujab* a *Refesis*, 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 *Roupies*; advising him to come with all expedition to make himself master of the fort of *Suratte*, where the treasure was. *Morad Baksce*, who was neither powerful 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-Abas*, a valiant eunuch, he sent him to besiege the castle of *Suratte*.

Aurenge  
Zeb, his  
artifices.

*Dara* would have reliev'd it, but forbore it to attend his father in his sickness, and curb *Sultan Sugab*, who after subduing the kingdom of *Bengala*, where he was governor, was advanc'd with a powerful army into the kingdom of *Labor*. He sent his eldest son *Soliman Scecur* 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 *Sultan Mahmud*, son in-law to the king of *Golconda*, to *Emir Gemla*, who lay by order of *Sciab-gehan*, at the siege of *Kahana*, 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* artifices, excus'd himself, saying, his father

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 publickly; 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 happen'd with *Emir Gemla*; what forces and money he had; and what secret intelligence at court; desiring him, that since he was to go from *Bramper* to *Agra*, he should endeavour to meet and confer with him by the way.

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This fell out to his mind, the two GEMEL-  
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Dara's  
forces de-  
feated.

*Morad Baksee* flush'd with the success 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 *Samongher*, where *Morad Baksee*, tho' wounded by the general *Ramsenghe-ruttle*, fighting couragiously, 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 falsly perswaded *Dara* to come down from his elephant, and get a horseback; and this to the end that the soldiers not seeing him, might suppose he was kill'd, and so disney '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 stedfast 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.

Himself  
routed.

Four days after, *Aurenge Zeb*, and *Morad Baksee* came to a garden a small 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

Aurenge  
Zeb comes  
to Agra.

M m m

much

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much troubled at all that had happened, being compel'd to it by *Dara's* ambition; but were most ready to obey his commands. *Sciab-gehan*, 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-gehan* 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-gehan* 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 *Begun Sabe*, 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 Baksce*, 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-hest-kan* governor of the city, went away with *Morad Baksce* in pursuit of *Dara*.

The day they were to set out of *Agra*, *Morad Baksce'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 *Dehli*. 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 *Dehli* 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' it were but that day,

upon pretence of 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 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 Baksce*, 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 Baksce'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 *Dehli*, to the little fort of *Salemgher*, seated in the middle of the river.

Having secur'd *Morad Baksce*, 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 withdrew 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*, 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, or at least a specious

Imprisons  
his father.

Seizes Mo-  
rad Bak-  
sce.

Imprisons  
his eldest  
son.

pretence to make sure of him; because afterwards, besides the threatening letters he writ to recall him to *Debli*, he caus'd him to be arrested upon the river *Ganges*, and sent close shut up in an *Ambri* to *Gavaleor*.

*Aurence 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 *Sugiab*, 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 *Guzerate*. He made the *Raja Gessen Sanghe* 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 indifferent army, unadvisedly came out of *Amed-Abad*, and hasted to *Asmire*, eight days journey from *Agra*. Here, too late discovering *Gessen Senghe'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 *Jessem*; 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 *Asmire* 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 *Kullys*, 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 governor, who was corrupted by *Aurence 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-gehan* had commanded him to be cast to the elephants for rebellion. Him he purpos'd to repair to, notwithstanding his son *Sapesce-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 setting 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, *Aurence Zeb* and his council differ'd in opinions, whether they should carry him through the city, or not, in order to send him to *Govaleor*; and at last it was resolv'd to set 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 *Aurence 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 *Mussulman*, but a *Kafer* or idolater. *Aurence Zeb* readily comply'd, immediately ordering that *Sapesce-Kub* should be carry'd prisoner to *Govaleor*, 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 *Aurence Zeb*, and he ordering it to be put into a dish, wash'd it with his own hands, to be sure it was his brother's, 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 daughter to be put into the seraglio, and afterwards sent her to

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Betray'd.

There was none left of *Dara's* family, but *Soliman Scekeb*, who was not easily

Dara defeated a gain.

His son secur'd.

fily

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fily to be drawn from *Serenagber*, had the *Raja* kept his word; but the un-  
derhand practices of the *Raja Gessen Sengbe*, the promises and threats of *Au-  
renge Zeb*, the death of *Dara*, and the  
neighbouring *Raja's*, made him break his  
faith. *Soliman* understanding he was be-  
tray'd, fled over desert mountains, to-  
wards the great *Tibet*, but the *Raja's*  
son overtook and stopp'd him, wound-  
ing 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*.

Morad  
Baksee  
kill'd.

*Aurenge Zeb* perceiving there were po-  
ems handed about in commendation of  
*Morad Baksee's* valour, it rais'd such a  
jealousy in him, that he presently con-  
triv'd his death. *Morad*, at the begin-  
ning 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 re-  
venge for their father's death. Not one  
of the *Omrabs* oppos'd it, as well be-  
cause *Sajed* was of *Mahomet's* family, as  
to comply with the will of *Aurenge Zeb*,  
whose invention they knew that was.  
Accordingly they were permitted, with-  
out any manner of process, to have *Mo-  
rad's* head cut off; which was immedi-  
ately perform'd at *Govaleor*.

He end  
of Sultan  
Sujah.

There is now none left to oppose *Au-  
renge Zeb*, but only *Sultan Sujah*, 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 him-  
self to the ocean, and not knowing  
which way to escape, he sent his eldest  
son *Sultan Banche* 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 ha-  
ving a mind to go to *Mecca*. The king  
of *Aracam* presently sent a number of  
galleasses or half galleys with *Sultan*  
*Banche*, and a civil answer as to the rest.  
*Sujah* went abroad with his women, and  
being brought to that king, was well re-  
ceiv'd; but when the season came he per-  
form'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 *Sujah* did not visit him,  
and tho' *Sultan Banche* often made his  
court with great presents, yet it avail'd

nothing. Then asking one of *Sultan*  
*Sujah's* daughters in marriage, and find-  
ing she was not immediately granted him,  
the barbarian was so inrag'd, that he ob-  
lig'd the poor fugitive prince to act a  
desperate part. He thought with three  
hundred soldiers he brought from *Benga-  
la*, and the assistance of the *Mahometans*  
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 exe-  
cution, the design was discover'd, and  
he oblig'd to fly towards *Pegu* to save his  
life, tho' it was impossible to come thi-  
ther 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. *Sul-  
tan Banche* who was not gone so far,  
made his defence too, but being hurt  
with stones, and incompass'd on all sides,  
was taken, with two little brothers, a  
sister and his mother. As for *Sultan*  
*Sujah* himself, there are different ac-  
counts; some say he was wounded on  
the mountains, only four of his men be-  
ing 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 *Massipa-  
tan*; 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 *Su-  
jah* was turn'd pilgrim. The most re-  
ceiv'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 im-  
prison'd, and the king took his eldest  
daughter to wife; but another conspiracy  
of *Sultan Banche* being afterwards dis-  
cover'd, he was so inrag'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 wo-  
men starv'd to death.

The unnatural war being thus at an  
end, after it had lasted, through the am-  
bition 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

Exact ju-  
stice of a  
Mahome-  
tan.

was,

was, the grand *Cadi* who was to put him in possession, and pleaded, that according to the law of *Mahomet*, and that of nature, no man could be declar'd king whilst his father was yet living, much less *Aurenge Zeb*, who had put to death his eldest brother *Dara*, to whom the crown belong'd after the death of his father *Scia-gehan*. 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 *Mahometan* 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. *Aurenge 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-gehan*, 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.

*Aurenge Zeb* in-thron'd.

His penance.

Is reproved by the king of Persia.

*Aurenge 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.

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-gehan*, 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-gehan* dies. Tav. I. 2. P. 252.

*Scia-gehan* died in the fort of *Agra* about the end of the year 1666, and *Aurenge Zeb*, who had long wish'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-gehan*, offended 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 died, with suspicion of being poison'd.

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If we now look back into the life of *Scia-gehan*, 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.

Divine justice.

*Gebanguir*, king of *India*, son of *Ac-Scia-gebar*, and grandson of *Humagion*, after having reign'd twenty-three years peacefully, 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 *Labor*, 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 defeated 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 satisfied 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-gehan*, believing that he, as second son to *Geban Ghir*, ought to be preferr'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

Scia-gehan an usurper.

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chang'd his name into that of *Sciab-gehan*, 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 *Curom*; but age, and grief to see himself so much wrong'd, ended his days by the way, and made it easy for the other to compass his designs. However, *Jebanguir* before his death recommended his grandson *Sultan Bulaki* to *Asuf-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 Curom* a rebel, and incapable of succeeding in the throne. Besides, he made them swear, and particularly *Asuf-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-gehan*, is 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 *Asuf-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 *Asuf-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 *Sciab-gehan* 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, though an enemy. *Scia-gehan* 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 *Asuf* 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-gehan* 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 wander'd about *India* a long time, becoming a *Fachir*; 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-gehan* 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 deferr'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 birthright. 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.

#### C H A P. IV.

*The genealogy of the Great Moguls, and other things the author observ'd at that court.*

The empire of the Mogul.

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 *Usbeck Tartars*; on the south of it is the great *Indian* oce-

an, and some countries held by the *Portugueses* 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, and

and its breadth from north to south at least four.

The first that laid the foundation of this mighty monarchy was *Tamerlane*, othewise call'd *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 *Bajazet*, emperor of the *Turks*, whom he overthrew and took prisoner. Causing him to be brought into his presence the same day, and looking him steddily in the face, he fell a laughing, whereat *Bajazet* 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, Bajazet, 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 buried.

*Mirumxa* his son succeeded him in the throne; his successor was his son *Mabomet*; and *Mabomet Mirza Sultan Absuid* his son, who was kill'd by the *Persians* in the year 1469. *Mirza Sultan Hamet*, son to him, ascended the throne next, and died 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 died in 1532.

His son *Hemagion*, that is, the fortunate, succeeded him, who conquered the best and wealthiest kingdoms in *India*. *Kirkan*, his general, rebell'd, and forced him to fly to the king of *Persia*; by whom being assisted with 12,000 men, under the command of *Beuran-Cham*, he defeated the rebel, and recover'd his kingdom; then died in 1552.

After his death, his son *Gelaladin*, commonly call'd *Akbar*, ascended the throne. He reign'd 54 years, and died in 1605, since the birth of Christ, and 1014 of the *Mabometan Epocha*, leaving the king-

dom to his son *Sultan Selim*, call'd by another name *Jehan-guir-patsia*, that is, conquering emperor of the world; at his death he left four sons, *Sultan Kosru*, *Sultan Kurom*, *Sultan Peruiz*, and *Scia Daniel*.

*Sultan Kurom* succeeded his father *Jehan-guir*, by means of the ill practices above-mention'd, 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-gehan*. Next to him came *Aurenge Zeb*, ascending the throne of *Indostan* through such cruel practices. He took the name of *Aurenge-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 *Visapor* and *Golconda*, the kings whereof he kept prisoners in my time; part of the territory of *Savagi*, and of other petty principalities in *Indostan*.

*Aurenge 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 imploy'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 necromancy, believ'd he was assisted 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 reserv'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, though

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Aurenge  
Zeb's con-  
quests.

His im-  
ploy-  
ments.

made

Tamer-  
lane foun-  
der of the  
monar-  
chy.

Bern. Re-  
vol. des  
estats du  
G. Mo-  
gul, tom.  
2. p. 78.  
Teixeira  
de Imp.  
Mogul.  
five India  
vera, p.  
162.

Tamer-  
lane's suc-  
cessors.

Thevenot  
Voy. def.  
Indies, l.  
1. c. 3.

GEMEL- made of flesh and blood like the Eu-  
 ropeans.

1695. After *Aurenge Zeb* had prescrib'd him-  
 self this sort of life, he ceas'd to be  
 bloody as before, and on the contrary  
 became so mild, that the governors 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 trans-  
 gress'd his commands, answer'd, *That*  
*he was no God, that his ministers might*  
*not contradict him; and that if they mis-*  
*behav'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  
 martyrology 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, un-  
 der 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 con-  
 tinency.

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 tells us, that he having  
 pitch'd upon a woman in the *Aram* to  
 lie with him that night, she dress'd her-  
 self the best she could to receive that  
 honour. The king coming at the ap-  
 pointed hour into her chamber, instead  
 of going to bed, fell a reading the *Al-*  
*coran* all night. The eunuch coming  
 in the morning to tell him the bath  
 was ready, as is 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 *Mabome-*  
*tans* are to bathe. The king hearing her,  
 went away asham'd, the lady telling him,  
 that was no room to pray in; and he ne-  
 ver 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 abun-  
 dance of elephants, horses and servants.

Besides *Aurenge Zeb's* abstinence, af-  
 ter so many horrid crimes committed; He work-  
 ed for his  
 bread.  
 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 governors of his kingdoms and pro-  
 vinces; 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 fash and  
*Cira* or cap, less.

The *Great Mogul's* usual place of re-  
 sidence is at *Agra*, and sometimes at  
*Debli* and *Labor*, in which cities the  
 king is always guarded by an *Omrab*,  
 with a body of 20000 horse, who in-  
 camp 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 car-  
 ry'd before by 120 elephants, 1400 ca-  
 mels and 400 small carts, to be set up  
 where he was to go, and several thou-  
 sands of horse and foot went with 70  
 elephants, to secure the ground to in-  
 camp on. Eight other elephants carry'd  
 eight chairs, more like biers, wrought  
 with gold and silver, or gilt wood, and  
 clos'd with crystal. 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 a-foot; 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 His chil-  
 dren.  
 1st Son.  
*Mahmud*, who following the example of  
 his predecessors, in aiming at the crown  
 before his father's death, proceeded so  
 openly towards taking away his life,  
 that he thought good to prevent him;  
 and accordingly caus'd him to be poi-  
 son'd one day, when he went a hunt-  
 ing; and mistrusting he was not really  
 dead, when he was brought to the pa-  
 lace, he cruelly caus'd a red hot iron to  
 be run in from the sole of his foot to  
 his knee.

*Scialam* the 2d son, by the death of The 2d.  
*Mahmud*, 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

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 continued 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 *Visapor* 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 called *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 Lifonte*, who borders on the kingdom of *Asmire*, belonging to the *Mogul*; instead of subduing him, he suffer'd 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 believed 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 fatigued with the long march, the crafty old man having no sufficient force to oppose him, had recourse to stratagem. He therefore sent a confident of his into the enemies camp, with a letter directed to his son; in which he commended his extraordinary wise 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 caused 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 caused 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 so full of wine, saved himself with 1000 horse, leaving his father behind, who was carried away prisoner, and not long after to his grave.

*Akbar* escaping this storm, went to *Goa*, where the *Portugueses* furnish'd him with ships to go over to *Ormuz*. There he was nobly received by the *Cham*, and afterwards by order of *Scia-Selemon*, then king of *Persia*, attended by many troops of soldiers to the court of *Ispahan*; where he was courteously entertain'd, and had an allowance to maintain him suitable to his quality; as I observed in the second part. The old man fearing his son's valour, used several arts to draw him out of *Persia*, but with small hopes of success, because *Akbar* was not so weak as to be ensnared by his father. Whilst I was at *Ispahan*, 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 refused their kindness. I was afterwards inform'd by others, that this was a contrivance of *Aurenge Zeb*, who had order'd the *Omrab*, of whom *Akbar* had desired 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 refused the present. *Aurenge Zeb* took many towns from *Savagi* for having assisted this prince; and continuing the war, had besieged 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 relieved 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 *Visapor* and *Galconda*, 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-Gehan* 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 credible authors.

## C H A P. 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 *Bagsci*, 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 *Feofs* 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 business.

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*, *Dehli* and *Agra*; *Tues-*

*day* for *Cabul*; *Wednesday* for the kingdoms 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 *Gosalxana*, and the third *Adelet*.

Audiences.

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 abroad, 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.

Absolute power.

## C H A P. VI.

*Of the revenues and wealth of the Great Mogul.*GEMEL-  
LI.  
1695.Mogul's  
great re-  
venue.

AN infinite quantity of *Roupies* is 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 *Aurenge 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 *Omrak* 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 human 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 sloth, 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 *Africk* and *Europe*.

Gold and silver centers 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 *Gomeron*, 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*, *Achem*, *Macassar*, the *Maldiv*e 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 in the treasury, seems fabulous. But they that will judge of it by his expences, 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, tygers 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.

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Voy. des  
Ind. c. 3.  
p. 12. De  
Imp. Mog.  
five India  
ver2, p.  
142.

## C H A P. VII.

## Of the weapons and forces of the Great Mogul.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1695.Weapons  
us'd by the  
Moguls.

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 buffalo's; 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-  
rahs.

The *Omrabs* are divided into *Hazariis*, *Cubzariis*, *Panges*, *Hechets*, *Deb-Hazariis*, and *Duazdehazariis*, of which last fort 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 obliged 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 *Palanckines*, 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 obliged 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 obeysance after their manner towards the royal apartment, laying their right hand on the ground, and then on their head. They are also obliged to attend the king at all times, as was said above.

The *Mansabdars* are gentlemen, or horse, who have very honourable pay, and is call'd *Mansab*, 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 obliged 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*, who are also horse, but paid by the day, as their name imports. Their pay is not inferior to that of the *Mansabdars*, 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 foot.** The foot and musketeers 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 forts, 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 pedreroes are on our backs. The other fifty or sixty small brass guns, which are the 2d fort, 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. Though 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 fir'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.

**Rajapurs.** 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 *Omrahs* 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* GEMEL-LI. 1695. 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 Country troops. already mention'd, but that they never follow the king; but every kingdom keeps its own, to secure the frontiers against strangers, as the *Persians*, *Oganis*, *Baluccis*, and others.

All soldiers whatsoever receive their pay Forces duly paid. every two months from the king's treasurer, except those that are paid by the *Omrahs*, 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.** **T**HERE are two principal festivals kept in the court of the *Great Mogul*, the one call'd *Barsgant*, 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 wish the king many happy years with presents of money and jewels. *Sciab-*  
N<sup>o</sup> 150. VOL. IV.

*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 saphires; especially the pearls on the twelve little pillars, which close the three sides, are beyond all that  
P p p can

GEMEL- can be imagin'd. Then the roof of it  
 L. I. and all other parts is so orderly enrich'd  
 1695. 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.

Taver. The second festival is that of *Tol*,  
 Voy. des which in that language signifies weight.  
 Indes, l. 2. Some suppose it to be so call'd because  
 c. 8. the king weighs himself in a pair of scales,  
 to see whether he is grown fatter; but  
 The festi- having ask'd the question in the camp of  
 val call'd several credible persons, and particularly  
 Tol. of Christians born at *Agra* and *Debli*, who  
 had serv'd there many years, they told me  
 it was a meer romance; for not only *Au-  
 renge 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 di-  
 stributed among the poor with great solem-  
 nity. It is done some days after the *Barf-  
 gant*, either sooner or later, as the king  
 thinks fit.

Descripti- The *Indians* are well shap'd, it being  
 on of the rare to find any of them crooked, and  
 Indians. 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 leprosy.  
 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 house-room. 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 *Palan-  
 chines*. There is none of them but endea-  
 vours the best he can to go to *Mecca*, to  
 become a *Hazi* 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 *Chineses* and *Mexicans* do the same,  
 as shall be said in its place. Being excel-  
 lent archers they shoot birds flying, with  
 arrows.

The *Mahometans* of *Indostan*, tho' bar-  
 barous in other respects, are not so de-

ceitful, so proud, or such enemies to Their dif-  
 Christians, as the *Turks*; and a Christian position.  
 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* bor-  
 derers on *Persia*, the *Patans* of the king-  
 dom of *Bengala*, and the *Rasbootis* very  
 great thieves.

The languages spoken at court are the Language  
*Arabian* and the *Persian*. As for sciences and learn-  
 ing.  
 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 a-  
 strology in great account, insomuch that  
 the king undertakes nothing without the  
 advice of his astrologers. In physick they  
 have but small skill, and cure several dis-  
 eases 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 be-  
 lov'd above the rest, using all manner of  
 allurements, perfumes and sweet oint-  
 ments. Sometimes, to heighten their ma-  
 sters lusts, they give him compositions of  
 pearl, gold, opium and amber; or else  
 much wine, that he may require com-  
 pany 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 law-  
 ful wife's 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 deliver-  
 ing up the sheep to the wolves; so lasciv-  
 ious 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-  
 cloth; nor do they drink till they have  
 done eating. Their greatest delight is to  
 chew *Bette* all day.

**Habit.** The vests both of men and women are narrow towards the waste, 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 *Mahometan* 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 *Mahometan Indians* marry very young, but the idolaters at all ages. These last may not have several wives at once like the *Mahometans*; 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 consort 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 umbrells and banners; and having taken a round about the city go to the bride's house. Here a *Brabman* 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 wife's, and then the wife the husband's, 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 under 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 so 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 lie with them. When a *Naire* or *Gentile* is in a lady's 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 *Mahometan*, she must 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 washed, 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 *Brabman* 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 *Brabmans*, desires them to set fire speedily. A barbarous inhumanity! And yet they make a scruple of killing flies and pismires.

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Women  
fruitful.

Barbarous  
liberty.

Thev.  
Voy. def.  
Ind. 1. 2.  
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Punish-  
ment.

Burials.

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In other places they fill wide deep trenches with combustible matter, where laying the husband's body, the *Brabmans* 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 *Brabmans* 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 *Mabometans* or *Christians*, forsaking their own religion. In short, the *Gentiles* make the widows honour con-

sist 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 *Mabometans* are become sovereigns of *India*, they do not easily consent to this inhumanity, which the *Brabmans* 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 Mourning. 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 *Mabometan* ceremonies it is needless to repeat it in this place.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the climate, fruit, flowers, minerals, beasts and coin of Indostan.*

Heats 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 than 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 failing 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 raisins, 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 wholesome.

The flowers are very fragrant, and much better colour'd than any in *Europe*. There are many simples, which they carry into *Europe* for physical 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 best 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

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 *Aurenge 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 inclose 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 aforefaid inclosure 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 *Carnesica* in the kingdom of *Visapour*, 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*.

Gazelles.

Besides the birds and beasts *Europe* affords, *India* has others peculiar to it; as for instance, the *Gazelles*, 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, rhinoceros'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 left. 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 sits upon his neck. It is of itself a very tractable creature, when it is not inrag'd or in lust; for then he that rules it is in danger. They quiet him with artificial fire-works, or driving 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 sure-footed 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 *Aqua-vitæ* 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 a skin, that the scent may not evaporate. After which

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Elephants.

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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.

Fowl. As for fowl, 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 thirteen silver *Roupies* and a quarter, or six pieces of eight, *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 *Pesties*, 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, *Abaffis* 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 *Arebs*, that are ten *Crous*. The *Batman*, and *Man*, 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.

The End of the Second Book.



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

Containing the most remarkable Things he  
saw in *INDOSTAN*.

B O O K III.

C H A P. I.

*Of the several religions in Indostan.*

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**T**HIS vast empire, besides the natives, is inhabited by *Persians, Tartars, Abissinians, 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 part, 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 *Remak* 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.

Though 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 *Brackman* I sent for, on purpose to be inform'd in what relates to them.

The first and principal tribe is that of the *Brackmans*, 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 *Brackmans* of *Goa*, *Gagavali* and *Pongaput*, none of which eat in the house of another.

In these ten sects or orders of *Brackmans*, 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 *Brackmans* 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 husband's 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 war-like men. These only eat in the houses of their own tribe, or in those of the *Brackmans*, in which all the others may

Transmigration of souls.

Eighty-four tribes.

Brackmans the first tribe.

Ten sects of them.

Whom they may marry, and whom not.

Rajapours the second tribe.

may

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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 *Cbiotia*, near *Damam*; and *Grofia*, not far from *Suratte*, both robbers, living among mountains, like beasts. The king of *Portugal* allows *Cbiotia* 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.

Banians  
the third  
tribe.

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*.

Paravous  
two tribes.

There are two tribes of *Paravous*, the one call'd *Patara*, 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.

Sutars two  
tribes.

There are also two tribes of *Sutars*, or timber-men; the one call'd *Concanas*, the other *Guzaratti*. 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.

Canfars  
two tribes.

The *Canfars*, or brasiers, 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.

Gaulis.

The *Gaulis*, who sell milk, and are herdsmen, are another tribe, that eats every thing but beef and tame swine's flesh. Their widows marry again.

Malis.

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.

Sonars.

The *Sonars*, or goldsmiths, are divided into *Concanas* and *Guzarattis*, and observe the same as the brasiers.

There is another tribe of *Valuoris*, or *Valuoris* 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*, *Reutas*, *Naichis*, *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*, *Shiadas*, *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 washers of linen, 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 fishermen are divided into many races, or tribes, called *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 called *Charanas*, 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, tame swine's-flesh, crabs, lobsters, crevisses and all-shell-fish. They do not marry out of their

their tribes, but the widows may 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.

**Farafis.** The *Farafis* 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 allowed 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 obliged 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 mentioned, only the *Brackmans* 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.

The *Jogis* are people of all tribes, 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 ring 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 kinswomen 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 *Beraghis* (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.

## CH A P. II.

### *Of the opinions and superstitions of the idolaters.*

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

things 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 *Rhevan's* palace,

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Cunfunu.

and leap'd back again, to which purpose they tell a long and tedious fable. Among the goddeffes they count *Malachiche*, who they fay never refused any body that ask'd it, the use of her body; as if she had perform'd some extraordinary penance; and so a man call'd *Cunfunu*, because whilst he liv'd he enjoy'd sixteen thousand women.

Opinions  
concerning  
one God.

Some of them believe there are *Elysian* fields, and that in order to come thither a river is to be pass'd, like the *Styx* of the ancients, 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 thousand arms, and a thousand eyes, and as many feet; not knowing any better way how to explain the thoughts of his omnipotency. 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 particular actions of men, because they are not worthy to be the object of his divine 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.

Adam.

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 forbidden 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*.

Priest-  
hood.

The priesthood among them is hereditary, 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 *Gentiles*, 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*, *Vistu* 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 priest.

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 *Betel*, eating of cocoa-nuts and smoaking 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 sensible 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 making use of the same utensils. But those beyond *Malaca* make no difficulty of it.

They are so silly or ignorant, as to conceit 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 imagining 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 pleasant 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 congratulate him, and thinking to make the vice-roy a great compliment, 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 husbands believe they conceiv'd by thinking on them.

When an idolater is dying, his kindred place a cow near the bed, and shake her tail till she pisses; if it reaches the dying man's face, it is look'd upon as a good token

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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 crocodiles, and if he gets over safe, he is reputed not guilty. The *Naires* call this the passage of crocodiles.

Naires forcefers.

These *Naires* are great wizards, nor do they ever expose themselves to any feats 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 ingage 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 throughout all *Canara*, though it be through woods and over mountains; and a traveller for a small matter may have one from one village to another.

Security for travellers.

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 cloth 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 monkies 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.

Barbarity to infants.

CH A P. 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, monkies, 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, coloured black, and placing it on a column, adore it instead of an idol, offering to it sacrifice of *Betel*, *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.

*man* or high-priest resides. There they adore the great idol *Kesora*, 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*, washing in whose water they think cleanses them from sin more than any other.

The *Pagod* of *Benarus* is built on the second bank of *Ganges*, in the city of the same pilgrimage, 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

Second pilgrimage.

First great place of pilgrimage.

The chief *Pagods* to which they go in pilgrimage are four; *Giagrane*, *Benarus*, *Matura* and *Tripeti*. That of *Giagrane* is upon one of the mouths of the river *Ganges*, where the great *Brach-*

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a glass or two of it about after dinner; which they drink with as great a gust, as we should do some rich muskadine, or hippocras. The idol is call'd *Bainmadu*, held in such 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 ador'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 banisters, 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 pilgri-  
mage. 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.

Bisnaga  
Pagod. In the kingdom of *Bisnaga* 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 *Naicbe* of *Tanjaur*, a *Gentile*, and taking the city of that name, thousands of women threw themselves into wells on account of religion.

Ramara-  
cor Pagod. 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 whereof 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 neck, 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 peacocks feathers, drive away the flies from the idol lying 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 crocodiles: 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 pismires 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 increaseth 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,

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*, *Arachan*, *Pegu*, *Siam*, *China*, and several *Chams* in great *Tartary*; in the islands the king of *Japan* and *Ceylon*, and some roytelets of the *Molucco* islands; as also all the *Rajas* in the *Mogul's* empire, but of several sects, some less superstitious than others.

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## C H A P. 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 *Visapor*, 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. The true original of the king of *Visapor's* misfortunes was, that the queen being left a widow and without children, *Savagi*, who was offended at the king deceas'd for having caus'd his father *Nair Savagi*, then captain of the guards, to die in a gaol, took the field with a small army of scoundrels; and soon made himself master of the fortresses of *Rajapor*, *Rasigar*, *Crapaten*, *Dabul* and part of *Malabar*. Some think that raising the fortifications of *Rasigar*, he there found a great treasure, which enabled him to continue the war. The queen finding herself 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.

Original of the king of Visapor's misfortunes.

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 inaccessible

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 *Visapor*; which he took after a vigorous defence of three years, made by *Sidi Mansutu* 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.

*Tanaschia* king of *Golconda*, who in my time was sixty years of age, had the same misfortune. His general *Emir Gem-la* being disgusted, invited *Aurenge Zeb* to invade the kingdom through his means. The ambitious *Mogul* halted 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 fortresses 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.

Of the king of Golconda.

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 *Tanaschia'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 *Musfulman*, 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 *Visapor*, with a mighty army to besiege *Golconda*. At his first coming, he secur'd the pass on the river, and *Bagnaner*, 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 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 inclos'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 elephant,

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 *Dolet-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 pity to the infant born at such an unfortunate time, he rais'd his allowance to five hundred *Roupies* a day.

*Panniach*, who had with considerable forces assist'd the *Mogul* in conquering the kingdom, was rewarded with death, upon very slight jealousies; which infuriating 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 handsomely, 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.

#### C H A P. 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 *Galgala*, would have made me slip the opportunity of going over to *China*; 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 infested 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 *Beligon-city.*  
track

track of the oxen shew'd, and came sometimes to *Beligon*. This city, tho' made up of mud-houfes thatch'd, is very populous, because of its trade. It has a large *Bazar* and a good fort, consideridg it belongs to *Moors*, all built of stone, and encompass'd with a deep ditch full of water; but it has little cannon 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 *Moor* conceiving what I could not express, conducted me to *Sciapour*, a mile thence, where I found the caravan ready to set out for *Bardes*: The *Canarines* belonging 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 *Canarine* 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, stopp'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 *Portugueses* should stop their people at *Goa*, 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 *Portugueses* who were but a mus-

ket-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's* 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 convoy 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 afore-mention'd monastery of fathers in a very ill condition. The father *Presesi* seeing me so sick, told me that had happened because I would not take his advice; I answer'd, *Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis*. Both he and father *Hippolitus* endeavour'd to recover me with good fowls, to which the best fauce was their kindness; and thus I recover'd my flitting 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 satisfied with fifteen pardaos, which are worth six crowns of *Naples*, a month.

*Thursday* the 7th I went to visit the body of *S. Francis Xaverius*, 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 guilt; 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 saint's arm was cut off, the rest of the body has decay'd, as if he had resented it; and therefore the *Jesuits*

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S. Francis  
Xaverius's  
body.

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*suits* 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 guilt. 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 pleasant 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 *Mascat*; 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 *Ormuz*. The king of *Persia* had then ninety thousand men ready to send into *Arabia Felix*, against the *Iman*.

Vice-roy's  
palaces.

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

it are the pictures of all the vice-roys, and governors 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*, *Coins.* 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 *Tutunaga*, 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 of fruit may be bought for one of these.

The vice-roys do not live in the afore-said palace, because of the ill air, but in that call'd *Polvereira*, 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 then fit to entertain a vice-roy; but has been enlarg'd by degrees. The third is the fort of *Pangi*, near the fort of *Gaspard Dias*. 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 *Varsava*. 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 *Pumburpa*, 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 country-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 masters bring them back by force, worse than if they were slaves. *Sunday* the 17th after dinner, we went to see a farm of the *Augustinians*

*Augustinians* close by, where an ingenious father had built a good house, and furnish'd it handsomly.

*Monday* the 18th we went a fishing on the channel, which does not only abound in all other forts, 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 *Portugueses* 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 GEMEL-  
change what money I had into pieces of II.  
eight, because there is a great deal lost 1695.  
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 of *Salzette*, to speak to *Ferom Vasconcellos*, captain of the vessel call'd *The Holy Rosary*, 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 *Malaca*, 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 *Mahometans*. *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 fathers *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 *Charon*, where the noviciate of the *Jesuits* is, to hear mass. Meeting there

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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 sacristy 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*.

## C H A P. VI.

*The author's voyage to Malaca.*

**M**onday 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 *Cochinchina*; 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 license from the inquisition, to put the black aboard the coaster, in case the ships that were stranded should be rendred 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 over-board three great baskets of mine 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 *Cochin*. 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 pilots

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*, *Madraſtapatan*, the people of the *Naiches*, 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 set 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*.

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.

*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 *Maldiv* islands. *Saturday* the 28th the same fair wind continu'd, but with the same rolling. *Sunday* the 29th the wind held on, and a sailor 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 *Andemaon*, 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 Coutinbo*, 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 *Coutinbo* 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 *Andemaon*, particularly the inhabitants of a mountain call'd *Bata*, that is, rock, not far from *Achem*, who cruelly play for one anothers 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 *Coutinbo* told me, who had been up the said island of the kingdom of *Achem*.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1695.  
Nicobar  
island and  
Ande-  
maon.

Ceylon  
island.

Bengala  
kingdom.

Achem  
and Suma-  
tra island.

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*chem.* The natives firmly believe that if a dying man eats a roasted cuckow, 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 Chersonesus* 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 call'd *dos Degradados*, or of banish'd men, where the governors of *Achem* confine criminals, we came opposite to that call'd *da Rainha*, 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 aforefaid 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 bisket 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 Rainha*, 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* the 15th. *Thursday* the 16th it blew very faintly; and *Friday* the 17th there was none at all.

*Saturday* the 18th we made some way *Polvereira* in sight of the island *Polvereira*, but the island. 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 *Portugueses* 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 streight drew near the continent; so that on *Thursday* 23d we were opposite to mount *Pulporjelar*. *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* barks call'd *Somas*, loaded with rice and bound *Somas* for *Achem*. They carry'd four sails made *Chinese* of mat, two of them on the sides from *vessels*. the main-mast, like the wings of a bird when

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 *Racado*.

Sunday the 26th, when we were in

sight of *Malaca*, the wind started up contrary, and hindred us entring 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.

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C H A P. VII.

*An account of what is worth observing at Malaca.*

Malaca  
city.  
Maff. Hist.  
Ind. 1. 5. p.  
117 &  
118.

**M**alaca is seated on the southernmost part of the antient *Cbersonesus*, in 2 degrees and 20 minutes latitude, and therefore the days and nights are always equal. The *Portugueses* 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 Christians*, *Gentiles* of several parts, *Moors* and *Chinneses*; 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*, *Tunchin*, *Cochinchina* 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 *Jeros* and *Mahometans*. 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 on the right hand, entring 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 *Portugueses*; 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 *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,

**GEMEL-** with six streaks on the top like a star.  
**LI.** When ripe, it is yellow without, with  
**1695.** 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 co-  
lour of an *Adam's* apple; but the quar-  
ters of it are like those of an orange, and  
of the same taste. These are white, yel-  
low and red, according to the several  
forts of trees; which is like the *Taranja*  
describ'd among the fruit of *Goa*.

**Affampaja.** The *Affampaja* is an acid fruit, grow-  
ing at the foot of the *Indian* canes, good  
to pickle, as big as a walnut, of an ear-  
thy colour without, and white within,  
with a stone in the middle.

**Romania.** The *Romania* is as big as a green wal-  
nut, cool, and good to make the same  
sort of sauce.

**Sagu.** The *Sagu*, so highly valu'd by the  
*Portugueses*, is the root of a tree that  
grows on the coast, and the *Malayes*  
carry to sell at *Malaca*, whence, by rea-  
son of its goodness, it is transported to  
*India*, *China* and other places still fur-  
ther distant. It is rarely well-tasted made  
into a sweet-meat; it is also good in  
broth, and its clouded feeds dissolv'd  
thicken like glew.

**Bacciam.** The *Bacciam* is a wild fruit, like a  
*Mango*, and sharp to make sauce.

**Herbs.** There are also several forts of herbs  
differing from ours, and among the rest  
the *Gnama* and *Celada*, which taste like  
boil'd fellery.

**The port** The city *Malaca* gives laws to all ships  
**of Malaca.** that pass the straight, 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 *Portugueses*  
were masters of it. The *English* are not  
only free from this burden, but much  
honour'd; for two ships of their salu-  
ting with eighteen guns, the fort an-  
swer'd with nineteen, whereas our two  
vessels saluting with seven, they return'd  
no answer; tho' the *Pumburpa* put out  
the arms of *Portugal*. The port of *Ma-  
laca* 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 coast of *Coromandel*, *Persia* and other  
kingdoms.

I saw such beautiful parrots there, that **Parrots.**  
a painter could not draw any thing so  
fine: Some of them had all the body  
and wings red, and the legs green. O-  
thers, 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 tuft,  
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 **Casuares.**  
a 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 **The na-**  
but three miles round the city; because **tives.**  
the natives being a wild people living  
like beasts, they will not easily submit  
to bear the *Holland* yoke. They are  
called *Menancaves*, very great thieves,  
*Mahometans* 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, when-  
soever it is in their power. And this is  
the reason, why the plains of *Malaca*,  
abounding in *Indian* canes, they cannot  
be cut without much precaution, for fear  
of those barbarians. Their king, call'd  
*Pagarinyon*, has his residence at *Nani*,  
a village made with mats ill put toge-  
ther, 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 *Salittes*, *Maho-  
metans*, as well as the others, in boats  
and moveable houses. They are both  
fishermen and pirates along the coast; a  
robust sort of men, govern'd by a chief  
they call *Palimajatti*, like *Banditti*.

## C H A P. VIII.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1695.

The description of the dangerous straight of Sincapura, and of the people inhabiting about it.

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 fending 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 midnight.

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 ourselves 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 astern. 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 straight, 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 six or seven on the right.

There are abundance of other islands 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 kings 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 straight of *Sincapura*; all three kings *Mabometans* as to their religion, and *Malayes* by descent.

Many  
islands.

This multitude of islands makes abundance of straights, all dangerous to pass; 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*, *Tunchin*, *Manila*, *China*, *Japan* and other kingdoms of *Asia*. The other call'd *del Governador*, or the governors, 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 straights are call'd of *Carvon*, *Durion*, *Favon* 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.

The  
straights.

*Tuesday* the 12th we entred the mouth of the straight of *Sincapura* betimes, which is a quarter of a league over at first; but further in wider, tho' inclos'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,

Sincapura  
straight.

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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 dreadfulfulness of the neighbouring woods. They are ingenious at fishing, which they live on, either angling, or striking the least fishes through with spears made of bamboo. Some of them came to our ship's 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 straight, 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 *Portugueses* call'd *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 *Malaca* 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 linen cloth. The women wear their hair dishevel'd without braiding; but the men shave their heads and beards, only keep-

ing long whiskers. Instead of a turbant, they tie a small linen 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 *Portugueses*, 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 *Portugueses* told me, that a countryman 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.

Blasphe-  
my pu-  
nish'd.

*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 straight of *Banca*, which is the way to *Batavia*, left us a clear and open sea, our course being eastward. The wind freshing, 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 *Achem* 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 *Mahometan*, and tributary to the king of *Siam*. We sail'd on merrily towards the island of *Pullaor*, 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,

Patanes.

Youth, that on *Sunday* the 17th, at break 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 *GEMEL-Malayes*.

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## C H A P. 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 instituted 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 *Mabometan* 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 intire 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 declared to some captains, and particularly to *Emanuel de Araujo Garces*, that he should be well pleas'd the city of *Macao* should 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 *Mabometans*; but *Andrew Colbo Vicira*, general of the city, having acquainted *Don Roderick de Aosta*, 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; injoining *Joseph Pinbeiro*, 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 endeavoured 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 necessaries 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 so worthy a person. He arrived at *Malaca* 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 continued six months, five of them in a hermitage of *Augustinians*, called *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 arrived at *Manjar-Massen* on the second of February. They ran up the river, and anchor'd in the port on the fifth. During this time they were informed of the slaughter made by the *Mahometans* aboard a vessel of *Siam*, under some false allegations; and in another of the coast of *Ceromandel*, on pretence that they had hurt some of the natives in a fray of their own contrivance. Several Christians, and particularly *Portugueses*, 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 gallies 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 intreated captain *Emanuel Araujo Garcés*, 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 desired a cannon might be fired, which being done to please them, they went away frightened 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 *Mahometans* being against their growing familiar with strangers, endeavour'd to dispatch Christian ships with speed, and sometimes with insolency. At last a sailer 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, 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 represented to him the perfidiousness of those barbarous *Mahometans*, and promis'd to bring him back the next year to his beloved *Beajuse*. They arrived 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, though he did not like this interrupted method, yet he set out on the 8th of January 1689, carrying along with him a *Ckinese*, who had been a slave to *Coutinbo*, and a *Beajuse* whom the *Moors* the year before had sold to *Fruttuoso 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 succeeded

so well, that there began presently to resort to him some of the *Beajuses* 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 ancient 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 shew them the way of salvation, by instructing them in our holy faith. They were pleas'd with the father's words, and assured him he should be honourably receiv'd by them all. From that time forward more of the *Beajuses* 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 admired, 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 governor 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 *Portugueses* belonging to the ship. The governor 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* prostrated 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* desired to be baptis'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 *Beajuses* 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' Araujo 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 *China*; 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. Gaetanus*; hoping they would touch the hearts of those infidels, to bring them into the true way of salvation. The *Anga* coming to the princes, delivered the presents, and telling them the cause of his coming, was receiv'd with such joy, that they presently fitted out a hundred gallees 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

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stopp'd there because of the war between the *Beajuses* 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 spite 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 *Beajuses* 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 insolency 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 surpriz'd by the enemy.

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At this time came a cousin of the *Sindum*, the most powerful prince among the *Beajuses*, living in the upper part of the island, about business of his own, who though he had pass'd through the dominions of *Tomangun* and *Damon*, knew nothing of what was doing. Being inform'd of what had happen'd 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 *Beajuses*, upon hearing the same 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 carresses of the *Beajuses*, 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

the captain with some repentment, 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 *Portugueses*, 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 the 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 *Portugueses*; 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 fulfil the divine oracle deliver'd in the plain of *Ourique* 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 *Portugueses*. 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 ingagement with the blood of their arms, had not the father hindered them. Then he deliver'd them the holy cross, which they all worshipp'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 *Malaca*, 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 kings, the chief of which are those of *Manjar* or *Manjar-Massen*; of *Succadon*, in one of whose rivers there are excellent diamonds found; of *Borneo*, and others. The *Beajuses* have no kings, but

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Account  
of Borneo.

Their go-  
vernment.

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Ports.

only princes and other chiefs. Those that are subjects to the king of *Manjar*, or border upon him, pay a tribute.

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 *Portugueses* 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 *Vatian*, gum and several good dyes. It also produces many sorts of sweet herbs, roots of black wood, and another sort that smells like eagle-wood, and *Calumbach*. 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 valued by the *Chineses*, and others, that they give three hundred pieces of eight a *Pico* for them, which *Pico* is about an hundred weight; being persuaded 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 slaver 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 *Chineses* give forty pieces of eight a *Pico*, for the fins of sharks found in those seas about the island. This is the reason that the *Mandarines* 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  
beasts.

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 *Beajus* 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 takes it 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 valued. 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 fur much like a castor. The *Beajuses* take the richest *Bezoar* stones in the world from the aforesaid apes. They wound them slightly with darts shot out of trunks, in some part that they might not die of it; then they grow sick with the hurt, those stones breed in their bowels, where they are found, when they kill them.

The *Beajuses* 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 reserved; 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 linen, which turns between their thighs to cover their privities, and one end of it hangs down before, and the

Bezoar  
stones.

Manners  
and reli-  
gion.

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 fugar-loaf, long, and with flaps hanging down.

Weapons.

The weapons they use are knives, made like the *Cangiar*s 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-countenanced 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 waist, and hanging down like a half-petticoat. Their heads are wound about in a folded handkerchief, 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 *Crisis*, 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 Garces*, (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 de 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*.

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The *Dutch* had no better success with their factory they settled there thirty-five years since, fearing, that if others bought 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.

Dutch  
factory  
ruin'd.

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 Rauco*, a *Theatin*, I found at *Goa*, further told me, his body had wrought miracles, and therefore the *Beajuses* kept it very honourably in a cottage, whither a leper once resorting among the rest, they put him to death.

## C H A P. 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, *Arecca*, figs, *Gamboyas*, *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 *Chineses*, 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 *Pultimen*.

*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 necessaries as I could wish, yet God be prais'd I enjoy'd perfect health, notwithstanding some sailors were fallen sick, as were father *Provana* of *Turin*, and a brother of *Tunckin*; however, the society does not suffer their religious to want.

The fair wind continu'd all *Wednesday* the 20th, carrying us across the gulph of *Siam*, into which falls the great river that leads up to that court, after ranning

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 fathom 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 *Cochinchineses* 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 escaping 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 *Portugueses* 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 fathom water, and seven near the city. The *Portugueses* call this mouth *Caranguejo*, or crab; and the other two near it, the one of *Malaca*, and the other of *Puntiemas*, 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 war

war upon one another, the one supported by the king of *Siam*, the other by him of *Cochinchina*.

The inhabitants of the kingdoms of *Camboya*, *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 *Camboya*, he baptiz'd none but a miller, who was married to a Christian woman of *Cochinchina*.

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-baon do Tigre*, so call'd by the *Portugueses*, because several ships of theirs have been lost there, and among the rest that of *Matthew 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 feet 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 *Malaye* language they call that mountain *Panderon*, that is, king, and *Pulsifm*; the *Portugueses* 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 *Pulcatan*, 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 *Cochinchesse* 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 *Cochincheses* brave men with fire-arms.

All this country of *Malaca*, *Camboya*, *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 *Mahometan* 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 farther in on the side of a mountain, on which another rock rises a fathom, and is call'd the *Paged*) 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.

## CH A P. 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 *Tun-quinefes* he carry'd with him, clad in the

GEMEL- habit of the society; as also from father  
L. I. *Joseph Condoni*, of the same society, who  
1695. 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 *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 governor 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 thenceforward *Tunquin* had two sorts of kings; the lawful call'd *Bua*; and the usurpers call'd *Chiva*, or governors; 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.

Cochin-  
china.

One of the *Chivas* 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 governor at an entertainment, and afterwards reduc'd a considerable part of the kingdom of *Champa* under his dominion,

making the rest tributary; but now 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 kinsmen, 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 *Tunquineses*. 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 *Chiva*, or governor of *Tunquin*, 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 reservedness 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 *Palanquine*.

Now let the reader consider what Tcm. 3. credit is to be given to *Tavernier*, when 1. 4. chap. he tells us, his brother was very fami- 1. and liar with the king of *Tunquin*, and that chap. 11. he gives publick audience to his people pag. 208. 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 *Dutchman* conveying himself near the king's apartment, told him all the matter in the *Tunquinese* 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* cloth, salt-peter, and a few other things; and that their goods be not

not search'd in the custom-house. Whereupon father *Ferreira* told me, that it being very difficult to import beads, images of saints, and other things of devotion out of *Europe*, he brought them in consign'd to the *Dutch* factory. The king of *Cochinchina* is not so reserv'd, but is seen by and converses with his people, and much more with strangers.

The king of *Tunquin* and his subjects act in all respects contrary to the *European* princes and their people; for when the princes of *Europe* go by water, 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 *Tunquin* 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 is dead or alive. As in *Europe* we print, joining of letters, so in *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina* and *China*, 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 afterwards print as often as they will without any trouble. When their kindred die, the *Tunquineses* and their neighbouring 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 *Cochinchina* 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.

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 garment down to their feet, their hair loose, and their face bare. They are beautiful, tho' of a [dark complexion, and great lovers of strangers.

As to religion, they are idolaters, but easily converted, and when converted steady in the faith; and this both *Tunquineses* and *Cochinchineses*. And father *Ferreira* assur'd me, that when, by reason he was persecuted for some years by the king, he was forc'd to wander about in disguise, the poor country people would sometimes travel a month's journey from one province to another, to confess and hear mass. These idolaters are not so precise as those of *Indestan*; but eat all sorts of flesh, even to cats and dogs.

The kingdom of *Tunquin* is plain like *Lombardy*, and very fruitful. It is divided into eight provinces; which are *Sudong*, which in the country language signifies eastern province; *Sunan*, or the southern; *Subak*, or the northern; *Sutag*, or the western; *Ngbean Bocin*, half of which belongs to the king of *Cochinchina*, the river *Songen* dividing their limits. The seventh *Suanquam*; and the eighth *Taynguien*.

The metropolis where the king resides, call'd *Kechio*, is four days journey from the sea, with a river running up to it. There are in it, none but low houses made of *Bamboo*, whereof there is great plenty in their fields. Father *Ferreira* told me this *Bamboo*, 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 number 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; towards 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.

*Cochinchina*, in the country language call'd *Tlaon-Kuang*, is divided into five provinces, viz. *Moydin*, *Dincat*, *Kegue*, *Tlenquan* and *Fumoy*. The king resides in the city of *Champelo*, one day's journey from the sea, in the province of *Kegue* or *Keboe*, which in that language signifies a flower. It is large and populous, 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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1695. fugar. Besides, in *Tonquin* 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 all 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, jaccas, 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 say fattens, and therefore soldiers are there forbid the use of it.

## C H A P. XII.

The author continues his voyage to Macao.

Pulcatan  
island.

**T**hursday 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 *Chineses*, *Sayso*, 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 surest 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.

Sanchan  
island.

*Tuesday* the 2d we came near the island of *St. John*, vulgarly call'd *Sanchan*, so famous for the glorious *St. Francis Xavier* ending his days there, when

he hop'd to enter *China*, the grot where the saint liv'd and died, being to be seen at a distance. 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, though 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*, *Aravafeda*, 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, *Baccarias*, 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,

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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 *Ananas*, 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 *Pumburpa* arriv'd three days before us, and set ashore ten *Jesuits* it had aboard. I was courteously entertained 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 PART.



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

Containing the most remarkable Things he saw in *CHINA*.

B O O K I.

C H A P. I.

*Of the first foundation of the city of Macao, and its forts.*

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Macao  
city.

**I** AM now at length come to enter upon the vast empire of *China*, and could wish my style 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 satisfied 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 stil'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 *Haichu*, in the province of *Canton*. The shape of it is like an arm, incompass'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 reliet 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 *Portugueses*, or better, and above 15,000 *Chineses*.

It is above 110 years since this place was founded by the *Portugueses*, for they coming from *Malaca* and *India*, to trade

with the *Chineses*, 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 *Chineses*, 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 *Manderines*, they not only erected substantial structures, but made forts. One of these Its forts: 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, Subject to when in his *Geographical Dictionary* he China. 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 *Portugueses*, by ancient 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, though 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 from

from the *Chineses*, who guard the mouth of the harbour.

This little rocky inclosure of three miles has not provisions to subsist a day, but all is brought to it from the towns of the *Chineses*, who have shut up the *Portugueses*, 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.

Pays great impositions. The *Chineses* allow the *Portugueses* 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 *Chineses* 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 sea, 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*. Though 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 necessaries 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.

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Decay of trade. When the trade of *Japan* flourish'd, this city was so rich, that it could have pav'd the streets with silver; but after the slaughter of so many Christians, the trade of *Nangasacke* was quite lost to the *Portugueses*, 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 their resort to several ports, and some of their commodities.

Hurricane. On *Saturday* the 6th of *September* 1695 there began to fall a violent rain, with a boisterous wind blowing at the same time. On *Sunday* the 7th the wind threatned 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 though 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, 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 *Upu* or customer.

## C H A P. II.

*A fruitless voyage made by the Portugueses and natives of Macao to Japan, to resettle 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 *Japoneses*; but always ineffectually, the latter obstinately 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* settle themselves in the trade, excluding all others, perswading the *Japoneses* 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-  
stor'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 *Japoneses*, being perswaded, 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 *Japoneses* 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 *Japoneses* 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 *Portugueses*, 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 *Portugueses* were examin'd about the time the bark was cast away; in what quarter of *Macao* the twelve *Japoneses* 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 happened between the *Christians* and *Japoneses*; and much more too long to insert, several hours being taken up in these questions by the *Mandarine* and notaries,

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.

Japoneses,  
their sub-  
mission.

The vulgar sort of *Japoneses* 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 steersman.

Their  
courtesy.

The next day the *Mandarine* set out in a *Palanchine*, carry'd on men's shoulders, for *Amiaco*, to acquaint the emperor with the arrival of the *Portuguese* vessel, and in the mean while refreshments 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*s did not declare their wants, yet the *Japoneses* 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*s 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 governor, who sent it back, charging them to take care that no creature escap'd, requiring that the filth of the vessel should be thrown overboard in the presence of the soldiers.

The day after the arrival of the *Portuguese*s, the *Dutch* came aboard in a small boat, thinking it had been a ship of theirs, and perceiving they were *Portuguese*s, and understanding the cause of their coming, they return'd, saying, in that country it was necessary to speak the truth.

Dutch fa-  
ctory.

The factory at *Nangasacke* 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 shew'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, inclos'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 *Japoneses*, 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.

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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 *Nangasacke*. 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 counsel 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, injoining them never more to return to those islands upon any account whatsoever, forasmuch 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 *Nangasacke*; 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.

The Por-  
tuguese  
vessel dis-  
miss'd.

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 *Nangasacke*, and bidding them have a care of going to any other port, because they would be in much danger. When

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LI.  
1695.  
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 *Japoneses* 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 *Nangasacke*, 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 *Portugueses* answer'd, It was the ensign of their kings. Thus the vessel return'd to *Macao*, without any return, after all their expence.

Nanga-  
sacke port.

Besides 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 *Rosary*, told me it was very difficult getting into the channel of *Nangasacke*, 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 secur'd by five 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. *Nangasacke* looks towards the west, and is above a mile in compass. These men also told me, that the *Japoneses* shave from the forehead to the crown of the head, leaving the rest of the hair short, and that when they go abroad 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 *Japoneses* 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 blow their noses, but use paper, which serves but once. The country about *Nangasacke* is mountainous, but fruitful to such a degree, that it bears most *European* fruits.

### C H A P. III.

*The author's journey to Canton, with a description of that city, and others in the way to it.*

BEING 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, sat 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 confus'd voices resounded for the

Ceremony  
to the em-  
peror's  
letters.

more grandeur, besides the firing of three chambers, thirty foot-soldiers 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 jurisdiction, to furnish him with good horses, without detaining, or staying him. After this, the *Mandarine* sat 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.

On

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 *Eylau*, or *Lio*, which is a particular sort of oar us'd by the *Chinese*, longer than the others, and plac'd 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 *Oanfan*, or *Anfon*, as the *Portugueses* 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 *Apuglia* 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 hurracanes. 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 *Quaaxu*, or *Mandarine*, as the *Portugueses* 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 smaller than ours, red and coarse.

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*Wednesday* the 17th I walk'd about to see *Seloam*, and found it a great 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 *Carlins* of *Naples*, that is, 2 s. 8 d. which I mention to shew how cheap travelling is in *China*.

Seloam  
town.

*Thursday* the 18th I hir'd another vessel, better than the former two, for this had cabins 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 courteous 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, prauns, and the like, but particularly a vast quantity of oysters, of whose shells they make glass 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-

Way to  
Canton.

setting

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setting we left *Lunvan* on the right, and on the left *Citann*, *Potavum*, 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 *Chineses*, 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 fort to retire to.

Canton  
city.

*Friday* the 19th 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 streight, 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, discharg'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*, *Tunchin* and *Cochinchina*, to whom all the missionaries and catholicks 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 *Chineses*. I coming thither during those troubles, they all positively concluded, I was sent by his holiness to inquire privately into those affairs, some making me a barefoot *Carmelite* friar, and some a secular priest; and tho' I did all I could to deceive 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 inquire 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 *Chineses* 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 *Keuchin*, and the new *Sinchin*, dividing also the suburbs belonging to it. Two governors, as has been said, administer justice in this place, and are call'd *Chixenes*, having under them lesser *Mandarines*, captains, officers, notaries, and other ministers. One *Cifu*, or regent over the political government, is superior

Government of  
Canton.

to these governors, and has two assistants in the execution of his office, call'd *Ufusul* and *Sanfu*, one of the right, the other of the left hand. The viceroy, 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 viceroy is a *Tsunto*, or vicar general of two provinces, who resides in one of the two principal cities, or where he pleases; at present in *Chiaozuinfu*. This man in the political government is superior to the viceroy, and absolute in military affairs, for he alone gives orders to the soldiery, which the viceroys 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 *Pusnju*. For military affairs, there are two generals, subordinate to the *Tsunto*, one of them commands the *Tartar* troops, and is call'd *Chianciun*, whose authority is equal to the viceroy's, for within the city the *Chinese* kettle-drum, which is a brass dum, is beaten before him, and has thirteen strokes given following, as is practis'd with the viceroy; 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 viceroy, 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.

Descrip-  
tion 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 used 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 streight, the shops rich in silks, drugs and other commodities of the country, especially in the new city, for in the old, where the viceroy resides, with the soldiery and courts aforesaid, there is not much; in other points the city and suburbs are one continu'd *Bazaar*, or fair, there is such a multitude of shops.

The viceroys 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.

State of  
Christia-  
nity there.

*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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Floating  
city.

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 jealousy of the missionaries, and confirm them in the opinion that I was sent by the pope to inquire 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 conveniencies 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.

#### C H A P. 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 viceroy, 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 *Canton* 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 *Fuscian*, 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. *Fuscian* 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 an one as contains a million of souls, as all the fathers missionaries

Fuscian  
city.

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 fet out again three hours before day, always in sight of good villages and till'd grounds, for the *Chineses* 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 *Suxytan*. Five men row'd all this way. It is very pleasant travelling, both the green banks appearing as a man lies in his bed.

Safe travelling.

*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 firelocks, 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, will 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. After noon 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 exchang'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 *Yntexyen*, a small wall'd town, with a great suburb. I went into a *Pagod*, where there were 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 midnight, 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 incompass'd by a weak wall, four miles in compass, and inclos'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 umbrelloes 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 *Uyantán*. *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 *Chiankeu*, 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 *Chiappas*, 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 *Chineses* 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 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 *Chineses* 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 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 a-cross, lying on the 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 a abundance of goods carry'd along it, by an infinite number of porters, and so many chairs. For in *China* 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 indispos'd.

Travel-  
ling in a  
chair.

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indispos'd. One *Vicen*, whilst he was *Mandarine* 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 year's 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*, *Cancheufu* 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 *Tayas* 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.

Having taken a chair, I went about the city, which is the first in the province of *Kiansy*, 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 day's journey from *Nan-yanfu* to *Nanganfu*) was made by the command of the *Tartar* prince *Xicu* or *Chublay*. 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,

Nanganfu city.

The great anal.

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cut by the *Chineses* through a mountain, stopping the natural course of the river, and conveying it so artificially to this *Pa-god*, 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 *Chineses* call *The yellow river*; on which there is not two days sail, and then they enter into an-

other river, up which they run a mile, at the end whereof is a canal, made by the *Chineses*, 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 *Yam-cheu*, not far from thence, it falls into the great river *Kian*, half a day's 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.

## C H A P. VI.

*The voyage to Nanchianfu, the metropolis of the province of Kianfi.*

**S**unday the 11th I found myself so weak, by reason of a looseness, that I could not set out, tho' the boat was ready. Monday the 12th I went aboard, and the boat immediately set 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 *Scimaun*. 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 *Chineses* call'd it a borough, tho' incompass'd with a wall. There are good shops, and it is populous. As we were passing, a *Mandarine*, went into 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 *Cancheufu*, where, as in all other cities of this empire, there are very antient towers, on the hills and mountains, which the *Chineses* call *Pauta*. They are about one hundred and fifty spans, or about one hundred and twelve feet 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 cornices, and six windows to

every one to look out on all sides. The *Chineses* 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 set 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 streight. 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

Scimaun.

Nan-can-xien.

Xuancheu.

Cancheufu city.

light of another, that might prove a 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 manes 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 *Guanganxien*, 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 *Sciachu*, 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 *Portugueses* call *Lio Lio*, and the *Chinese* in that province *Faunu*. 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*, inclos'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 *Chianciatu*, on the right hand side of the river, opposite to which was another call'd *Peschinata*. After which I saw many more, particularly *Junfu*. After noon we came to *Kignanfu*, where father *Gregory Ibanex* of *Valencia*, and missioner 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 mass was said in a little chappel. This city is on the left of the river, and large, being a league long, including the south suburb. About it is a good wall and the streets and shops are good. Father *Ibanex* told me, that the *Chixen* or *Mandarine* of ju-

stice 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 we left a good wall'd town on the right hand side of the river, it is call'd *Kifchiuyxien*, because another river falls into that we were upon. That night we lay at the guard of *Zunchianian*. *Thursday* the 22d we left the town of *Shiakianxien* 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 masts, *China* 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 inclose 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 *China*; every fisherman 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, brass or iron, for it is not above ten years since the coin, call'd *Zien* or *Chiappe*, was brought up, it being the custom

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Kifchiuy-  
xien.

Zunchia-  
nian.  
Shiakian-  
xien.

Fishing in  
China.

Coins.

Jeuchin.

Guangan-  
xien.

Pecian-  
zun.  
Sciachu.

Tayx-  
oxien.

Tunchin-  
pa.  
Chianci-  
atu.

Peschinata.

Junfu.  
Kignanfu  
city.

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LI.  
1695.  
Canton they gave one thousand one hundred and forty *Cbiappe*, 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 *Sincan-shen* 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.

Sincan-  
shen.

Kinchioe-  
tan.

*Friday* the 23d being able to go no further for the rain, we lay at the guard of *Kinchioetan*. 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 though 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 ways. 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, though 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 24th through a country well peopled, and having pass'd by the towns of *Xopu*, *Juntay* and *Cbianfsiny*, lay in that of *Janzu-cheu*. *Sunday* the 25th early we pass'd by the town of *Funchien*, and stay'd at night in that of *Senmi*.

*Monday* 26th 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 vice-roy 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 streight, 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 fishermen 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.

## C H A P. VII.

### *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 watermen pay at *Fuchen*, which is not according to the goods, but the bigness of the boat, though it be empty;

so that the passengers pay for all, the watermen 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; though I had not paid so much for above a month's travel from *Canton* to *Nanchianfu*, where I had three several boats, and the chairs. *Tuesday* the 27th I went to lie aboard for coolness, and set out *Wednesday* the 28th before day, lying  
at

at night at a country-house call'd *Cbeutu*. *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 *Sancheu*.

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 purcellane is shipp'd off for the kingdom, and for exportation, the finest of all *China*, being that of the city of *Joacheu* 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 *Joacheu*, 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 purcellane 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 *Nantanfu* on the left hand. It is seated at the foot of the mountains, and tho' not very large is inclos'd with a wall. The north wind blowing again at noon, we went ashore at the guard and village of *Siestan*. 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 *Chineses* went about gathering round pebbles in the sand, to make use of in shooting instead of shot.

*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. Afternoon we came to *Fucheu*, or *Xucheu*, 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 inclos'd by a wall, not only towards the river and mountains, but on the out-

side 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 umbrelloes, 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 *Chineses* 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 visited, 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 covering, leaving only the bare body of the boat, and covering the boards that made the cabbin 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. In the midst of it is a well, that the fish

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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 *Chineses* call it *Xuanyu*; it is much fatter than our tunny-fish, but hard: the market is always well stor'd with this and other sorts.

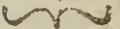
Having got our dispatch from the customer, my boat alone, because it was empty, set out a little before noon. We turn'd it up with the same north wind, because it was not there so full against us, and the river was wide enough, because at *Xuchen* the great river *Kian* meets it, after having water'd the province of *Suckuen*, and running near *Nanking*, loses itself in the sea. We were benighted at *Xuanmaton*, 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 or 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.

Xien.

*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 inclos'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 *Seucusbian*; 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-lyuxien*, on the right of the river, which, 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 Xankinfu. city on the left of the river, a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth. Its suburbs 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 sounding 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 necessaries, 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 *Nankinfu*, because of the lake of *Kiangsi*, which the boats must go over in good weather. *Saturday* the 8th we came to the village of *Jeuckiakem*. *Sunday* the 9th, proceeding along between banks well peopled, we left the town of *Tukien* Tukien. on the right, which is large enough, and has a good harbour made by a bay in the river. We came late to *Uxushien*, a Uxushien. 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 *Zaijsbi*. 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 *Monsignior 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 *Franciscans*, 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.*GEMEL-  
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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 *Minkiou* it was the imperial court, as *Peking* is at present under the *Zinchiau Tartar*. *Min* and *Chin* is much the same as *Valois* and *Bourbon* in *France*, and *Chiau* signifies empire, or the time of such a reigning family, the *Chineses* placing the *genitive* case first, contrary to our way of speaking in *Europe*; for the *Chineses* use to distinguish their reigns by several royal families by the names of *Hia-que*, *Xam-que*, *Keu-que*, &c. Father *Luis Lecomse* 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'Argoli* 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 *Mandarines* 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 missioner 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

persons of good credit, but will not oblige myself to answer for so many millions: Let the reader believe what he pleases, for I did not count them, but I have the books of all the empire of *China*, 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 *China* 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 *Chineses* 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 *China* there are scarce any whores tolerated, lest they corrupt youth, but any they find is severely punish'd, which makes all men marry. The *Chineses* 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 *China* 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 *Chineses*, for there are many *Moors* come out of *Great Tartary* (father *Philip Grimaldi* assuring me there are two millions of them throughout all *China*) 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

Poligamy.

The palace.

is

Vast number of inhabitants.

GRUEL  
II.  
1695.  
Excellen-  
cy of this  
city.

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 bookfellers shops and choicest books in them, the finest press, the most curious workmen, the politest language; 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 *Lama*, 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.

Govern-  
ment.

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 dependance 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 bastinadoing 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 anchorit, 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 bosom friends in the province where he is in power.

I lay at home all *Wednesday* the 12th, 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 sleft 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 herbs thrown in to them. The *Jesuits* have a good church at *Nanking*, where at that time was a *Sicilian* 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 *Erfort*, 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 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 mathematical 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 *Quansintay*. 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.

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On this hill stood a *Pagod* call'd *Cunimian*, 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 *Checoali*. At his back, behind the altar, was another idol, call'd *Tauzu*, all gilt, sitting 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.

A Pagod.

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 *Colossus'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 *Chia*, 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 *Qucija*, 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 *Quoinsen*. 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.

Temple of Bonzes.

*Friday* the 14th I was carry'd in a chair some miles about within the city, and then went out at the gate of *Nan-*

The suburb.

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*muen*; the *Chineses*, 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 musket-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 *Paughen-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 *Yonlo*, 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 in 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 fathom, 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 octogon, and about forty foot about, has nine stories, or apartments, divided on the outside by as many cornices 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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* 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 furthest

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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 *Minciau*. 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 grot dug in the mountain, and the entrance kept shut. *Monsignor 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 *Chineses* 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 dung sold. 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 stiff'd. Along the roads there are convenient places whiten'd, 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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* 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, *Monsignor 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 day's 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.

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## CHAP. IX.

*The journey by land, to the imperial city of Peking.*

HAVING return'd the bishop, and the two 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

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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 boultter of boards cover'd with skins after the *Chinese* manner, and shutting like a trunk-portmanteau, call'd *Fuscheu*, in which I had laid up an hundred pieces of eight; the *Chineses* 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 to 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, inclosing 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 *Chineses* 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 *Tanfican*. 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 forward again with the aforesaid *Tartar* soldiers, we pass'd thorough the town of *Suij-keu* betimes. *Suij-keu*. This place is inclos'd by a wall of several miles, and a morass. Then going up a mountain, we found on it a *Pagod* of *Bonzes*. Thence going down a long descent, we came to dine at the town of *Tachiauteu*, and having travell'd fifteen miles further, lay at night in the town of *Taa-shianpu*.

*Tuesday* the 18th we travell'd thirty miles over the plains, din'd at *Qulalempu*, and lay at *Xuannipu*. 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 porridge 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 drest, 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 *Linsuy-xien*, a large town, inclos'd with a wall, and water'd by a navigable river, which makes many pools about it, for the *Chineses*, 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

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 *Cuchen*, 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 *Chineses* are as great sportsmen as the *Persians*. Having travell'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 *Nansu-cheu*; 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 offered 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 peopled, except the suburb, which is well inhabited. *Saturday* the 22d setting out late, we rested not at noon, but having travell'd twenty-five miles, lay at the little town of *Sensun*. *Sunday* the 27th mounting before day, after fifteen miles travel we din'd at *Tauskiany*, a small town, and having travell'd the same number of miles, came to *Su-cheu*, 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 musket-shots 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 *Nanchianfu* to *Macao* in a litter, with only four of his servants, to be consecrated by that bishop. For want of barley the *Chineses* feed their beasts with black kidney-beans boil'd, the country abounding in them and white ones, and those crea-

tures live on them as well as any other GEMEL-  
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*Monday* the 24th we fet 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 countrymen, who carrying a net like a pavillion, fasten'd 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 *Unchiankyai*, where the other *Tartar* left us to get before us to *Peking*. The *Chineses* here are hardy 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 *Linchien*, and having travell'd thirty-five miles, lay at *Sciaxotien*. 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 fur garment, breeches quilted with cotton, and fur hose with the hair inwards) which defect they supply with wheat, making bread mix'd with onions chopp'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 them 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 betimes at *Kiay-xoy*, and about evening went out through the small town of *Zuxien*, which has a wall about it. In the suburb is a large square structure, and within it several *Pagods* with *Bonzes*. 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 *Tuntantien*, having travell'd thirty miles. I count by miles and not by *Lys*, as the *Chineses*

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city.

*Chineses* 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 through the city *Jenkiefu* of the province of *Xantung*. It is seated in a plain like all the rest, for the *Chineses* 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 *Kieuxien*, a small town. *Saturday* the 29th about break of day we went through the town of *Tungoskia*, 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 *Tuncheny*. That night we took up at *Shipinxien*, having rode thirty-four miles. There being no mountains all this way to bury the dead on, the *Chineses* 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 through that of *Cautanceu*, which has a mud wall, and is thinly inhabited, we came at night to *Fau-chiaen*, after a journey of thirty miles. *Monday* the 31st betimes we pass'd thorough the town of *Ghinxiana*, inclos'd 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 conveniency 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 stored 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 *Liuchi-miau*. In this journey I found asses, who when they

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 through the town of *Kincheu*, 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 *Leochimiau* ; then we saw the town of *Fuchenkie*, which like the last, has mud walls and houses, and is worse than *Kinchieu*. Having travell'd thirty-three miles, we lay at night in *Fuchiany*, where over the gate was a little chappel dedicated to the idol, that is protector of the city, which the *Chineses* 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 *Shialecheva*. Next we saw the town of *Shienghena*, 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 *Shiankelin*. Then we set forwards for the city of *Xokienfu*, 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 idolatrous procession. 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 monster sitting in a chair, and then came a great bier, carried 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 musick went before, with a paper in his hand, as it were to set the tune, or keep time to the multitude that followed the bier. All the countrymen 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 *Chineses* refusing to increase the allowance for a night's entertainment, supper and all together being forty *Ziens*, that is, thirteen grains of *Naples* money, bating one third, the hosts give them herbs and porridge, because here provisions are dear ;

and tho' a man would pay more for better chear, it is not to be had for the reason aforefaid, but he muſt provide abroad. After travelling thirty-two miles, we came at night to *Rejbilipa*.

*Thursday* the 3d we din'd in the town of *Gynckyeuxien*, and then paſs'd through that of *Mauckiu*, inclos'd in part with a mud wall, and ill inhabited. About it are lakes and moraffes. 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 through it. The countrywomen 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 of black ſilk or of cotton, running a bodkin thro' 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 *Chineſes* 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 day's 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 day's journey was thirty miles. *Saturday* the 5th we ſaw the town of *Chiocheu*, which though 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 *Liolixoa*. 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 *Chian-fin-gbien*, after travelling thirty-two miles. This laſt day's 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 *Chineſes* counting from *Canton* to *Peking* 5400 of thoſe *Lijs*, each of which is 260 paces.

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## 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 *Jefuits*, 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 to court, ſaying, they admir'd who had advis'd me to come to *Peking*, whither

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ther 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 *Persia*, 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 *Pereira*, *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.

Peking described.

*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 joins 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 pass'es.

Streets.

The great streets run from north to south, and the rest from east to west; they are all streight, 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 Aquaviva-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 finest of all the streets is that they call *Skian-gankiai*, 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 feet 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

der believe what he pleases, for I do not 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* languages 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 hundred millions of souls in that kingdom (adding an hundred millions to the computation of the other fathers of his society) 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 people, and many places uninhabited, as we see in *Europe*.

The emperor's palace.

The emperor's palace is seated in the midst of that great city fronting the south, as is the custom of that country, where it is rare to see any city, palace, or house of a considerable person but what faces the south. It is inclos'd by a double wall, one within another, and square. That without is sixteen spans, or twelve feet high, and is of brick; its length from the north to the south gate is two *Italian* miles, its breadth a mile, and its circumference six. This wall has four gates, one in the middle of every wall, and each of these is compos'd of three several gates, whereof the middlemost is always shut, and never open'd but for the emperor, the others are for all people 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 commander 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 inclosure is call'd *Xuan-Chin*, that is, *the imperial wall*. The inner wall, which immediately incloses 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 cover'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 officers of the king's household; stopping all others, who cannot shew them a little tablet 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 wall is inclos'd by a deep and broad ditch, all lin'd with free-stone, 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 convenient. 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 middle arch, where is a wooden draw-bridge, all the other bridges in the palace being 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 triumphal 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 belonging 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 *Leotung*, 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, 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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Manner of  
the Chi-  
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For instance, the first gate of a palace to the street, and facing the south, has within the court, several little houses on both sides, which lead into another court, thro' 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  
apart-  
ments.

The imperial apartments within this inner inclosure, 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 *Zodiack*; 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 refer 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 gothick 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 comes to the emperor's apartments, the arches

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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 *Chineses* 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.

Emperor's  
concu-  
bines.

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P. 308.

Within the inner palace there is a park inclos'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*.

The End of the First Book.

A Voyage

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

Containing the most remarkable Things he  
saw in *C H I N A*.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

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*The presenting of the new kalendar; the audience given the author by the  
emperor of China; and ceremonies us'd by the Mandarines upon publick  
occasions.*

**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 remembring me, and for the present he made me of an almanack, I mounted a horseback, and follow'd him. Having pass'd the first inclosure, 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.

Apart-  
ments of  
the palace. This room was very large, so that besides the walls, it was supported with- in 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 purcellane of several colours. This led to the second court thro' 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 thro' 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 *Mandarines*, 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 *Mandarines* 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 hour's stay a servant came to bid us advance; so we pass'd thro' 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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The em-  
peror's  
throne.

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 banisters 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 banisters look'd mighty beautiful to my eye, especially at that time when the sun shining on them, they reflected its rays all about.

How he  
sat.

The emperor was within that beautiful chamber or gallery, sitting after the *Tartar* manner, on a *Scffa*, 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'd 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 ourselves 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 mathematicks, 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

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made to  
him.

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 banisters before the gate of the imperial palace, which incloses a spacious porch.

The cold is very sharp in *Peking*, and though I be not very tender, yet I could not go out till it was late, when the sun had gather'd strength; for though 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, that 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,

Description  
of the  
emperor.

Climate  
or wea-  
ther at *Pe-  
king*.

plentiful. This rain is necessary to wash the streets of all the mighty filth that gathers in them, for grave persons are not ashamed to ease themselves in publick places. By reason of this great cold, all the women wear coifs 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 burnt a sort of mineral dug out of the neighbouring mountains, like the *English* sea-coal, which are noisome to warm one's 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 inquire underhand into all that had happen'd 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 first inclosure 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 inclos'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 south gate. They are all richly clad, but after several manners according to their quality, known by the several beasts and birds embroider'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 kettle-drums 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-pan*, that is, order yourselves; and immediately every one settles his garment, and composes his person. Then he again says, *Shiven-xin*, that is, turn yourselves, and they turn towards the imperial hall. Then he bids them kneel down, and says *Keu-*

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Ceremony  
to the em-  
peror on  
certain  
days.

Chinese  
ladies vi-  
siting the  
empress.

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This ceremony being perform'd, the master of the ceremonies says again, *Kilai*, rise; *Sbievenxin*, turn yourselves, and they turn to one another. At last he says to them, *Quiapan*, place yourselves in order, and they return to their places in rank and file. Then he kneels again, and with the same respect says, *Sbiaoypi*, that is, Most powerful lord, the ceremonies of this submission due to you are perform'd. Then all the instruments sound 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 *Chinese* 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 rejoicing 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 <sup>A funeral.</sup> 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 buried; 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 <sup>A wed-</sup> like that of the funeral, as to the instru- ding. ments 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 imbroidery in great state, but she cannot be seen.

I went out at the gate of the *Chinese* 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 feet wide, the wall itself twenty feet 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.

## C H A P. II.

*A short journey to see the great wall of China, and a description of it.*

**B**EING so near to that so famous wall, I had the curiosity to see it, and therefore went upon *Friday* the 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* the 12th I set out on horseback betimes, and travell'd that day thirty-five



The Emperor of China's retinue or train when he appears in Publick



ty-five miles, 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 horseback, 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 feet 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 passies 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 streight line, and five hundred as the building winds along vallies 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 vallies, 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 vallies, 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 itself 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 secured the most dangerous passies: 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 built, much less the *Tartar* horse climb, to break into the country. And if they conceited those people could make their way climbing the clifts and rocks, it was certainly a great folly to believe their fury could be stopp'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 passies.

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*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.*

**O**N *Wednesday* the 16th I was in father *Pereira's* apartment, when order was brought him from the palace, to go six 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 *Shian-Sciun-Yuen*; *Yuen* signifying a garden; *Sciun*, always; and *Shian*, 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.

The emperor's country house.

*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 majestick procession, which began an hour after sun-rising.

First march'd about 2000 soldiers and 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, imbroider'd with dragons all over, but more particularly on the breast, where

The emperor going abroad.

were

GEMEL- were two very large ones. On his *Mauso*,  
or *Tartar* cap, was a rich jewel.

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Sometimes the emperor goes abroad in a chair carried 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 twenty-four men with great drums, in two files, twelve and twelve.
  2. Twenty-four 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 feet 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. Twenty-four 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. One hundred halberds, fifty on a side, the iron of them like a crescent.
  5. One hundred 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. Four hundred great lanthorns curiously wrought, and richly adorn'd.
  8. Four hundred 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. Twenty-four colours, on which the signs of the zodiack are painted, which
- the *Chineses* divide into twenty-four parts, as we do into twelve.
  11. Fifty-six colours, on which are the fifty-six constellations, to which the *Chineses* reduce all the stars.
  12. Two hundred great fans upon long staves, gilt and painted with several figures, as dragons, birds, the sun, &c.
  13. Twenty-four umbrelloes richly adorn'd, twelve on each side.
  14. Eight sorts of utensils the emperor commonly makes use of, as the towel, gold bason and ewre, and others.
  15. Five hundred 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. One thousand men, five hundred on each side, call'd *Hiao-gue*, that is, foot-soldiers, clad in red, imbroider'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 100,000 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 to their quality.
  21. Servants to the aforefaid petty kings and princes of the blood.
  22. The two thousand learned and military *Mandarines*, richly clad.
  23. A great coach drawn by eight horses.
  24. Two stately chariots, each drawn by two great elephants.
  25. *Tartar* soldiers.

• See Cut Number I. page 308.

#### C H A P. IV.

##### *The religions in the empire of China.*

Religion  
of the  
Tartars.

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 *Chineses* and *Japoneses*, yet they all differ in sects, wherein the *Tartars* do not agree among themselves,

much less with the *Chineses* and *Cochin-chineses*, 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

in his house; and being persuaded that *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 receive 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 therefore 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 carpets. Then they all prostrate themselves flat on the ground, and humbly kiss his foot. Hence he is call'd father of fathers, 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 very like him, and having found one, place him on the throne, and by that means make all the kingdom hold it as an article 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 imprinted 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 completely 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 used 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 himself with the honour, living quietly and peaceably, and leaving the care of the kingdom to another, whom they call *Deva* 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 *Lamatien*, that is, the temple of *Lama*; and was built by the father 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 affected to the *Lama's*. On a hill like a sugar-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 *Lama's* in *Peking*, and their habit is singular, for they wear a yellow mitre, 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 apostles are painted in.

Temple of  
*Lama's*.

Their habit.

The principal idol they adore in that kingdom of *Lassa* or *Barantola*, is *Menipe* made of nine human heads in the form of a cone; before which they offer 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 execrable custom to be us'd in that kingdom of *Barantola*, and that of *Tangut*. 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 sex or condition whatsoever. To those that are so slain they afterwards pay eternal honours, esteeming them most happy, as being sacri-

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fic'd to their goddess *Menipe*. The boy arm'd with a bow and arrows, and scimiter, 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 *Butb*, that is, killer.

The *Mahometan* 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 *Chineses*, to expel the western *Tartars* call'd *Eluth*, who in former ages reign'd in *China*.

Religion  
of the  
*Chineses*.

The religion of the *Chineses* may be reduc'd 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 debt 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 forasmuch 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 respect and love to them, which they should see them deny their parents.

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, nay 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 antient *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 matter 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 *Chineses* 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; forasmuch 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 *Chineses* worship as inferior deities. Here all the *Mandarines*, doctors, and bachelors, meet every new and full moon to worship and do homage to their master

This is a contradiction to his former assertion, that they have no temples, &c.

*Confucius* with humble genuflexions; after the same manner as the *Aegyptians* on the first day of the month *Thoth* celebrated the solemnity or their god *Mercury*.

The second sect.

The second sect is call'd of *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 mother's 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 chemistry (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 fastning 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.

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 *Shiaca*. 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.

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They tell us this pernicious sect came out of *Indostan* after this manner, as is found in the histories of the learned *Chineses*. In the year sixty-five after the birth of Christ, the emperor *Mim-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 *Caichim* and *Guikim*, 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 *Foe*, who had liv'd in *India* five hundred years before *Confucius*, and brought his accursed religion into *China*. They had been happy and deserved 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 *Chineses* 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 inferior 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 injoyment 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

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sects was a petty king, whose name was *San-Vuang*, and his mother's *Mo-ge-fu-giu*; 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 seventy-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 *Tusun* (who is publickly 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 judge's fa-

vour, and have the soul favourably dispatch'd. 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 *Ægyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, or the *Druids*, who, as *Cæsar* and *Lucan* will have it, invented it to infuse 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 *Chineses* will have it, that the soul which has been judg'd, must pass over the bridge of *Kin-inkiau*, 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 *Lanusa*, 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 baptise the *Chineses* 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 *Ægyptians*, 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 marry'd,

Vast number of Pagods and Bonzes.

ry'd, as father *Magallæus* writes in his account of *China*.

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, so 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 *Chiang*, who liv'd when *China* was rul'd by the family of *Sung*, who gave it the title of *Gio-boang*, or rather king *Hcey-chiung* 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 learn'd *San-boang*. Besides which, there are five other kings, idols, mention'd in the history *Tung-kien*, and call'd *Xao-bao*, *Suon-kiu*, *Tygiao*, *Tyxun*, and *Tyko*, by way of preference call'd *Utii*, that is, five kings.

The history *Su-ki-kay-ching* mentions three very antient, 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 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.

The soldiers and martial men have *Kuangie* for their idol, as the *European* heathens had *Mars*.

The famous pilgrimage of the *Chinese* is in the province of *Sbiantung*, in the city of *Tay-gan-chieu*, on the mountain call'd *Tayshian*, renowned in *China*, for being twelve miles in ascent. The *Pagod* is call'd *San Kiaimiau*, 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 *China* fell in love, as he travell'd that way, and taking her to himself, made her a queen whilst living, and a saint 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 so 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 oyster-shell, running a bodkin, or skure through it and the hair. In the day-time they attend at their monasteries in community, and at night in their own houses. Those who live single are call'd *Ho-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 *Niuxo-shiang*, or *Nysbium*, *Kuku-Shu*, or *Nicu*, according to the language of several provinces. These do not observe monastick inclosure, 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 *Chia*; which made me judge that religious life was not imbrac'd out of pure zeal, but out of a private end of enjoying their liberty, and giving 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 mechanick employments, they are scorn'd and disregarded by the *Chinese*; contrary to the *Japoneses* and *Siamites*, who honour their priests and *Talaponis*. The contempt is so great, that by the imperial laws they are banish'd the realm of *China*, 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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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

fasting in the sun, with chains at their feet.

The *Chineses* 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.

## C H A P. V.

*The last persecution of the catholick religion in China, and its happy restoration.*

First christianity in China.

IT appears by the very text of *Confucius*, who acknowledges a supreme and sovereign good, that the antient *Chineses* knew there was a God. But a stone or tomb found in the year 1625, in the metropolis of *Siganfu*, or *Samgun*, 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 emperors 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; therefore I refer such curious persons as desire more fully to know the interpretation given by the learned, to the *Siriack* and *Chinese* characters that were cut in it, to the original kept in the *Roman* college of the society of *Jesus*, and the copy in the archive of their profess'd house.

F. Kircher chap. 11. P. Martin in Atlant. P. Alvaro Semedo, & P. Michael Boimus.

Christianity restor'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 *China*, and being well inclin'd to catholicks, allow'd them the free exercise of their religion. But the *Tartars* being afterwards expell'd by the *Chineses*, who recover'd their empire, the christians leaving *China*, follow'd the *Tartars*, to prevent being subject to other persecutions; so that the light of the gospel was again extinct in that great empire, the *Chineses* 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-

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 conversion of *China*; and as he was using his indeavours to get his 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-  
Jesuits first entrance.

ing in this his vineyard, facilitating the admission of father *Matthew Riccio de Macerata* and father *Michael Rogerio* of the society of *Jesus*. At first they met with great contradictions and difficulties, before they could obtain of the *Chineses* that they would suffer them to live among them; but father *Riccio* manag'd things so dextrously, that in a short time he gain'd great esteem among the principal men; for having been father *Christopher Clazio's* scholar, he was very skilful in the mathematicks, to which the *Chineses* are much addicted, and by reason of the rarity of several watches and mathematical 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 knowledge. Having thus gain'd the good will not only of the great men, but of the emperor himself, in a short time they propagat'd 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 *Chinese* new christians bore a part. Afterwards the judges were somewhat pleas'd, considering the great benefit they receiv'd from the

the *Europeans*, as well in composing of 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 several times raising violent storms against our missionaries.

At the instigation 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 minority, an edict was publish'd, forbidding the erecting any more churches to the true God, or the preaching of his holy law, or any more missionaries coming into *China*, yet this was not put in execution, because of the need the *Chinese* 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 persecution.

But the last persecution, whereof I intend to treat, and which was such as might have utterly destroy'd the catholick religion in *China*, happened in this manner. In the year 1689, the emperor now reigning set out from the court at *Peking*, and making a progress thorough the provinces of *Chekiang*, *Nanking* and *Shiantung*, shew'd particular favour to the fathers of the society. Father *Prosper Intorceta*, a *Sicilian*, was then superior in the province of *Chekiang*. He going out to meet the emperor, who came attended by fifty thousand men, having pleas'd the emperor, he was by him receiv'd into 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 against the said father, and wait an opportunity of taking revenge.

In 1691 the new vice-roy began to spit his venom, beginning with the *Bonzes* of *Nanchou*, all whose temples he caus'd to be shut up pursuant to the ancient edicts of the kingdom; and proceeding 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, according to the edict of 1671, after the

persecution of 1664. Then having consulted with the counsellors of *Chekiang*, he ask'd father *Intorceta*, how it came to pass, that he being design'd for the province 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 being forbid, and the converting of *Chinese* to it by the edict of 1668. Father *Intorceta* answer'd these questions, but the vice-roy's malice, being grounded 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-Shian* of the province of *Kiangsi*, turn'd the great churches throughout the whole province into idol temples, and the small into schools, and all christians, to return to their idolatry under most severe penalties to be inflict'd upon all *Chinese* that conceal'd them. 'Tis true, some counsellors were not consenting to this violent proceeding of the vice-roy, which nevertheless he caus'd to be put in execution. After this he presented a memorial to the emperor, representing 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 *Chekiang*, the fathers at *Peking* having notice of it, presented a petition to the emperor, which prevented any surprizing resolution might be taken against them; and afterwards having advis'd about this affair with *Shiaolao-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 *Chinese*, 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 insolency, despising the insidels and their religion, and living apart from them, dealing only with those of their own profession, which had produced such hatred against them. Nevertheless the emperor having a tender affection for the missionaries, bid the page tell the fathers, they

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they should be of good courage, for he, who the year before had quell'd the persecution of *Shiantung*, would after the same manner, without any noise, take off that of *Cbekiang*. 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, *Shiaolao-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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* 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 bemoan themselves with *Shiaolao-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 *Sosanlao-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,

reign'd, it has never been heard 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 Xoscian 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? Sosanlao-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 Kolaos, 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, offered 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, though 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-sang*, 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 Kolaos should signify his pleasure, which was, that *Sosanlao-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 Chinese 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 *Sosanlao-je*; whence he went with it the same day to the council of the Kolaos, who approved the proceeding, but did not insert 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 mathematicks, in time of war carefully made martial 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 vice-roy 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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Decree in  
favour of  
Christia-  
nity.

Liberty of  
religion  
restor'd.

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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 *Pbilip Grimaldi*, now returning out of *Europe*. They went all four to *Macao*, to congratulate the father from the emperor; and the vice-roy of *Canton* himself, by his majesty's 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 abovementioned. 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*, returned 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 publickly 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.

Churches  
in Peking.

In *Peking* the *Jesuits* have three churches. One is within the first inclosure of the palace, belonging to the *French* fathers; where father *Fontane* is superior, assisted by the fathers *Gerbillon*, *Buet*, *Visdalon* 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 inclosure, where now their lodgings and church are building.

The second church is in the east quarter of the *Tartar* city, and is call'd *Tutang*, 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 called *Sitang*, near the gate *Sunchimuen*, and is the antientest and best of them all. It has three altars well adorned, 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 allowed them from *France*, because it is dear living at court, and tho' the emperor, several times he went to see them, asked whether they wanted any thing, yet they out of modesty answered 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 shew 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*, *Gerbillon* 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 galley-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 he

he recover'd, being cur'd by a surgeon sent him by the emperor. They do not only attend the emperor with so much af-fiduity, 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* assigned 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  
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 it self, 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* clergymen 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 *GEMEL-  
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.

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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 within 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.

Forasmuch 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-hyu*; but then considering they might join with the *Tartar-Eluib*, 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* answered 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

Peace con-  
cluded  
with the  
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cannot raise above 10000 men, but only to prevent increasing the forces of the *Eluth 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 soldiers as the *Tartars*, who are enur'd to hardship, and cross several deserts in a week's 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 returned their entertainment.

The *Chinese* ambassador having taken 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*,

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 ancient *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 *Xalxas*, who can raise some seven, some twenty thousand horse, of the stragglers that live by plunder. The curiouslest 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 to *Peking*, the emperor was well pleas'd with the agreement, which the *Tartar* own'd was owing to the fathers. Next came the ambassadors from the great duke of *Moscow*, 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 though 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, though 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.

## C H A P. 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  
Chinese  
monarchy.

THE interpreters of the *Chinese* history deduce the original of that great monarchy from *Fobi*, who began his reign in the year 2952 before Christ.

He brought the savage and wandring 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 *Xinnum*, 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 *Tanca*, perfected the *Chinese* period, or circle 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 inclose 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.

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| Families.          | Emperors. | Years. | Imperial families. |
|--------------------|-----------|--------|--------------------|
| 1 <i>Hia</i>       | 17        | 458    |                    |
| 2 <i>Xam</i>       | 28        | 644    |                    |
| 3 <i>Keu</i>       | 35        | 873    |                    |
| 4 <i>Chin</i>      | 3         | 43     |                    |
| 5 <i>Han</i>       | 27        | 426    |                    |
| 6 <i>Hen-Han</i>   | 2         | 44     |                    |
| 7 <i>Chin</i>      | 15        | 155    |                    |
| 8 <i>Sum</i>       | 7         | 59     |                    |
| 9 <i>Chi</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>Heu-leam</i> | 2         | 16     |                    |
| 15 <i>Heu-tam</i>  | 4         | 13     |                    |
| 16 <i>Heu-chin</i> | 2         | 11     |                    |
| 17 <i>Heu-han</i>  | 2         | 4      |                    |
| 18 <i>Heu-Keu</i>  | 3         | 9      |                    |
| 19 <i>Sum</i>      | 18        | 319    |                    |
| 20 <i>Yuen</i>     | 9         | 89     |                    |
| 21 <i>Mim</i>      | 21        | 276    |                    |
| 22 <i>Chim</i>     | 2         | 53     |                    |

The three families *Hia*, *Xam* and *Keu*, 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 the 737 years, they write the eight princes of the nation liv'd, they all make 4647 years, from which if we deduce the 255, that the first princes *Fobi* and *Xinnum* reign'd (because they had not the imperial dignity) there will remain 4402, or according to the shortest computation

Antiquity of that empire.

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Ignorance  
in cosmo-  
graphy.

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*s 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 *Japoneses*, 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 state-ly titles, and call other countries by barbarous and despicable names.

And other  
affairs.

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-ijen-tao?* which signifies, What is this we see? What is it we hear? Is it possible that without this great empire there

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 discoursing 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 *Iliaque*, *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 itself. 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-hoa*, 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-kia*, 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*s 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*s, *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 *Shiahmalaba*, of *Tumet* or *Tibet*, and that of *Usangue*, but these corrupting the word *Kitai*, call it *Catai*, and the merchants

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 *Harakitai* are the same. Nevertheless *Baudrand*, and others, will have *Catay* or *Cathay* 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 *Turkestan* on the west; which by him is also call'd *Kara Cathai*, where are the *Scythians*, call'd *Alani*, in that *Scythia* within mount *Imaus*. But *China* may be call'd *Cathay* 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 *Tulimpa-corum*, that is, middle kingdom.

Length of China. This vast empire is seated at the furthest eastern part of *Asia*. The *Chineses* 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 17½ to a degree.

575 *French* leagues at 25 to a degree.

345 *German* leagues at 15 to a degree.

1380 *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 *Leaotung*, call'd *Cai-Tuen*, to the last city of the province of *Yun-nan*, call'd *Chintien-kiun-min-su*, 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 *Suchuen*, in a strait line east and west, is

297½ *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 *Leaotung*, bordering on the kingdom of *Corea* to *Tuntim*, the westernmost point of the province of *Xensu*, 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*; Confines and divisions.

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 *Leaotung*, a country not inferior to any province. This and eight of the provinces lie along the eastern and southern ocean; six others, four are inclos'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 *Leaotung*; 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*, *Xansu*, *Xantung*, *Honan*, *Xensu*, *Chiekian*, *Kiamsu*, *Huquam*, *Suchuen*, *Fokiam*, *Quantung*, *Quamsu*, *Yunnan*, *Queichien*, and the country of *Leaotung*, which might well deserve the name of a province, but the *Chineses* place it under the province of *Xantung*. The provinces that border on foreign nations are *Peking*, *Xansu*, *Xensu*, *Suchuen*, *Yunnan* and *Quamsu*. 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*, as the great and little *Lieu-kieu-Taiwen*, which the *Portugueses* 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*,

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as *Cluverius* imagines, 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 fortified 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 *Chineses* call *Fu*; 274 of the second rank, call'd *Cheu*; 1288 cities call'd *Hien*; 205 royal houses call'd *Ye*; 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*, *Queicheu*, *Quamsi* and *Suchuen*, 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 plains several days journey over, in which there are cities of the first and second rank, and many towns and lesser places. The *Chineses* call these lords *Tusu* or *Tuquon*, 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 *Chineses*, speak the *Chinese* language, but have another peculiar tongue to themselves. Their customs differ but little from those of the *Chineses*; and they are like them in shape and countenance, but only are braver. The *Chineses* 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 *Chineses*, who are above measure devoted to their formalities, do not mention in their general number, but in particular catalogues.

The *Chineses* have printed an *Itinerarium*, 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 day's 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 employs; 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 *Ye* or *Chin*, or joining the two words *Ye-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 *Ye*; 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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* 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 bason call'd *Lo*, which they carry hanging at their back; upon the hearing of which found the horse is presently saddled for him to change, so that he makes no stay.

The

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 *Chineses* call them *Quan*; and that of *Kam-hai* abovemention'd, 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 fortrefs 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 *So*; 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 *Chai*. 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 infest 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 pathway 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 *Tai*, 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 call'd it *Kieu-pien-tuuxc*, that is, a practical description of the nine frontiers, meaning the nine quarters, or districts into which he had divided the great wall, which incloses 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 *Caiyeuna* feated in

the utmost part of the country of *Leao-tung*, to that of *Canso*, or *Can-cheu* in the very borders of the province of *Xensf*, 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 carts shew there must be 1327 great and small forts to hinder the *Tartars* passing. Had not the *Chineses* 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 antient histories, and by what has happen'd in our own times, the *Tartars* never entred *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 Chinese forces. is mention'd the great number of soldiers, who kept guard on this frontier, which were nine thousand two hundred 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 day's journey they return, and others

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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.

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, bachelors, licentiates, 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

F. Couplet p. 106.

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father allows more to the whole than it 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 be amiss to insert the particular, as it is found in father *Couplet*, and is as follows. Pag. 105.

| Provinces.                                  | Metropolitan Cities. | Cities | Families | Men      |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------|----------|----------|
| 1 <i>Peking</i>                             | 8                    | 135    | 418989   | 3452254  |
| 2 <i>Xansi</i>                              | 5                    | 92     | 589659   | 5084015  |
| 3 <i>Xensi</i>                              | 8                    | 107    | 831051   | 3934176  |
| 4 <i>Xantung</i>                            | 6                    | 92     | 770555   | 6759685  |
| 5 <i>Honan</i>                              | 8                    | 100    | 589296   | 5106270  |
| 6 <i>Suchuen</i>                            | 8                    | 124    | 464129   | 2204570  |
| 7 <i>Huquam</i>                             | 15                   | 108    | 513686   | 4833590  |
| 8 <i>Kiamsi</i>                             | 13                   | 67     | 1363629  | 6549800  |
| 9 <i>Nanking</i> , or }<br><i>Kiamnan</i> } | 14                   | 110    | 1969816  | 9967429  |
| 10 <i>Cbekiang</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>Queicheu</i>                          | 8                    | 10     | 45305    | 231365   |
| Total.                                      | 155                  | 1312   | 10128789 | 58916783 |

Famous men and women.

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 heroick acts, and celebrated in the *Chinese* books, and in their temples and inscriptions.

I

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. Mausoleums.

There are four hundred and eighty idol temples of renown and much resorted to, as well on account of their majesty Temples and Bonzes.

majesty and wealth, as for the pretended miracles wrought at them. Within these and other temples of the empire, there live above three hundred and fifty thousand *Bonzes*.

Other temples.

Besides, throughout the kingdom are to be seen seven hundred and nine temples, erected by the *Chineses* at several times, in memory of their ancestors, and remarkable for their beauty and structure. It is the custom among the *Chineses* to express much love to their parents after their death; and to make it appear, they build stately halls with great charge, in which instead of statues, they place inscriptions, with the names of their ancestors. 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-

rides paintings and other celebrated works of that nature, one thousand one hundred fifty-nine towers, triumphal arches and notable monuments, in honour of kings and men in vogue; two hundred seventy-two libraries well adorn'd and stor'd with books. The great rivers and fountains of note for hot and medicinal waters, are one thousand four hundred and seventy-two. There are also two thousand ninety-nine mountains, rendered 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 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 number of scholars, but the bachelors are above ninety thousand. Besides thirty-two 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, there are in the empire two hundred thirty-one famous bridges.

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CHAP. VII.

*Of the notable government of the empire of China, the several degrees of Mandarines, and of six supreme courts or councils of the learned or gownmen, and six of the soldiers or military men.*

**C**HINA deserves great commendation for its excellent government. Of the three sects or religions follow'd there, that of the learned is the first and antientest, 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 *Chunyum*, that is, the *Golden Mean*, where he solidly teaches, that a good king is to have nine qualities for the well-governing of his subjects, which if he practises, he will make his reign immortal.

Degrees of Mandarines.

The *Mandarines* of the empire are 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 distinction signifies nothing but a meer title of honour the kings have bestow'd on them, without any regard to their employments; 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 puts him down to be *Mandarine* of a lower rank. The knowledge, distinction and subordination of these orders are so perfect, the submission and veneration of the inferior to the superior, and the authority of the latter over the others, so great; and in short, the king's power over them all is so absolute, that there is nothing to compare to it in our government, either civil or ecclesiastical.

The *Mandarines* of the first class, are First de- counsellors of his majesty's council of state, which is the greatest honour and dignity a learned man can rise to in the empire. They have several honourable titles, as *Nuico*, *Kolao*, *Cai-siam*, *Suam-cum*, *Siam-que* and others, signifying 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 honour,

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honour, he gives him the name of one of those chambers; as for example that of *Chumkietien*, 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 *Kolao*, 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 *Xeusium*, 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 *Chineses* is the most honourable, as it was among the *Greeks* and other nations; which puts me in mind, that I have seen some antient *Greecian* 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 second 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 *Tabiosu*, that is, learned men of great knowledge. This title is often given to counsellors, on whom the emperor bestows others more lofty, as *Tai-cu-tai*, that is, the prince's great governor, or *Cai-tu-cai-su*, great matter to the prince, and the like. The third rank of this court, is call'd *Chum-xuco*, 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 sometimes 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-ju*, 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 *Coli*, 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 *Tso-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. Presidents.

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 conveniency 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. Six civil courts.

The method of proceeding 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-

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 supream court of the counsellors of state, who examine the cause, and acquaint 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, *China* 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.

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The first of these six courts is call'd *GEMEL-Li-pu*; its business is to furnish all the kingdom with *Mandarines*, and to examine their merits and demerits, to represent them to the king, that they may be preferr'd to better posts, or put back into meaner, as a reward or punishment. Within its palace there are four courts. The first is call'd *Ven-sven-su*, that is, The court that judges of those that are qualified and learned enough to be *Mandarines*: The second, *Geo-cum-su*, which examines the good or bad government of *Mandarines*: The third, *Nien-fum-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 fourth *Kibiun-su*, which has the charge of examining great lords, as petty kings of the blood royal, dukes and others, whom the *Chinese* call *Hiun-chin*, that is, antient vassals; who are honourable for their great services perform'd in war, when the family now reigning conquer'd the empire.

The second sovereign court is call'd *Hu-pu*, 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 musters 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 *China* 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 thirteem 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,

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and

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.

Third  
court.

The third court is call'd *Lì-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 subjects 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 first is that of the learned; the second of *Taosu*, or the married *Bonzes*; and the third, of the single *Bonzes*. By this court the fathers *John Adams*, *Luis Buglio*, *Ferdinand Verbiest*, and *Gabriel Magalbaens*, were imprison'd, with nine chains on their feet. This court has four courts under it. The first is call'd *Y-chi-su*, that is, the court of matters of moment; as for instance, of the titles of petty kings, dukes, and great *Mandarines*: The second, *Su-chi-su*, or the court that inspects the emperor's sacrifices, the temples, the mathematicks, and the three religions: The third, *Chu-ke-su*, which receives and attends the king's guests, whether subjects or strangers: The fourth, *Chim-xen-xu*, 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. Though 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 *Lì*, 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 *Lì*, and on the contrary in the second the voice is let fall, as if it were mark'd with the flat accent *Lì*. So that in the first, *Lì* signifies *Mandarine*, and *Pì* court; and both to-

gether, court of *Mandarines*. In the second, *Lì* signifies rites and ceremonies, and *Pì* 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 fourth sovereign court is call'd *Pim-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 inferior courts. The first is call'd *Vu-sven-su*, which has the charge of chusing and giving posts to military *Mandarines*, and of exercising the troops. The second, *Chefam-su*, which has the care of distributing men and officers throughout the kingdom to pursue robbers, and suppress rebellions. The third, *Che-kia-su*, 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 fourth, *Vu-cu-su*, has charge of causing all sorts of arms offensive and defensive to be made, and keeping them ready in the magazines.

The fifth sovereign court is call'd *Him-pu*, 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 itself 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 offences of those that are subject to them on account of their employments; but 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 second

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 ancient 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.

The sixth sovereign court is call'd *Campu*, or the court of publick works. It has the care of building and repairing the royal palaces, the kings 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 *Ym-xen-su*, whose duty it is to examine and form the draughts of all works that are to be made. The second *Yu-em-su*, to whom is committed the providing of arms for the fleets. The third *Tu-xui-su*, takes care to make the rivers and lakes navigable, to level roads, and build and repair bridges. The fourth *Che-tien-su*, looks to the king's houses and lands which are let out, and receives the rents.

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 fifth class of *Mandarines*, four of the second degree of the same fifth class, and the other four of the sixth 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 imployment, 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, criers, and other officers, whom they send into the provinces. They have tipstaves to imploy in the palace, messengers to carry their orders, gaolers, sergeants, catchpoles, and others, who bastinado 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*s 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 itself would have been too powerful, the wise emperors have to 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 fourth court, which is the court martial, might have rebell'd, had his authority been independent, 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 Five courts, call'd *Ufu*, that is, five classes or martial companies. Their palace is on the right and west side of the emperor's. The first is call'd *Heu-fu*, or rear; the second, *Tsò-fu*, or left wing; the third, *Yeù-fu*, or right

Sixth Court.

Judges and officers of the courts.

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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 *lün-chün-fü*, that is, court martial, the president whereof is always a 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 *Chineses* 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 Mace-*

*rata*. This father discoursing him concerning our holy faith and eternal bliss; *Peace*, saith 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 invisible, and impossible to obtain.* Thus spoke that wicked atheist.

Barbarous  
saying of  
a Mandarine.

There are other *Mandarines*, of none of the nine classes, call'd *Vi-jo-lien*, that is, unsettled men. There are also others call'd *Vápin*, 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 marquisses, 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*.

#### C H A P. VIII.

*Of several other courts in Peking, of the fifteen provinces, and cities of the empire of China.*

First  
court of  
Peking.

THE first of these courts is call'd *Hän-lin-iven*, 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 *Kü-gün*, that men illustrious in learning are examin'd for thirty days together, with all possible rigour, 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 king's men of learning, whom he chooses to be *Kolaos* 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 proper to describe the manner how they arrive at the degree of bachelors, 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 bachelor's degree, which the *Chineses* 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 thousand come to be examin'd in every city, according as they are more or less inhabited. They are thrice put upon trial, by as many several

of taking  
degrees.

exa-

examiners. The first is by four ancient 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 *Tribio*, or king's examiner, of those few that have pass'd the second trial. 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 bachelorship; 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 spurr'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 bachelors 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 prefix'd, 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 bachelors go in, they are strictly search'd to see whether they have any writing about them, which if they had they would certainly be bastinado'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 num-

ber of them in *Confucius* his books, that is, out of three of the four counted most authentick among the *Chineses*; 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. These 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 degree 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 bachelors, and in a capacity of being *Mandarines*.

The court call'd *Guercu-Kien*, is the The royal school of all the empire, which school of has care of all these bachelors and stu- the em- dents, to whom the emperor has grant- pire. ed some privilege to make them equal to bachelors, 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.

also upon account of their fore-fathers services, or upon occasion of publick rejoicing.

The *Mandarines* that belong to the court call'd *Tucka-yuen*, are 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 observed, 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 rigour 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 called *Hio-guen* into every province, and another call'd *Ti-bio* into

every city, to examine the bachelors and punish their insolencies 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 *Shun-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 headboroughs, are subject to these two classes; for every twelve families have a chief over them, call'd *Paiteu*, and over ten of these *Paiteus*, is another officer they call *Tsun-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 bachelors, 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 called *Lico*, or inspectors of the supreme court of *Mandarines*; or *Huco*, 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 happened that kings have mended their faults, and generously rewarded those that reproved them. It is their duty to have a watchful eye over the miscarriages of the six supreme courts, and

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.

Court of ambassa-  
dor.

The court *Him-gin-su* 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.

Court of doubtful  
cases.

The court *Tai-li-su*, 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-su*, which is, as it were, its council of conscience, and this joining with the court of *Tai-li-su*, and that of *Tu-che-yuen*, or supream court of visitors, and the criminal court, they all together examine the matter over again, in the presence of the accuser and party accused, and often reverse the sentence.

The court *Tum-chim-su* 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 learned and military *Mandarines* before they are delivered to the emperor, which they stop, or send up, as they think fit; none being allowed to present a memorial to the emperor before it has been revised and approved by this court; except those of the *Mandarines* of *Peking*, who present theirs immediately. The president of this court is of the third class.

Affiliate  
court.

The court *Tai-cham-su* 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.

Another.

There is also another court associated to that of rites, and call'd *Quam-lo-su*, 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.

Court for  
horses.

The *Mandarines* of the court call'd *Tai-po-su*, 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.

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*Kin-tien-kien* is the court of the mathematicks. The president (who at this time is father *Philip Grimaldi*, of the society of Jesus) 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.

Court of  
mathema-  
ticks.

The court *Tai-y-yuen*, or rather college of physicians, is compos'd of those belonging to the emperor, empress, and princess; who prepare their own medicines. These *Mandarines* depend on the court of rites.

College of  
physicians.

The court call'd *Hum-lu-su* consists of masters of the ceremonies at publick audiences, and is assistant to that of rites.

ceremo-  
nies.

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.

Gardiners,

The court *Xam-pao-su* 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-po*. 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.

Chancery.

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 *Kolaos*. These tho' they are martial *Mandarines*, are independent of the *Pimpu*, that is, the supreme military court.

Guards.

The two courts call'd *Xui-que-su*, 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.

Customers.

The

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Court for  
malefac-  
tors.

The *Tu-pu* has two employments, 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 run-away 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 second in the right; and for the third 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 third class of *Mandarines*, and their assessors of the fourth. The first is 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 *Chineses* call this governor *Fu-mu*, that is, father and mother of the people.

Courts un-  
der them.

There are two other courts call'd *Tai-bim-bien*, and *Vom-pin-bein*, 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 sixth class.

Court of  
the royal  
family.

*Tsum-gin-fu* 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 *Chineses*, 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 *Chineses* 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 second 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 of none of the nine classes, and the others are of the first and second, 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 second 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 has

has the title of *Tutan Kiun-muen*, *Fuyven*, *Sium-fu*, and other names, signifying governors 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 six 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 *Tsum-to*, who have the government of two, three, or four provinces; as for instance, *Leam-quam Tsum-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-yven*; and another officer of great note, call'd *Tsum-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 *Tsan-chin*, in which there are two presidents of the 2d degree of the 3d class. That on the right is call'd *Tsan-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-chafu*; 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*,

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or *Tao Tsum*, 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.

Division of provinces.

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 *Chifu*. He has three assessors; the first call'd *Tum-chi*, the 2d *Tum-puon*, and the 3d *Chui-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*, *Cbu-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 *Chi-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-puon*; 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

Courts of cities.

Cities of the 2d rank.

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Inferior cities. 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 called *Hieu-chim*; the 2d of the 9th *Cbupui*, but the 3d *Tien-su* 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 viceroy. 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.

Prefer-  
ments of  
Manda-  
rines.

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.

Other  
courts.

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 bachelors commit no insolencies against the people; and from time to time to assemble the licentiates, doctors and privileg'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 superintendance 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*. Martial courts.

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 falsehood, instead of truth; and the people be oppress'd by the tyranny of evil ministers, notwithstanding the wholesome laws. Number of Mandarines.

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. Rules for Mandarines.

If they take along with them their sons, brothers, or other relations; these are not to converse with the people, but to live recluse like *Carthusians*. 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 little straw by the tomb, eating for some months nothing but rice boil'd in nothing 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

custom the emperors themselves observe. GEMÉL. LI. 1696.

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 precedency. Because, if the emperor hears of any such thing, he certainly puts them out of their employments, 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.

**T**HO' 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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* 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.

The language.

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,*

*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.

When

P<sub>o</sub>, P<sub>ò</sub>, P<sub>ó</sub>, P<sub>o</sub><sup>u</sup>, P<sub>o</sub><sup>o</sup>, P<sub>o</sub><sup>^</sup>, P<sub>o</sub><sup>c</sup>, P<sub>o</sub><sup>c</sup>, P<sub>o</sub><sup>c</sup>, P<sub>o</sub><sup>v</sup>, P<sub>o</sub><sup>o</sup>

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When this syllable is pronounced with the accent smooth and all of a piece, *Po*, it signifies a *Glass*; with the flat *Pò* it signifies *to Boil*; with a sharp *Pó*, 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 form such an infinite number of words; so they joining, 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 preferr'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 several examinations, 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 bachelors 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 antient 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

See Navarette.

Wit of the Chinese.

Their learning.

Antiquity.

Books.

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 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 *Daniel Bartoli* magnifies it in his history of *China*, Part 3. Pag. 62 & 63, where he says that the *Chinese* 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 *China* 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, so the *Chinese* 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 *Chinese* were such prophets and *Æsculapius'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 *Chinese* are flesh and blood as we are, and of a much tenderer constitution. It is also to be observ'd, that the *Chinese* 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 *China*; 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 learned; 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 insnar'd again, insomuch, that to avoid death, they destroy themselves in the prime of their age.

Among the rest the *Chinese* have five Books in 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*, 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

Physick.

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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 qualified 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 aforefaid book for his virtue, and particularly for his obedience to his father, and love to his brother.

*Yu*, the third emperor, having serv'd his predecessor *Xun* faithfully, was by him at his death declar'd his fucceffor, not regarding his own fon, who was not fo 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 *Xum-Xui*, that is, great deluge of waters. The fucceeding emperors, ruled by right of inheritance, not of election, till the emperor *Kie*, a cruel man, and laft of this firft 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 fo of consequence there follow'd famine and plague. In this distrefs the emperor quitting his palace and royal robes, clad himself in skins, and prostrating himself on a hill call'd *Samlin*, offer'd 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 here offer my self up as a Victim, to suffer 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 fo 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 *Xantung*) 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 stile 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 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 is, book of verses, romances, and poems divided into five sorts, one to be fung 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 reprov'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 stile 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 *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 hundred

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 happen'd; and therefore he calls it *Chun-chieu*, that is, spring and autumn.

The fifth book is call'd *Ye-kim*, and is accounted the antientest of them all; for the *Chineses* say *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 *Chineses* 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.

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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* 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, sattin, and velvet; and in the figur'd, the birds, beasts, flowers, or what else they please is so artificial

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Mechanicks.

The 5th  
book of  
morals.

Epitome  
of those  
books.

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artificial that it looks like imbroidery, 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 mishapen. 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 *Matthæo Riccio* 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.

Archite-  
cture, and  
structures.

As concerning the *Chinese* architecture, it is regular, and has certain rule and method; as appears by their antient 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 antient *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 stupendous, 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 perches high. But those are stupendous 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 twisted. 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,

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 penknife, 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 *China* 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 cotton steep'd, and reduc'd to a paste; another of the pith of certain canes and of other trees, but they are not lasting.

## C H A P. X.

*Of the great industry and navigation of the Chineses.*

Industry.

THE magnificence and great number of publick structures in *China* 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, *Chum-que-vu-y-vo*, that is, in the empire of *China* there is nothing lost; and so it is, for tho' a thing seem never so vile and useles, 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 *Chineses* divide the night into five parts, either greater or smaller, as they are longer or shorter. At night-fall 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

Division  
of the  
night, how  
they strike  
it.

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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 sandal, 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 city

or village, (especially in the southern provinces) but enjoys the conveniency 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 across 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 and small for the emperor, *Mandarines*, merchants, and common sort. Among the emperor's boats, those they call *Co-chuen* serve to carry *Madarines* 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, *Y* 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 devise consists of dragons with five claws, and therefore his clothes and moveables must of necessity be adorn'd with dragons embroidered or painted. In fine, there are other light boats, call'd *Lam-Chuen*, which are long and slender, and serve the learned,

Sorts of boats.

Navigation.

ed 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 *China*; which if they were all put together, would be enough to make another bridge like that of *Xerxes*. Sometimes they sail 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 *China*, whence they convey it to the bank of the river *Kian*, (by the *Chinese*s 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 feet 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*s in numbers of seamen.

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*The End of the Second Book.*



*A Voyage*

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

Containing the most remarkable Things he  
saw in *CHINA*.

B O O K III.

C H A P. I.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
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*Of the nobility, empire, civility, politeness and ceremonies of the Chineses.*

Nobility  
in general.

**I**F 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.

Confucius  
and his family.

Nevertheless that which is the common calamity of the learned men is among the descendants of sword-men an effect of their enemies cruelty, whose

families would otherwise have continu'd great and noble as long as the empire itself. 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 *Chineses* give this philosopher the most honourable titles of *Cum-su*, *Cum-su-su* 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 *Chineses* a man of an extraordinary and heroick 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 the

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 out-do 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 reckoned among their virtues or vices; for on the one hand, they are certainly extraordinary courteous and mannerly; insomuch 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 itself 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 *Zoje*, 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 half 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.

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Ceremonies.

Names and titles.

Cloaths.

Modesty.

Breeding.

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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 abovementioned. Nor is there any less trouble about placing the chairs (the *Chineses* in this particular imitating the *Europeans*, that is, in not sitting on the ground with their legs a-cross, 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 plac'd, 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 mere act of civility. But the stress of the compliment lies in the master of the house's endeavouring to persuade the visiter, by arguments and prayers, to mount his horse before him; and in the visiter's protesting the world shall be turn'd topsy 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 umbrello, 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 *Chineses* is as usual as Presents. visiting, and custom has prescrib'd laws in this particular. They write on a sheet of paper in a very genteel style, 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.

As

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 *Chineses*, 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 porcellane. 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 woollen dishes, or bowls, in which they bring the meat, are small, but not those of fau-

ces 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 *Chineses*, 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 nut-shell; 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 bruised in water, which being brought to such a strength (like beer or ale) is afterwards distill'd. Now though the glasses are so small, they drink so often (especially towards the latter end) that so many littles 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 some body 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 skreens 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 *Chineses* 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 the most courtly

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in dis-  
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ly 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 muletier 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 particu-

lar vocabulary, or dictionary, to teach how to name and lessen all things that belong to one's 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.

## C H A P. II.

### *Other customs of the Chineses.*

Women,  
their  
beauty.

THE greatest beauty of the *Chinese* women, consists in having very little feet; and because this is a beauty that may be acquired by art, which cannot be in the lineaments of the face, they wrap up the feet of the girls new-born, 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. Though 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 *Yunan* follows another custom in this particular, conforming to the liberty us'd in *Tibet-Tunchin*, 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 wrapp'd up and cover'd. Their features and complexion are not inferior to the *European* women; and though they have small eyes, lying deep in, and their nose after the same manner, yet they do not look amiss.

This their retir'd life is the cause they Marri-  
marry, if we may so call it, blindfold; ages.  
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 son's 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 cross, 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, sends 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, clothes, 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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life.

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fore her with kettle-drums and pipes, and many lighted torches, though 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.

The honour and respect they pay to widowhood is very commendable. To marry again, though a woman be left in her prime, and without children, is look'd upon as undecent; 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.

By the laws of the kingdom no man may marry a woman of his own family, though the kindred be never so remote. Only the first is counted the lawful wife, though 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 a 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 Catholick 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.

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, though 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 agreed (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 married woman accounts herself 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 ones, 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 lie fallow, married them by lot to the other prisoners, after this manner. Having caus'd them all, young, old, halt 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, ordering*

Procreation enforced.

A pleasant tale.

Widows.

Miserable condition of women.

Marriage when valid.

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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.

**Tartars marriages.** The Tartars do not buy their wives, but receive portions, though 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.

**Cheats.** By all that has been hitherto said, the reader may perceive that the *Chineses* 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, though 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 process 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* missionaries. The Dutch who came from *Batavia* to trade in *China*, would have cheated the *Chineses*, 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 had most admirable new-fashion'd stuffs just

A pleasant  
return up-  
on the  
Dutch.

then 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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* 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 an 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 *Chineses*, it shews them as much men of 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 meanest

Peaceable  
behaviour.

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, rancor and mortal enmity, under the appearance of sincere affection; and though 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 received maxim among them, that to draw a sword against one another is not the part of men; and that war is nothing but wildness reduc'd to rules, which the savage beasts 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 fists 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 one's enemy's hair, for the disgrace is more resent'd, 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 *Chineses*, 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 *Chineses* are men of little courage, 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 female duties, dig, and do other drudgeries. In the boats they row, or tow them along like so many mares, and do all the service of a seaman, 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 <sup>GEMEL-</sup> of tea. <sup>LI.</sup> <sup>1696.</sup>

They have an artificial pot to dress their meat, in which the water goes about, <sup>Pots.</sup> 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 <sup>Glasses.</sup> 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, <sup>Calking</sup> with a string of wooden counters, to add, <sup>accounts.</sup> 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 year's end, they take to another, being handy at every thing.

They are ingenious in playing at any <sup>Games.</sup> game; as cards, chess, which they call *Ke*, dice, tables, a sport like fox and geese and the like; but what ruins them, is their *Metna* 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-rob.* <sup>A trick to</sup> *am*; which being smoak'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 *Chineses* generally drink hot and <sup>Eating</sup> eat cold, just contrary to the *Europeans*; <sup>and drink-</sup> nor will any of them ever refresh their pa- <sup>ing.</sup> lates with cold water, tho' the weather be never so hot, or they drougthy 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 sinews 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 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.

Rare  
dishes.

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 *Chineses* draw certain sinews out of their fins, which they eat. The root *Inson* is brought out of the province of *Leaotung*, 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.

Education  
of chil-  
dren.

The laws of the empire are so severe to oblige parents to give their children

good education, that if it happens any of them commits a crime, and cannot be taken, the magistrate secures the father and bastinades him, for not teaching his son good manners. The government also takes care of the œconomy 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 *Chineses* smoke much tobacco, but Tobacco. 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 smoak. 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 *Chineses* sit on high chairs, and use Chairs, tables like ours in *Europe*. They do not fans and value jewels or other things that have their umbrel-  
loes. 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 umbrelloes, tho' they have hoods to defend them against the sun.

They call people by the surname first, Names  
and sur-  
names. 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 *Chineses* 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 *Chineses* sell all things, even to hens Food. 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 people filling their bellies

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 *Cbina* 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 *Chineses* 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 buried 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 *Chineses*; 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 *Chineses* 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 *Fun-scivy*, that is their fortune. This superstition extends even to the structures of the *Chineses* themselves, (tho' not looked upon as altogether so fatal) none being permitted to build his house higher than his neighbours, for fear of taking away their *Fun-scivy*. In the suburb of *Canton*, going into a *Pagod*, I saw two live snakes before the idol, in a basin, to try those that were accused of theft, so great is their superstition. They were to be laid on the body of the person accused; if they bit him he was reputed guilty; if not, innocent. They call this *Pagod San-kiai-mian*.

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All officers and magistrates pursue rob- No vaga-  
bers severely, to make the roads safe, and bonds.  
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 Industry.  
some artificial ploughs 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 Fishing.  
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 *Chineses* put a ring about its neck, that it may not swallow the great ones.

The birds they catch in nets, snares Birding.  
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 accustomed 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 Aranja*, at *Macao*, because a servant of his being a black of *Mangiar Massen*, had kill'd a

*Chinese*, who provok'd him by striking him over the face with a frog, which is a thing they hate. And tho' *Aranjo* 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*s, 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.

### C H A P. III.

#### *The habit, weapons, and coin of the Chinese.*

Hair of  
the Chi-  
neses.

BEFORE the *Tartars* rul'd, the *Chinese*s 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*s 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*s 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*s did and do still heinously resent.

Their  
caps.

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 covered with shagged 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.

Missioners  
caps.

When they say mass and administer the sacraments, all our missioners 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 mitre. This

fashion being brought up by the antient learned *Chinese*s, the fathers of the society to distinguish themselves have added upon every square three arches like gates, made with a gold brede.

Their shirt is call'd *Kuaziu*, and is la-  
ced 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 down to their heels, which they call *Ku-Ziu*, or *Zevy*, 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*.

The nobility add to the shirt (which 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 *Tayzu*. 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 buttoned upon the breast. The learned wear it long; ordinary people short, and the *Tartars* very short.

The learned, who are carry'd about 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

worn by trading and inferior people, 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 *Hiay*. 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 buttoned before the breast, and straiter about the neck for decency, with the other of the same cut as mentioned above. Their shoes differ from the mens, 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 imbroider'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  
Chineses.

The complexion of the *Chineses* 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* by among a thousand *Chineses*, and a *Chinese* among as many *Europeans*.

Women.

The women are generally fair, beautiful and more couragious 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 *Chineses* carry bows and arrows, and a long scimiter, which they

wear the wrong way, with the point forward instead of the hilt, and when they would draw it they give a stroke upon the point, which brings the hilt forward. 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 horn, which serves to take aim by.

Tho' cannon had been long found out in *China*, yet it was not well cast nor proportioned; for which reason the *Tartar* emperor, at the beginning of his reign, designing to make use of it in his wars against the *Eluth*, 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 Soldiery. 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 *Chineses* 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 allowed them to keep twelve thousand men and maintain themselves with the due grandeur, besides others they keep at their own expences.

Though in *China* gold be cheap and Gold and silver, and coin. 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 reduc'd 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 *Chineses* 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 *Portugueses* call them, which is worth fifteen *Carlines* of *Naples*, or a noble; by *Ciers* (or *Mas* in *Portuguese*) which is the tenth

part of 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 *Chineses* 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 *Tu-tunaga*, a metal peculiar to *China*, like brass, 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.

#### C H A P. IV.

##### *Funerals of the Chineses.*

Provision  
of the li-  
ving for  
their bu-  
rial.

**A**MONG the *Chineses*, the being well bury'd is a thing on which the happiness of the dead and their posterity seems 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 perswading 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.

Places of  
burial.

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 moun-

tains 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 plac'd 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 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 wrapp'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

Ceremo-  
nies just  
after  
death.



The manner of the Funerals in the Province of Quantun in the Empire of China



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 *Tinzao*, 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 penances, which after a month begin by degrees to grow easier and easier.

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 human 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 judicially 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 *Chineses* 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 penance, 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 grot 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

Funeral  
procession.

The  
friends ce-  
remonies.

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Mourn-  
ing.

Respect to  
the tomb.

Honours  
after the  
funeral.

serve the dead person; and therefore the friends present the son with money (as is us'd in weddings) to defray this expence.

As the sons are to wear mourning three years for a father's death, so are the wives for their husbands; but if the wife dies the mourning is but for three months. No person of any condition whatsoever is exempt from this duty; in-  
somuch that when the parents of *Mandarines* die, they are oblig'd to quit their employments, as was said before.

This is the main cause why strangers are undervalu'd by the *Chineses*; 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.

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, grandfather, and great grandfather, before which they burn several perfumes, and some of those ropes made of the barks of trees pounded, before-mentioned. When the father dies the great grandfather 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 catholicks, 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 allow'd to christians; a difference not yet decided

by the holy congregation to which it has been referr'd.

It is also the custom in *China* to erect a temple for the whole family; but this can only be done by some person of note, as a *Mandarine* 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 grandfather. 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 *Verbiest*, 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. Page 362.

- A. Ensigns of mourning.
- B. Banners of silk, or paper of several colours.
- C. *Chinese* drums of two round brass plates.
- D. A censer to burn perfumes.
- E. Offerings of eatables, which are afterwards given in alms to the *Bonzes* that attend the dead body.

F. Chi-

- 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 forts of banners.  
 L. A tabernacle in which they carry the tablet, on which are written the names of the father, grandfather and great grandfather.  
 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 person's nearest relations, clad in sackcloth, and girt with a thick

- rope, with straw wrap'd about their feet, and course rags about their ears.  
 P. Country-women related to the dead person, who ought to be carry'd cover'd between curtains on mens 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 *Chineses*.

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## C H A P. 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 *Chineses* 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 governors of the empire, the *Kolaos*, or counsellors of state, and the six sovereign courts in *Peking*, sell all employments under-hand. They who by these

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 itself, 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 *Chao*, 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,

Bribery.

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it, that the antients call'd *China* the kingdom 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 itself. The emperor, petty kings, princes and great men, with all their servants even to footmen; the *Mandarines*, eunuchs, learned men, citizens, almost all the women, and the fourth part of the rest of mankind, wear silk upper and under 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 emperor 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.

Wax.

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 *Xantung* 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 only 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 gather 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 beginning 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 nourishment 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 only in blankets for beds; for in their cloaths the commonalty wear cotton quilted with the same; 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 *Mandarines*, 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 provisions, 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 kidney-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 *Pe-quo*, signifying an hundred sorts of fruit; as pears (and among the rest one particular sort call'd *Gogavas*) apples, medlars, a sort of soft apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, wall-nuts, chestnuts, pomegranates, citrons, lemons, 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

and others common to *Asia* elsewhere describ'd. One they call *Vivas*, 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* *Lichias*) 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 *Chineses* that they keep it dry. The tree is as high as a pear-tree. The second (by the *Portuguese* call'd *Langans*) is sweet and round like the *Lichia*, but of a greenish colour. The tree is very thick of leaves, and bears the fruit like branches 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.

The herb *Tea* or *Chia*, being the most valu'd drink among the *Chineses*, 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 *Hochikeu*. 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 *Chineses* 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 *Suchuen*, *Xensy*, and in the country about *Sochieu*, 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 noisom 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 *Chineses* call it *Tay-buam*, that is, yellow enough.

In *China*, the melons of all sorts are extraordinary good, as are the pumpions, cucumbers, turnips and radishes; there is no want of good colewarts, fennel, onions, garlicks, smallage, borrag, and other herbs we have in *Europe*; but those that are peculiar to them are more plentiful and better. One is call'd *Linchio*, which grows near the

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Tea or  
Chia.

GEMEL- water, and produces a sort of fruit with  
LI. two horns, tender enough, and tastes like  
1696. an almond. An herb they call *Pezzay*, is  
very savoury boil'd. There are also *Pota-  
toes*, and other nourishing roots.

Flowers. As for flowers, there are abundance,  
and very beautiful, especially *Tuberoses*.  
Of our sorts they have gilliflowers, roses,  
jessamin, and others. Those peculiar to  
the country are more for shew 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 *Kiquon* and *Laushaiyz*.  
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.

Game of 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 *Chineses*,  
*Gin-Hium*, that is, *Man-bear*; the second,  
*Keu-Hium*, *Dog-bear*; and the third, *Cku-  
Hium*, or *Hog-bear*, because of some such  
resemblance in the head and paws. Bears  
feet well dress'd are much valued 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, leo-  
pards, rabbits, wild cats, and rats, and  
others.

Wild As for wild fowl, there is a prodigious  
fowl. 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* nightingal out-does ours in *Europe*,  
and the *Canary* birds; its note is so har-  
monious, sweet and loud, and it runs  
such divisions, as if it had learn'd to sing.  
It is three times as big as ours, but of  
the same colour; they call it *Sayu*. An-  
other bird, call'd *Sanxo*, sings well enough.  
It has two white round spots under the  
eyes, and all the rest of the body black.

The *Martinbo*, as the *Portugueses* 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 *China* extended to) for the pleasantness of the soil, the plenty of fruit, and excellent improvement, looks like one continued garden. This falls out so because none of it lies under the torrid zone, except the extreme parts of the province of *Canton* and *Quansi*, 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 *Sciansi* 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 *China*, 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; though 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 *Chineses* 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 shew 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.

again. Yet the land does not wear out, but grows more fruitful, and yields plentiful crops; insomuch, that among the rest it is said of the province of *Sciantung*, That one year's good harvest will keep it ten years, and longer. This makes it seem very strange to the *Chineses*, 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 itself.

Whole-  
some air.

Though *China* be water'd by abundance of rivers and canals, and supplied 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 extreme 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 *Portugueses* 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 sixteenth part of an ounce, copper, call'd *Tutanaga* 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.

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### CHAP. VI.

*The original of the Eastern Tartars, their settlement in the throne of China, and the wars that ensued 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 wandring *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* continued the war till his death, which was in 1634. *Cum-te*, son to *Tien-cum*, being call'd in by the *Chineses* to their assistance, almost compleated the conquest of *China*; but died 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 died 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 *Chineses* divided into the *Eastern* and *Western*. The inhabitants of them both, for the most part, live wandring 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 *Leaotung* eastward, beyond *Japan*, and

contains the countries of *Niuche*, west of *Corea*; *Niulhan*, north of *Niuche*; *Yupy*, east of *Niuche*; the country of *Yeso*, 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 horseback, 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 *Leaotung*, *Peking*, *Xenfi*, 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 *Niuche*; 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 enter'd *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 premis'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

Great re-  
bellion.

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of the empire being employ'd upon securing the frontiers next to *Tartary*; eight captains of robbers took the field, and in a short time rais'd eight armies. These contending among themselves for the sovereignty, reduc'd themselves to two, the one's name was *Li*, the other's *Cham*; who separating, *Cham* took the way of the western provinces of *Suchueu* and *Huquam*, and *Li* of the northern. He having secur'd the province of *Xenfi*, 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 *Xenfi*, first put to death the governors of them, and then dealt graciously with the people, easing them so generously from taxes, that many of the emperor's soldiers came to serve under him. Then *Li* from a captain 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 traitors his confidants, to debauch the people 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 thousand men, and took his way directly to the emperor's palace; who without knowing any thing of what had happen'd, was mortifying himself with fasting, among his *Bonzes*. Perceiving by the sudden approach of the enemy, that he was betray'd on all hands, he attempted 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 return'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 hands of the robbers; but she avoiding

Emperor  
hangs  
himself.

the blow, and being hurt in the arm, fell down in a swoon. At length the emperor throwing a scarf about his neck, hang'd himself, at the age of thirty-six; and with him the empire, and all the family 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 eunuchs. The emperor's body being sought after the next day, was found accidentally; and being carry'd before the usurper sitting on the throne, was contemptibly us'd. The emperor's eldest son being fled, he caus'd the two younger 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 family, it seems to have made good the saying in the book of wisdom, *In the same that he sins, in the same shall he be punished.* 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*, becoming a captain of robbers, put down the family *Xven* 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 hundred seventy-six years, till another captain of robbers utterly destroy'd it.

In the mean while *Li*, leaving a sufficient garrison in *Peking*, prepar'd to give battle to the general *Usan-quey*, who had the supreme command of the *Chinese* army, consisting of sixty thousand men, and was employ'd in the province of *Leaotung* against the *Tartars*. He advanced to attack the city, where finding *Usan-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 surrender the city. *Usan-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 better to die, than to live subject to robbers.* The father commended his son's generous resolution, and willingly bowing his neck was put to death.

*Usan-quey*, to revenge the emperor's and his father's death, sent a solemn embassy to the *Tartar Cum-te*, with considerable presents, inviting him to march with his army against the usurper; upon condition concerted between them. He flew rather than march'd with sixty thousand men into *China*, and soon caus'd the siege

Last Chinese family.

Bravery of a Chinese general.

Tartars call'd in.

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 *Xensî*, always pursu'd by the enemy.

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, entred 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 Vansuy*, *Vansuy* (that is, ten and ten thousand years) which is the usual cry upon conferring the empire. *Xun-chi* was the founder of this new imperial family, which in the *Tartar* and *Chinese* languages, is call'd *Tai-ckim*, 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 *Pimsî*, that is, of pacifier of the west, and had the city of *Singagan*, metropolis of the province of *Xensî*, assign'd him for his residence.

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 *Tartar* proceeded to the siege of the metropolis of *Cheking*; where *Lovam* a petty king had refus'd the title of emperor. He seeing the city attack'd by the *Tartars*, 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, though it sav'd not his life, yet it sav'd the city and inhabitants. The success was various in the provinces of *Fokien*, *Quan-*

*tung* and *Quamsî*; in the northern they happily reduc'd the two *Chinese* generals, *Flo* and *Hiam*, by sowing discord among them.

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In the western parts and province of *Suckuen*, 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 *Kiamsî* by his barbarity, bent all his rage against that of *Suckuen*. 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-kien-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 sophistical notions stirr'd up the people to rebellion. He four times condemn'd the fathers *Bugglio* and *Magal-baens* to death; but afterwards pardon'd them, being well inclin'd to the christian religion.

Another  
barbarous  
robber.

In the year 1646, being the 3d of the emperor *Xun-chi*, being to set out for the province of *Xensî*, against the *Tartars*, he caus'd all the inhabitants of the metropolis of *Chim-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 entred

More in-  
humanity.

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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 *Suchuen* receiv'd the *Tartars* joyfully as their deliverers.

Southern  
provinces  
subdu'd.

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 *Schia-okin*, where the emperor *Yum-lie* not being able to resist with his small forces, fled to the province of *Quamsi*, and then to that of *Yunan*.

The following year dy'd *Amavam*, tutor and uncle to the emperor, a wise 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 up 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.

Wisdom  
of the *Tar-  
tar* emper-  
ror.

*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 governors 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 *Quesim* the admiral A great pirate, son to *Nicholas*, who had continually infested 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 governor 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 *Quesim's* birth-day came on, which all his army celebrated with feasting and sports. The *Tartars* laying hold of this opportunity, when the enemy's 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. *Quesim* 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 *Quesim* 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, surrendered all the island to *Quesim*, who fix'd there the seat of his empire. This conquest made him so haughty

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 governor had discover'd his conspiracy in the *Philippine* islands, and put to death several thousands of *Chineses*; as also that his son had committed incest with one of his wives.

To conclude the history of this famous family of pirates, the reader must understand that it began in a captain of rovers, call'd *Chin-chilum*, of the province of *Fokien*. This man first serv'd the *Portugueses* 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-vu*, 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 *Quesim* 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 confidant, who betray'd him, putting it into the emperor's hands. Hereupon *Nicholas* was put to death; and *Quesim*, tho' he had not suffer'd himself to be overcome by his father's letter, or the *Tartar's* promises, yet came to the miserable end we have mention'd. *Quesim'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 *Chin-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 poiniard, 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 injoin'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 she 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 persuaded the eunuchs and maidens to take upon them the habit

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Chinese  
imperial  
family ex-  
tirpated.

The em-  
peror mad  
in love.

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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 despis'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.

His death. 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 governed 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 pirates, 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 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 *Chineses*, 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 tutors dy'd; whereupon *Cam-bi* solemnly took upon him the government of the empire.

Another storm disturb'd the empire *Ufan-* in 1673; for *Ufan-quey*, a most power- *quey re-* ful petty king in the province of *Yun-* volts. *nan*, 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 *Yun-chin* refus'd, and sent it to the emperor: In the mean while *Ufan-quey* subdu'd the three provinces of *Yun-nan*, *Suchuen*, *Qui-cheu*, 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 *Another* fathers dying, they put on the *Chinese* rebellion. 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 contemn'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 *Ceking* and *Fokien*; and another to *Quantung* and *Quamsi*. 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

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 12th 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* 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.

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 *Quamh*; 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 halter 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 inclined 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* enter'd *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, wife, and politick nation. Then *Cam-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 sloth 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*.

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And of  
him of  
Fokien.

Peace set-  
tled.

*Usan-quey* dies,  
his son  
proclaim'd  
emperor.

Imperial  
palace  
burnt.

Petty king  
of *Quantung*  
his  
punish-  
ment.

## C H A P. VII.

G E M E L -  
L I.  
1696.

Noble indowments of the mind in Cam-hi, emperor of China.

Dexterity  
of the em-  
peror.

**C**Am-hi the present emperor of *China*, 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 astonishment 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*.

His love  
of musick.

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 *Kolaos*, 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 any force without his approbation. This is, because the government of *China* 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*.

His ju-  
stice.

When *Cam-hi* 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 favourite 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 despise all foreign nations, not thinking them worthy to have any communication with them; yet *Cam-hi* treats the ambassadors of other princes generously, and with affection, throughout all his empire, furnishing them with all necessaries; as the *Portugueses*, *Muscovites* and *Dutch* can testify. In like manner, contrary to the custom of *China*, 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*; but much more by instructing him in our arts and sciences, convincing him that there are learned and able men out of *China*.

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 luxuriousness. His apartments partake of the same modesty, for there is nothing in them answerable to the grandeur of such

such a prince, besides some painting, 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 sable, 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 *Tartars* and *Chinese*, great men and *Mandarines* who serve under the *Tartar* colours, should give themselves up to sloth 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 *Verbieft* has taught him the use of the chief mathematical instruments; father *Pereira* the grounds of musick; and father *Gerbillon*, *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 administred 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 *Cambli*, 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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His learn-  
ing.

Tempe-  
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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 unparalell'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.

#### C H A P. VIII.

##### *Of the great wealth of the emperor of China.*

The em-  
perors  
deify'd.

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 Riccius* 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 *Tao-fu* (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 His reve- nue. of *China*'s immense treasures, I will give a short account of his revenues taken out of a writer in great repute among the *Chineses*, whose books are call'd *U-bio-pien*.

In the first place there comes into the imperial treasury every year eighteen Silver. 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 amount 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 committed other heinous crimes.

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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.

2dly, One million three hundred and fifteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven loaves 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 *Chineses* 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 under 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 biskets; 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.

Another account of the emperor's wealth.

The End of the Third BOOK.

Rice and corn.

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

Containing the most remarkable Things he  
saw in *CHINA*.

B O O K I V.

C H A P. I.

*The author's return to Nanchianfu by land.*

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Father  
Grimaldi.

**T**HE 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 governor's streight; in the *Portuguese Indies* he was long besieg'd 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

to perfection. 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 happen'd, because they had brought with them for their interpreters, some *Chineses* 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.

*Sunday* the 20th I view'd the new ci-  
ty, and then went to the old of the  
*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  
for

Falſe ac-  
counts of  
China.

Temple of  
emperors.

for four thousand five hundred and forty years, from the first called *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 observed. 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 a-foot, 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 *Chineses* 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 the said *Mandarine* 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

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 so 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 Sisaro* 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 though I had been no way disturbed by the governors of cities in coming to court; yet they might put me to some inconveniency 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 saved 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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 22<sup>d</sup> 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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A noble  
bridge.

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 travelled 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 travelled together.

A Pagod. On *Wednesday* the 23d near the town of *Tantien*, I saw a handsome *Pagod*, call'd *Xien-ghefsu*. It is inclos'd with high walls, in compass about a quarter of a mile, and has monasteries of many *Xosbian*, or *Bonzes*. In the first *Miau*, or *Pagod*, 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 covered; 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 travell'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 umbrelloes with long silk curtains about them, banners and other ornaments. Next we pass'd thro' the forsaken town of *Xiun-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 *Rescili-pu*.

*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 travell'd the same way in my journey to *Peking*, I omit to mention the towns, 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 travell'd one hundred and thirty *Ly*, lay at *Liu-chi-miau*. The cold travellers endure this day's 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 *Cuschipi*, and lay at *Fau-chiaen*, one hundred and twenty *Ly* journey. *Tuesday* the 29th we din'd at *Cautanchen*, lay in the suburb of the little town *Shipin-xien*. *Wednesday* the 30th din'd at *Tunchen-y*, lay at *Chyen-xien*, one hundred and twenty *Ly*. *Thursday* the 1st of *December* din'd at *Xuan-gua-biena*, lay at *Sbiagochen*, one hundred and ten *Ly*. It may be said we travell'd all the way through a well-till'd plain, so careful are the *Chinese* at improving. Here we observed, 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-xio*, ninety *Ly*. *Saturday* the 3d din'd in the city of *Jenchifu*, which is well enough inhabited, has good shops, is inclos'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 *Tuntan-tien*, having travelled 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 *Pagod*. First we came into a square place, A noble each side of it a musket-shot in length, tomb. 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

ny courts, all inclos'd with walls. Opposite to that in the middle there are three doors, near which is a noble epitaph and tomb, of a *Chinese* lord buried there, supported by a great crocodile, 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 *Chinese* 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 beforementioned, but with only three birds, they call her *Mamon*. There are other statues before the door, and at the feet of those here described, all of them frightful and arm'd, as if they were bravoës to guard the entrance. They are all made of 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 din'd at *Chyay-xoy-te*, after passing through the little town of *Uya*, which though inclosed with mud walls, has an excellent suburb. At night we lay in *Sbiaxotien*, having travelled 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 *Chinese* 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 followed

about twenty litters in which were the dead man's women, attended by many soldiers.

*Monday* the 5th we din'd at *Sbiacuchian*, and lay at *Niuij*, 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 *Subeu* in a boat, lay at *Sanpu*, one hundred and ten *Ly*. *Wednesday* the 7th din'd at *Sensun*, and lay at *Nanjsucheu*, one hundred and twenty *Ly*. There might be good eating in the inns, but the *Chineses* 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 *Sanchian*, 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 *Chianchingoy*, a town on the bank of the same river; and lay at the town of *Funianfu*, 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 weigh'd above a 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 *Hynchiechyen*, 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 in the suburbs.

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*Tuesday* the 13th we rested at *Cbianchiau-yen*; and travelling continually 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 musick was repeated three hours before day. The day's journey was one hundred *Ly*.

*Wednesday* the 14th we din'd at *Leanx-yen*, having first pass'd through *Tienpu*, a large but open town, where the *Tartar* remain'd that lov'd to be beaten by boys. Going out of *Tienpu* I met a *Mandarine* with a great retinue. Before him went many carriages guarded by soldiers; next came a great number of servants and officers in chairs all in a row, and pages and other attendance on horseback: Next follow'd the *Mandarine* in a chair carried by eight men, and beset with abundance of soldiers, carrying several small banners, and one great one. After all came many more soldiers and servants to the number of about a thousand. These *Mandarines* we must own take more state upon them than any viceroy 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, though 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* betimes we pass'd through the town of *Luchichin-xyen*, which, though wall'd, has nothing good in it. We rested at *Nanzian*, and having travell'd awhile among mountains, came out into a plain amidst valleys well inhabited, and lay at *Tacuon*, after a journey of an hundred *Ly*. About these mountains is found a sort of *Tartufs*, which are no other but *Pignuts*, call'd by the *Chineses*, *Mati*; but small like a little turnip, and tasting like a new chesnut.

*Saturday* the 17th, having travell'd over plains and mountains, we din'd in the town of *Tunchin-xyen*, seated at the foot of mountains, well wall'd, inhabited, and has good shops, though the suburbs are much larger. In the shops here I saw some turnips hanging up by the small end, in which 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 *Taucheny*, after a journey of an hundred *Ly*.

*Sunday* the 18th, riding through groves of cypress-trees, and coasting the mountains on the right, we went to dine at *Siabicheu*; whence we went into a plain, many miles in length, full of little country houses, gardens and farms. At night we lay at *Zenxyan-xyen*, a town inclos'd with low walls, broke down in some places, and with wretched houses within; the whole day's journey ninety *Ly*.

*Monday* the 19th we travell'd much such a road to dine at *Seauchi-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 thither. At night we lay at *Fun-xyan-y*; the last town of the province of *Nanking*, which we entred at *Sucheu*.

*Tuesday* the 20th we entred an angle of the province of *Huquam*, through plains all cultivated, not far from the mountains. We din'd at *Tinzan*, and lay at *Xuan-may-xien*, a town that has an indifferent 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 *Cunlunga*, on the bank of a small river, and, though 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 province of *Huquam* from that of *Kiang-si*. The city is small, without any inclosure, 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 halfpence, for each beast, but not for the men; and there is a custom-house, which takes cognisance 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 compass, but there are more fields than streets within them. The suburb is large, being about three miles in length, populous, and full of good shops. Between the city and sub-  
urb

urb there is a great lake, from which runs a small river. We din'd at *Tun-Jue-ny*, 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 rested at *Ushimen*; and passing through the little city of *Tengan-xyen*, which though partly unpeopled, has something good still, came at night to *Ynan-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, though large in circumference, is partly uninhabited, 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 *Nanbianfu*, after travelling thirty-four days, and three thousand two hundred and thirteen *Ly* from *Peking*; and the city being all incompass'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 missionaries 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.

## C H A P. 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 necessaries, 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 28th, 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, though seated on the tops of mountains. We sail'd but eighty *Ly*, because there was but little wind, though the *Chinese* sailors to make it blow the more, superstitiously kept whistling. *Saturday* the 31st a stiff north wind carried us one hundred and forty-two *Ly*, though we lost some hours expecting it should abate a little, so that I was constrained to make them set out by force. At night we came to *Kinang-fu*; and I refusing to go to the house of father *Gregory Ybanex*, a *Franciscan*, he

came to see me in the boat, where he diverted himself till midnight.

*Sunday* the 1st of *January* 1697 we lay at *Juynsun*, eighty-five *Ly*. *Monday* the 2d at *Pekiazun*, seventy *Ly*. We made little way, because the waters were low, though the river of *Nanganfu* at *Cancheufu* 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 *Cancheufu*, 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 *Mecklin*, and father *Amiani* of *Piement*, 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. *Saturday* the 7th, towards evening,

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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 *Cancheufu*, 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.

Mountain  
of Nan-  
ganfu.

*Sunday* the 8th we came to the guard and town of *Kiumiu*, eighty *Ly*. *Monday* the 9th we continued the morning at the *Tanfu* and guard of *Jafutan*; and then entered 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 Pinola* 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 carried 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 viceroy, the *Ckiankyun* 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 *Chineses*, 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-sion*, 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 *Cbian-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 *Muschiu*, 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-yeu*, 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 met 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, though I set out late, and the days were short. The *Chinese* chairmen are not inferior to a *Tartar* horse, for they trot five miles an hour. They reckon'd that day's journey twelve leagues, but they were not above eight, or an hundred and four *Ly*, a league being thirteen *Ly*. This happens in all the highways, where for the benefit of the couriers, the *Chineses* 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, but having paid the master beforehand, I was forced to have patience. Two women row'd much better than the men,

men, though 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 sixty, 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 *Xuantan*.

*Tuesday* the 17th we lay at the guard and town of *Sinbian-Sbiuy*, sixty *Ly*. Here the water grows deeper, for at the town of *Kianken* 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, though 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, streight, 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 straight 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, though 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, all 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 *Quantikeu*, where the aforefaid *Mandarines*, who were going to meet the *Titu*, 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 *Scutan*, we stopp'd at the guard of *Licki-Iven*, having run one hundred *Ly*.

Setting out hence four hours before day on *Tuesday* the 24th, (that we might come betimes to *Kuan-cheu-fu* or *Canton*, as the *Portugueses* call it) we came before break of day to *Fuscian*. I went there in a chair to see father *Capachio*, a missionary of the society, crossing the city, which is three miles over, all the way among handsome 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 controversy without consulting the courts at *Canton*. For military affairs here resides another small martial *Mandarine*. All *Mandarines* generally say, *Fuscian* contains a million of inhabitants. Taking leave of father *Capachio*, I continued my voyage, and, God be prais'd, after running eighty *Ly*, came back safe to *Canton*, where the *Franciscan* missionaries imagin'd I had either been stopp'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 they really are by envious persons, on purpose to disappoint the most glorious undertakings. The muletiers reckon'd 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.

### C H A P. III.

#### *The Chinese new year, and solemn festivals of the lantborns.*

I Came to *Canton* with a resolution to go on to *Emuy* in the province of *Fokien*, and there imbarck 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 customer took thirty pieces of them for their pass. On *Weãnesday* 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 gigantick 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 guitarr 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 plaister colour'd, and behind one of brass. On the sides of the court were two other *Pagods*, in each of which was an idol standing of gold colour, well made. In the third court was a small marble pyramid thirty feet 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, *Chinese* begins with the new moon that falls year. 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.

This

Prepara-  
tions a-  
gainst the  
new year.

This time the new year fell out in *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 prefix'd either for shutting up or opening the courts and seal, but they are appointed from court, with the direction of the astrologers; 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 windows 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.

Ceremo-  
nies of the  
new year.

*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 bruis'd, we have given an account elsewhere. After which they used 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 cow's 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 for a good new year's gift. At my

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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 aforefaid 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 nich. In my way home, I met a number of *Mandarines* in chairs, and on horseback, most richly clad, with the ensigns of their employments and degrees embroider'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 *Puchiensu*, or receiver ge-

neral of all the taxes of the province; the *Zian-chyun*, or general of the *Tartar* troops and two associates of his, call'd *Tutum*, 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 the 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 *Hia*, 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 she caus'd it to be adorn'd with

with gold, silver, precious stones, and rich moveables, brought in a number of boys and beautiful girls all naked, and in fine, bury'd herself 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 lewd 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 *Chim-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 *Taosu* (whose profession it is to impose on the world with chymical operations, promising endless gold and silver, a life almost everlasting, and in a moment to remove mountains) that one day he told him, 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 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 as they make all the figures move. Near the *Pagods*, besides the aforesaid figures

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Noble  
lanthorns.

GEMEL- 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 lanterns. 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 lantern, and all of them made after several manners, and that has not fireworks representing several creatures. I know no nation in the world that can

compare with the *Chinese*s 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.

## C H A P. 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.

W *Ednesday* 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 attended 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 umbrello.
- 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, carried by eight men.
- S. An umbrello of another sort.
- T. The first guards.

U. The second guards.

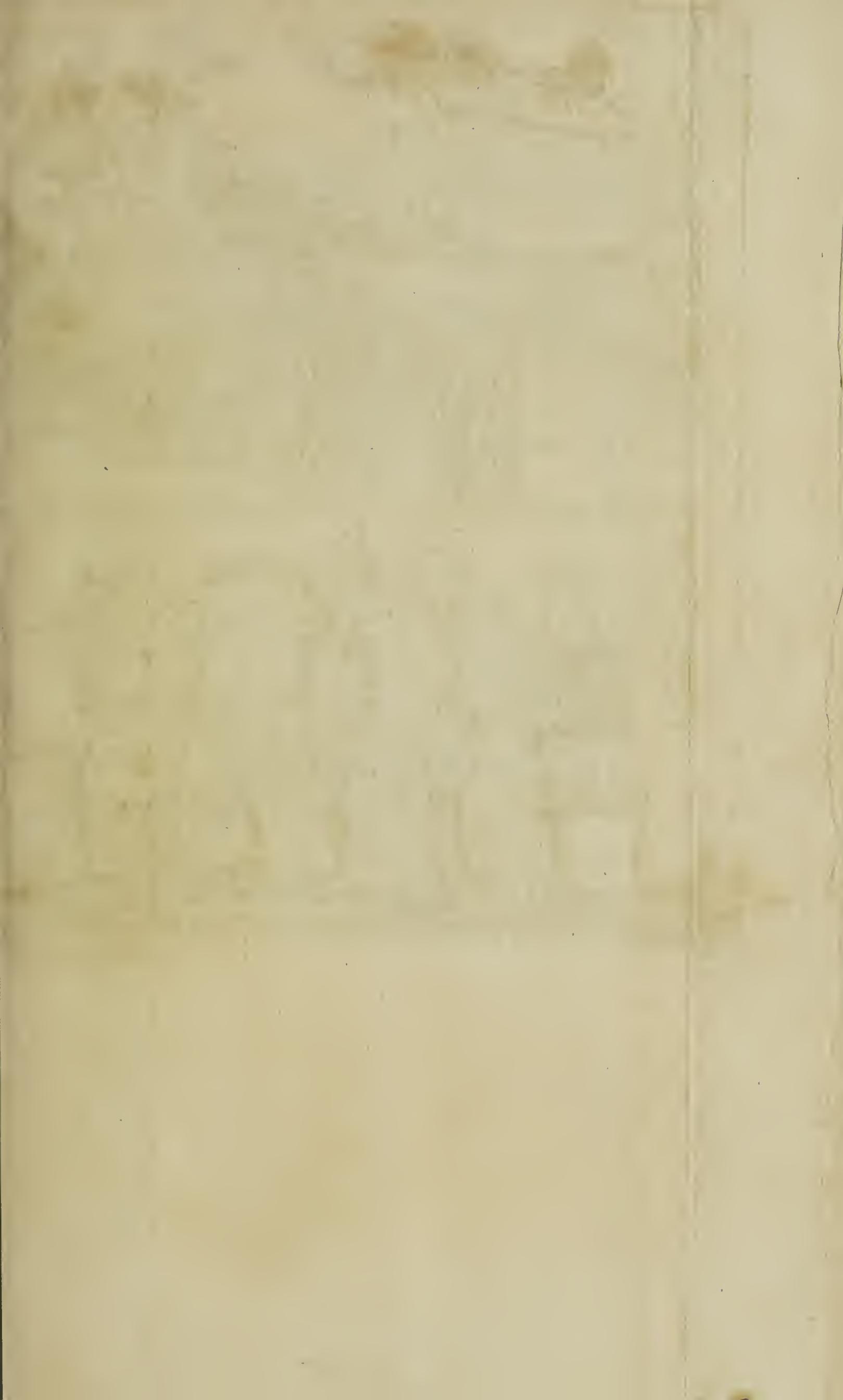
X. A troop of *Tartar* horse.

Y. *Chinese* women that come to see the cavalcade.

Z. *Tartar* women.

See Cut Number III. Page 390.

After dinner I went to the top of a hill to see the preparations made in a 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 convent of women *Bonzes*. The good women gave me tea, and carried me to see the *Pagod* and their monastery. The night following there was publick rejoicing throughout the city





Leanquam Tsuntio Vicar Generall of two  
 Provinces of China with a retinue of a thousand persons

city with lanthorns and other superstitious follies.

Attendance 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 fortunate 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 handsomly 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 umbrelloes with curtains about them, and many *Bonzes* with their copes, attending the dead body. The procession was clos'd by about an hundred *Chineses*, 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  
Tsunto's  
palace.

*Friday* the 24th, thinking it a proper day to see part of the *Tsunto'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 proportionable 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 *Zanchyun*, and other *Mandarines*, take their leaves; the *Tsunto*, who was an old man, but of a comely presence, and clad after the *Tertan* 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 *Zanchyun's*; for there went first sixteen banners; then as many tablets, on which were written the characters and privileges of his dignity; then umbrelloes; 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 *Tsunto* 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 carried 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.

Another  
wedding!

*Saturday* the 25th, as I pass'd before the court of the *Quancheuseu*, 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 gaoler must be brib'd to consent to the exchange. Father *Augustin*, superior of the house where 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 persuading some poor wretches they should receive so many strokes for a price agreed on, with the consent of the gaoler, 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 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.

## C H A P. V.

### *The author's short voyage to Macao.*

**B**EING 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 *Chiampan*, 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 *Aonson*. *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 profane action could not but produce an unhappy effect. One or two *Chiampan*s 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 centinel they had left on the highest part of the island. Afterwards both the *Chiampan*s 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 myself 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 *Shrove-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, scizar:

or

or needle. One they wrap about their waist, 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-cross, 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 clotstaff. The men

wear long breeches down to their ankles, so that they look like so many shaggy dogs. The condition of the poor *Portugueses* 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.

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### CHAP. 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 *Casa-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 *Nanganfu*, who carry'd me up a steep hill, without ever setting my foot to the ground. After noon we came to *Aonson*, 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 *Sciunte*. In this channel, tho' it be fresh water, an infinite quantity of oysters is taken; so large, that the flesh of some of them weigh a pound; but generally half a pound; but the taste is not so delicious as ours. The *Chineses* use the shells in building, as if they were stones; and the *Portugueses* work them so thin that they serve instead of glafs 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 umbrello's, 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 *Fuscian*. He was going thither to provide for the security of a third part of his province, where some munity or invasion of robbers was feared. 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-Sciroy* (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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## C H A P. 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 Xaverius*, from the elbow to the shoulder, the rest with the hand being at *Rome*, in the profess'd 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 *Portugueses*, 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 *Portugueses* took *Malaca* 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 *Malaca* 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*.

Hist. of  
Brazil,  
par. 2. lib.  
1. pag. 19.

## C H A P. 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, *Portugueses*, *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 the

the goods were lost. The *Moors* and *Gentiles* attempting to get to a neighbouring island, a storm rising sunk them and the boat they went in. They 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 *Portugueses*, *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 greafe. 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*s 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 *Portugueses* coming to *Macaó*, 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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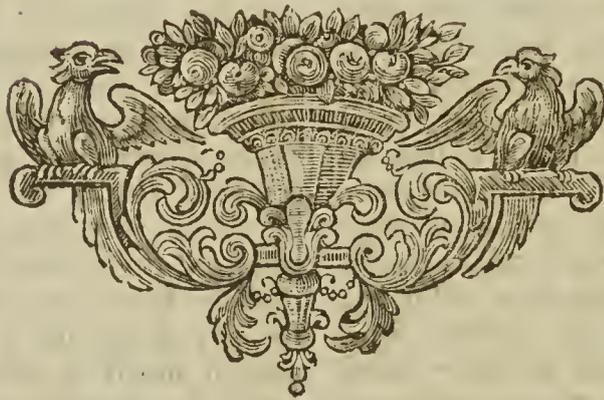
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of the ac-  
count of  
the Dutch  
embassy  
to Peking.

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LI.  
1697.

*Sunday* the first of *April* the last *Chiampan* or boat loaded with silks arrived. It was hired 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 *Tsunto's* servant, was absent, who had taken charge of that affair, which amounted to the value of twenty-eight thousand pieces of eight, and because a companion of his, who brought the remainder of the silks, would not deliver them without him; as also by reason the *Hupu*, or *Chinese* customer, for his private interest, delay'd signing the *Chiappa*, or licence to depart, which captain *Basarte* 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 customer's clerks came

to the captain's house, with whom the business was adjusted for fifty ducats, over and above all duties; and accordingly on *Wednesday* the 4th the head clerk came again, with a great many under-clerks and other small officers, to deliver the captain the *Chiappa*, or licence 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, receiving fifteen thousand that were behind. *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.

The End of the Fourth PART.



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

Containing the most remarkable Things he saw in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

B O O K I.

C H A P. I.

*The author's voyage from Macao to the Philippine Islands.*

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Introduc-  
tion.

**S**O great is the dignity and excellency of human 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' puffanimity, 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 myself afterwards to the most dangerous voyage that can possibly be imagin'd, in which for seven months I was toss'd by most boisterous and frightful storms.

joy their beds one night the more. *Sunday* 8th the *Xupu*, or customer's head clerk, came aboard with other officers to search the vessel, according 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 aboard, 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 *Salvaletta* 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

Extorsions  
of custom-  
house of-  
ficers.

It was now the 7th of *April* 1697, 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 en-

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The au-  
thor at  
sea.

A calm.

away to *Manila*, but the captain made them be found out, and put aboard the *Lorgia*, notwithstanding the *Moor*, rather than be turn'd away, said, *he would become a Christian.*

*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 sail'd 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 stood 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 that 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 *Illocos* in the island of *Manila*. *Saturday* 28th we coasted along with a fair wind, so that *Sunday* 29th we discover'd *Cape Bolinao*, 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 called *Las dos Ermanas*, 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 *Mariumanau*, 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 Puérquitos*, 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 *Maribeles* 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 ourselves 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.

Being

The author lands.

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. Terchotti* had sent him an account of it from *China*, perswading him I was an apostolick emissary, sent to inquire into the differences between the missionaries 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 *Portugueses*, 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

Reasons for losing or gaining a day at sea.

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 six 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 followed 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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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 *Manilla*, 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

*Basarte* 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 *Chineses* 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 chocholate. He was a gentleman as honourable as curious, and therefore kept me with him four hours, inquiring 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 sent my goods to an apartment in the college, whither the rector came to honour me, as he had done the night before.

## C H A P. II.

### *The description of the city Manila and its suburbs.*

Situation  
of Mani-  
la.

**M**ANILA 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 maganines; *Santo Domingo*, or *St. Dominick*; *Parian*; *Puerta Real*, or the royal gate; *St. Lucia*; and the *Postigo* 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 Fundacion* 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*, and so 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 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*, *Chineses*, *Malabars*, *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 kingdoms of *Percu* 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

Buildings.

Inhabi-  
tants.

black man and *Spanish* woman; *Mulato* of a black woman and white man; *Grifo* of a black woman and *Mulato*; *Sambo* of a *Mulata* woman and an *Indian*; and *Cabra* of an *Indian* woman and *Sambo*; and so other ridiculous names.

Habit.

The women of quality in *Manila* go in the *Spanish* habit; the common sort 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 *Chinina* from the waist upwards, for a waistcoat. The legs and feet stand in need of no hose and shoes 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 hammocks, being nets hanging by a long pole carry'd by two men, in which they are carry'd at their ease.

Suburbs.

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 Catholick majesty. This order is very little observ'd, for there always remain behind hid many of those that come every year in 40 or 50 *Chiampans* loaded with commodities; the profit being very great in *Manila*, which they could not find in *China*, by reason of the small price manufactures bear. The merchants or *Sangleys* of *Parian* are govern'd by an *alcade*, to whom they allow a good salary, as they do to the solicitor their protector, 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

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 they sharply withdraw a piece to make their number fall right. The *Spaniards* keep these *Chineses* 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.

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Over the bridge adjoining to *Parian*, are the suburbs or hamlets of *Tondo*, *Minondo*, *Santa Cruz*, *Dilao*, *S. Miguel*, *S. Juan-de-Bagumbaya*, *Santiago*, *Nuestra-Sennora-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 *Baki*, 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*.

Other suburbs or hamlets.

*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 forts, 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.

California whether an island.

*Thursday* 10th I went to the monastery of *S. Clare*. The church is little, but has three considerable altars. In the mona-

St. Clare.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1697.

Chappel  
royal.

Orphans  
hospital.

Augusti-  
nians.

The ca-  
stle.

tery 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. Next I saw the royal chappel seated before the castle, apart from the governor'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 choirs, 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 *oydores*, or judges of the king's court on the left, next to whom are the *alcades* of the city.

*Friday* 11th I went to the church of the *Misericordia*, 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.

*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.

*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 good bulwarks, one close to the river, the other not far from the sea, both 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 *Jesuits* is very large, and adorn'd with high and college. 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 lie 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 cupola. Six other altars well gilt answer the high altar. The front over the great gate is of carv'd stone very lightly. 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 Cathedral. 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, six on a side. The choir 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-Barnez* of the order of *S. Francis*.

*Tuesday* 15th I saw the church of the Barefoot fathers of the order of *S. Augustin*, Augusti- which tho' small is well set out, there being nians. 7 altars well gilt, and the roof handsome enough. *Wednesday* 16th I was in the church of *S. Dominick*, which if it were not Dominicans. 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 galleries are large enough. These religious men came to settle

tle at *Manila* in 1587. Adjoining to the church is the college of *St. Thomas*, whose revenue maintains 50 collegians, to study the sciences. Their habit is green, with carnation fatten gowns. There is another college call'd of *St. 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 *St. 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 chappel, as maintain'd in a college of a royal foundation. They are receiv'd gratis in both of them. His Catholick majesty out of his goodness allows oil for the lamps, and *Spanish* wine for the masses to all the churches here mentioned, 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.

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## 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 Spain*, whither I was desirous to go, I desir'd the governor 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 conveniencies allowed me aboard it. Accordingly I went on *Thursday* 17th, and having a little cabin assigned me, which was to be my prison for a voyage of seven months, I found much difficulty about my diet; for the captain, pilot, master and mate, being desired 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 removed 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 governor 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 retired 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-  
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Augusti-  
nians.

Francif-  
cans.

An hospi-  
tal.

St. Laza-  
rus.

Powder-  
house.

Cock-  
fighting.

have time to write to court, and draw up all processses and informations that are to 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 *Dotrina*, or parish of the fathers of the order of *St. Augustin*, otherwise call'd *Nuestra-Scnora-de-los-remedios*. All the front and inside of the church was adorned by a *Portuguese* father, with oyster 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. *Wednesday* the 23d I saw the *Franciscans*. Their church is small, but has six altars well gilt, and adorned suitable to the poverty they profess. These fathers came to *Manila* on the 2d of *August* 1577, and were distributed to take care of parishes. *Thursday* 24th I went 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. *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 set them down together so 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 chappel to say mass in, all well hung with damasks and other silks; and all the structure beautified with galleries plac'd for the judges to divert them.

The governor's palace adjoining to it, tho' a timber building for the most part, is 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 conveniency. 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 parish belonging to the *Recolets*. The church is small, and the convent no bigger than for eight friers. *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 adorned. There they administer the sacraments to the *Chinese* 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 *Chineses* 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 Armixo*, was deliver'd at *Manila*, after going two years with child, and the birth was declared 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.

## C H A P. IV.

The author's short journey to the lake of Bahi.

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LI.  
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**Bridges of canes.** HAVING 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 of 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 guide's 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

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 that there is no induring a hand in it; but 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 indur'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 aims 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 runs from the mountain, and whose water 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 long but narrow. Round about it, being 90 miles in compass, there are several monasteries of *Franciscans*, *Augustinians* and

Hot waters.

A cold river over minerals.

Bahi lake.

A deep lake.

Strange bats.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1697.

*Jesuits*, 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 indure 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 *Vignan*, 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.

## C H A P. V.

### *Of the government of Manila and the adjacent islands.*

Arch-  
shop and  
bishops.

**T**H<sup>O'</sup> the *Philippine* islands are very remote from *Europe*, and from his catholick 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 within 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 six months 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 *Sangley*, 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 conveniencies 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

Greatness  
of this go-  
vernment.

vinces, and appoints the governor of the *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 canonries 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 canonries and royal chaplains. The parishes belonging to 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 ordinary's 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 *Chineses*. There are in the city of *Manila* about 800 soldiers in all, but their pay is only two pieces of eight, and 50 pounds 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 re-

ceiv'd in eight years, punishing the purse instead of the person. The accusers have 60 days allow'd them, after a 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 reserves to itself 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 *Oydores*, 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 possess'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 terrify D. *Savini-ano-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*, descended 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

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there were 400000 pieces of eight in the treasury; for he by his great ability, wisdom, zeal and application had advanced the revenue 100000 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 galeons, 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 the 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*, *Camboia*, *Chiampa*, *Chochinchina*, *Tunkin* and *China*. 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-Legaspi* 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 *Biloas*. 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, as for instance the *Portugueses*, call them *Manilas*, a name known ever since *Ptolemy*, as some will have it.

Cabrer. lib. 7. c. 8. p. 422. cap. 11.

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*, *Illa de Negros*, or the island of blacks, *Sebu* and *Bobol*. 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 here

Five great islands.

Five lesser.

Ten lesser.

blon, Sibugan, Masbate, Ticao, Capul, and Catanduanes, without the straights.

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 *Boxeador* and *del Engano* at 24 miles distance, are the islands *de los Babuyanes*, the first inhabited by Christian *Indians*, who pay a tribute; the other by savages near the *Lequios* and island of *Formosa* on the west. Near *Paraguay*, 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 *Mindanao*, are *Taguima*, *Xolo*, with other small ones about them.

The islands of *Cuyo* lie between *Calamianes* and *Panay*, in the province of *Oton* and *Maras*. The island of *Fuegos* or *Fires*, is near that of *Negros* or *Blacks*. There is also *Bantayan* not far from *Zebu*; *Pangla* near *Bobol*; *Panamao*, *Maripipi*, *Camiguin*, *Siargao* and *Pannon*, 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 sorts 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; *Babuyanes* 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 *Maniolæ* in 142 degrees, it plainly appears, that considering the different accounts and rules of taking longitudes, the *Maniolæ* are not the same as the *Manilos*, 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

other 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 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 used to cause alterations both at sea and land; as, some say, happened to *Sicily*, which they conceit 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 rais'd 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* *Baguyos*, 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 *Tharsis*, 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 there liv'd and rul'd *Malay Moors*, come, as they said, from *Borneo* and the continent of *Malaca*; where a straight call'd *Malay*, has given

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Their inhabitants.

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and Taga-  
lians.

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 *Japoneses* 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 those *Japoneses* 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 wore their hair short, but the forehead shav'd as far as the crown of the head. Besides, the *Malayes* might come designedly to inhabit there, on account of trade, and for profit sake; or else being banish'd their country; but these are all uncertainties.

Bifayas  
and Pin-  
tados.

The natives call'd *Bifayas* and *Pintados*, of the provinces of *Camerines*; as also those of *Leyte*, *Samar*, *Panay* 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 Madalena*, 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 *Bifayas*.

It is likely the inhabitants of *Mindanao*, *Xolio*, *Bokol* 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 monkies, snakes and rats. They go naked, except their privities, which they cover with the barks of trees, by them call'd *Babaques*; and the women with a clout wove of the fibres of trees, call'd *Tapisse*. 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. Where night overtakes them, there they lye, 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* pro- Manghi-  
duced the tribe of *Manghian*, who are ans.  
*Blacks* dwelling in the isles of *Mindora* and *Mundos*, and who peopled the islands *de los Negros*, or of *Blacks*. Some of them have harsh frised hair, like the *African* and *Angola Blacks*, others long. The colour of some of them, is like *Ethiopians*; others more whitish, and some of these have been seen with a tail half a span long like those islanders *Ptolemy* speaks of. *Commen. lib. 7. Tav. 11. pag. 166.*

The *Sambali*, contrary to the others, tho' *Sambali*.  
wild, have long hair, like the other conquer'd *Indians*. The wives of these savages 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 sticks, 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 enemy's body, and so be unfit to be shot back.

For

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 *Chineses* who deal with them in the mountains, some deformed statues have been found in their huts. The other three beforemention'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*, *Macassar* 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 *Maribeles* 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 inland 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 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.

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 surmise 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 *Igolotes*, 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*.

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## C H A P. VII.

A particular account of the island of Luzon, vulgarly call'd Manila.

Manila  
describ'd.

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

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Cavite  
Port.

ancient name of *Manila*. This was done, 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 the month, being the feast of *St. Potentiana*, she was chosen patroness of the island.

In sight of *Manila*, and three leagues from it, is the port of *Cavite*, upon the same 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 *Maribeles*, a little island three leagues in compass, and half a league in length, but high. Here is a renown'd officer, with six soldiers 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 tobacco and rice, which he sells at good rates at *Manila*. This shews the *Blacks* are not 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 los 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 *Azufre*, or *Brimstone*, and the bay of *Batangas*, inhabited round about by *Indians*; near the point whereof there is a small island call'd *la Caza*, as abounding in game. Between this and the point before-mention'd is the port of *Makaban*, fatal for the death of the governor *Gomez Perez de las Marinas*, murder'd by the *Chinese* that row'd the *Capitana* galley, with several other persons.

Batangas  
bay.

Balayan  
province.

Beyond the bay of *Batangas*, are the villages of *Lobo* and *Galvan*, about which there are signs of mines. Here ends the province of *Balayan*, beginning at *Maribeles*, 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*, *Passacao*, *Ibalon*, metropolis of the government of *Catanduanes*; *Bulan*, where the ship call'd the *Incarnation* was cast away, returning from *New Spain* in 1649; *Sorsocon*, or *Bagatao*, where the king's great ships are built; and *Albai*, a large bay without the straight, where there is a high burning mountain, which is seen at a great distance by the ships coming from *New Spain*. In this Hot water mountain there are some springs of hot waters. 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 lukewarm 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*, *Binamuyo* and *Naga*, turn stone. The same is to be seen in other islands.

Beyond *Albay* eastward, is the cape of *Buysaygay*, and then the island runs northward, leaving the isles *Catanduanes* on the right hand. Coasting from them westward, they meet the river *Bicor*, 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 *Colilaya*, *Camarines* and *Ifalon*. Next to the province of *Camarines* is that of *Paracale*, where there are rich mines of gold and other metals, and of excellent loadstone. In it dwell about 7000 tributary *Indians*. The soil is good and plain, producing *Cacao* 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 *Lampou*, like that of *Mauban*.

From *Lampou* to cape *Eugano* the coast is inhabited by none but infidels and barbarians. Here begins the province and district of *Cagayan*, which is the largest in the islands, being 80 leagues in length, and 40 in breadth. The metropolis of it is the city call'd *New Segovia*, founded by the

Cagayan,  
or New  
Segovia.

the governor D. *Gowzalo Ronquillo*, and in it the cathedral church, to which D. *Micbael 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 *Pampagna*, and runs almost across all the province. There resides the chief alcaide 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 northernly 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 *Illocos*. 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 *Chineses*.

Illocos.

The province of *Illocos* is counted the richest and best peopled in the islands. Its coast runs 40 leagues. On the bank of the river *Bigan* the governor *Guido de Laccazaris*, successor to the *Adelantado*, 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 *Igolotti*, 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 three leagues a day, always among trees of wild nutmegs and pines, and at length came to the top of the

mountain, where were the principal habitations of the *Igolotti*. They live there, because of the rich gold mines in those parts, which they gather, and exchange with those of *Illocos* 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 eight or nine leagues, and plain like *Illocos*. The mountains and plains produce much brazil wood, call'd by the *Indians* *Sibucan*, and us'd in dyeing red and blue. The inland is full of wild *Indians*, who, like brute beasts, wander naked up and down the woods and mountains, only covering their privities with a leaf. They sow a little in their vallies, 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 *Illocos* there are 9000 that pay tribute, and 7000 in that of *Pangasinan*. On the coast of this province is the port of *Bolinao* and *Playabonita*, 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*, with such curl'd hair. These are always fighting among themselves, to defend their woods from their neighbours, and secure their game and pasture.

The province of *Babi* lying east of *Manila*, is no less important for building of ships. About the bay of this name, of which we have spoken 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 aromack, 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 other, and

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the *Spaniards* from morning till night never cease chewing of it. The fruit this plant bears is call'd *Taclove*. This province suffers very much by the continual labour the natives are put to, of felling 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  
island.

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 straight, 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 stor-

my; 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, cocoas, 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 *Catandangan*, and by the *Spaniards*, *Catanduanes*, whence the island took its name. The natives chief employment is carrying wood; making very light boats, and carrying them to sell at *Mindora*, *Calelaya*, *Balayan*, and other places. They first make one very large, without any deck, and not nail'd, but sewed together, with *Indian* 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 *Bisayes*; they are excellent sailors, and leaping into the water, in a moment turn a boat again that has been overfet. For fear of such accidents, they carry their provisions in the hollow of canes close stopp'd, and tied to the sides of the boats. Their habit 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*, *Batan* and *Tablas*.

WITHIN the afore-mention'd *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 straight is *Ticao*, an island eight leagues in compass, inhabited by *Indians*, for the most part savage. There is in it a

Capul.

Ticao.

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 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

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 carrats fine, that the mate of the galleon *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 thousands of 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, cast 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 cocoa 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 straight 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 cocoa 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 *Bisay*. Up the inland live the *Mangibani*, 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 *Bobaques*; 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 *Mangibani* have a tail a span long. In other respects they are brave, and pay tribute, but have not as yet embrac'd the christian faith, except some few of the territory of *Nauban*; and this because they live remote upon 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 Mindoro*, 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 cocoa trees produce, and serves to make cables for the king's ships built at the village of *Tal*.

*Luban* is a small low island, five leagues in compass. Near it is the little isle of *Ambil*, 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 galleon *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 *Babuyanes*, stretching out to the island *Formosa* and *Lequios*. In the nearest, which is conquer'd, there are about 500 natives that pay tribute. It produces wax, ebony, botatas, cocoas, plantans, and other things

for

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Mindoro.

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for the maintenance of the inhabitants, and of certain creatures call'd in the country language *Babuyes*, whence the name of *Babuyanes* was deriv'd.

Paragua.

Fourteen or fifteen leagues south-west of *Luban* are the *Calamines*, a province made up of seventeen islands all subdu'd, besides many others not yet reduc'd, among the first of which is a great one call'd *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 streight 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*, *Blacks*, 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 forts 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 *Moors* 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 expence.

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 *Potol*. As *Paragua* is the biggest next to *Manila* and *Mindanco*, so *Panay* is the best peopled, and most fruitful in all the *Archipelago*. Its shape is triangular, and its compass 100 leagues. The names

names of its principal capes are *Potol*, *Naso* and *Bulacabi*. The coast from *Bulacabi* to *Potol* lies east and west; from *Potol* to *Naso* north and south; from *Bulacabi* to *Iloilo*, another cape less than the three great ones, is also north and south; from *Iloilo* to cape *Naso* 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 *Otton*, who resides at *Iloilo*, and point of land running out into the sea on the south side, between the two rivers of *Tig-Bavan* and *Jaro*, and forms a straight 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 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 *Iloilo*. 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* is *Imaras*, opposite to *Iloilo*, 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 *Iloilo*.

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.

## C H A P. IX.

Of the islands of Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Sibuyan, Bantayan, Camotes, Negros, Fuegos and Panainao.

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 *Samar*, 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 straight of St. *Bernardine*) in thirteen degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, to that of *Guignan* in eleven

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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 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 straight, 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 *Borongon*, 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 *Jesus*, 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 it, 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 straight of *St. Bernardine*, and beyond *Baliquaton*, is the coast of *Samar*, on which are the villages of *Ibatan*, *Bangabon*, *Catbalogan*, (where the military commander and *Alcayde* reside) *Paranos* and *Calviga*. Then follows the straight 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 *Chineses* (who put a great value on it) *Sey-*

*zu*, without kernels. There also grows <sup>A rare fruit.</sup> 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 melocotoon in bigness and colour, and within has eight, ten or sixteen kernels, as big as a hazle-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-Igasur*. These also grow in the islands of *Bantajan*, *Ilabao*, *Igasur* 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 venemous 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 it 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 venemous 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 cholick and windy distempers, being carry'd about one, like *Tumbaga*, or drank in wine. Thirdly, It takes

takes away all the 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 *Basil*, found in the *Philippine Islands*, taken the same way. Ninthly, Against *Tertian* 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 oil 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.

Leyte.

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 straight of *St. Juanillo*, or *Little St. John*, 20 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 *Cabalian*, 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, entred through this straight 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 *Cabaylan* 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 straight of *Panamao* to that of *Panaban*, by reason of the fruitful 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 blue minerals. The earth produces great store of roots, on which the inhabitants feed as much as upon bread, grain, cocoa-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*, *Bohol*. *Leyte* is, next to *Babcl*, 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 cocoas, 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 surname, who commanded them before the coming of the *Spaniards*, which was *Baray Tupueng*, that is, Non-such. But their pride was humbled by the *Ternates*, *Portugueses* and *Spaniards* successively; and this was foretold them by a *Baylona*, or priestess of theirs called *Cariapa*, 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 the first island on which his catholic

Zebu.

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tholick majesty's royal standard was set up by *Ferdinand Magalbaens* in 1521, and 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 lie going from the east, will speak of it after *Manila*, *Samor*, *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 strait of *Tanay*; and the other from north to south to the island of *Matta* (four leagues in compass) and the city of the holy name of *Jesus*. This is seated on a point in the latitude of ten 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 Serramo*. 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 Agurto* 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 *Alcaydes* 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*, *Pampanghi* 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 defeated, on the day of the conquest, by a soldier that had been in *Magellan'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 oil, as they did their own idols; and that they had recourse to it in their distress. 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* plantan, 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, garlick, 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 *Madreuaque*, with the warp of cotton.

The neighbouring islands to *Zebu* are on *Bantayan*. the north-east, near cape *Burulaque*, *Bantayan*, a small isle encompassed by 4 or 5 less, in all which there are only 300 that pay tribute, and employ themselves in fishing and making cotton cloth and hose. Eastward, between *Zebu* and the coast of *Ogmuch* and *Leyte*, are other islands call'd *Camotes*; the chief of which is *Poros*, sub- *Camotes*. ject to *Zebu*. Its point of *Tanion* stretches out to the island of *Negros*, 100 leagues *Negros*. 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,

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 harden'd 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 *Siguior*, is near the last and *Zebu*. Tho' small, 'tis inhabited by people of valour, and dreaded by those of *Mindanao* and *Xolo*. GEMEL-LI. 1697. Fuegas.

The island *Panamao* lies west in 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*. Panamao.

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 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 to 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 islands, and the extravagant salaries of ministers, he lays out 250000 that come from *New Spain*.

## C H A P. X.

*The wealth, trade and climate of the Philippine Islands.*

Civet.

THESE islands are rich in pearls (especially *Calamianes*, *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.

Gold.

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 *Illeccas* 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*, *Pintadas*, *Catanduanes*, *Masbate*, and *Bobol*, 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 Situation. 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 *Portugueses* east about, conclude their voyage at the *Moluco* 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 *Molucos*; the pearls and rich carpets of *Persia*; the fine silks and stuffs of *Bengala*; the camphire of *Borneo*; the

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benjamin and ivory of *Camboia*; the musk of *Lequios*; the silks, muslins, callicoes and quilts, with the curious purcellane and other rarities of *China*. 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 advantagiously *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 produc'd 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*.

Air. 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 forc'd 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 and east-south-east, which winds are there call'd *Breezes*. Thus there are two seasons in those seas, by the *Portugueses* 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 cloih, 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 cocoa-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 observed whilst I was writing this fame.

*Manila* is also subject to great earth-  
quakes, especially when they happen in  
fair weather. Many attribute it to the  
subterraneous concavities, the waters, va-  
pours and exhalations; without consider-  
ing 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 exhalati-  
ons;

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 subterraneous 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 gun-powder; 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 level'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 seas, 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 sort. 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.

*The End of the First BOOK.*

*A Voyage*

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

Containing the most remarkable Things he saw in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

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Of the language, characters and customs of the Indians of the Philippine Islands.

Writing.

**T**HE ancient inhabitants of these islands receiv'd their language and characters from the *Malays* of the continent of *Malaca*, 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 *Chineses* and *Japoneses*, 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*, *Pangasinanian*, and that of *Illocas*. 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 most generally understood. The language of the *Negrillos*, *Zambales* and the other savage nations is not understood.

As for their customs they salute one another courteously; which was formerly done by taking off their heads a cloth, call'd *Potang*, and in the *Tagalian* language *Manputon*, 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 *Tave*, or obeifance, taking off the aforefaid cloth, bowing their bodies, and stretching out their hands clapp'd together towards him.

Customs.

Making obeifance.

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 *Chineses* still observe. Other times they gave it the name of the first thing that occur'd, as *Daan*, 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 married. Then the first son or daughter gave the name to its parents, as *Amani-Malivag*, *Imanani-Malacas*, that is, the father of *Malivag*, 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 In-  
dians.

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 *Illocos* 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 breadding, 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 oil mixed with musk and other scents. The womens 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 handsomer 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 *Manputon* above described, and the greatest beaus among them let the end of it hang down on their back. They also wear a short garment call'd *Chinina*; to which the women add a long piece of

Habit.

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 *Basay* 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 *Illocos* paint themselves, but not so much as those of *Bisay*.

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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 distil 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 *Chilang* 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 thro' a trunk or hollow cane from the bottom of the vessel.

Liquors.

Their musick and dancing are after the *Chinese* fashion, that is, for singing one goes through and the other repeats the

ing.

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stanza, to the sound of a metal drum. 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 delivered use it, and this in 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 *Spaniards* *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 rubb'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*, *Bobol*, *Panay*, *Outon* and *Xolo*, makes the tongues and privy parts both of men and women sink in so violently, that it indangers 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 *Tagalians*, *Barbala-may-capal*; that is, the god-maker. They ador'd birds and beasts like the *Egyptians*; and the sun and moon like the *Assyrians*. 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 *Nuno*, 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 persuaded 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, tho' the *Indians* tell them they are then actually present. The *Tagalian* 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 *Mingan*, 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 lame. 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 *Tagalians*, *Anito*. One of these was believed to keep in the mountains and fields, to assist travellers;

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 belonging to the house, to take care of the children. Among these *Anitos* were placed their grandfathers and great grandfathers; 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 *Liche* or *Laravan*. They also accounted among their Gods, all those that dy'd by the sword, or were kill'd by lightning, or eaten by crocodiles, believing their souls ascended to heaven, by way of an arch they call'd *Balangao*. For this reason the eldest among them chuse to be buried in some remarkable place on the mountains, and particularly 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.

Government.

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 assisting to the others; yet they might not upon any account mix with them, that is, one go into the tribe of another (especially 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 acquir'd by industry and force; that is, by tillage, working in wood, gold or other matter, and such like trades, so as to excel in them; and then such a one was call'd *Dato*, or chief, and among the *Tagalians*, *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 *Tegalian* language *Alipin*, signifying as much as slaves. Those were reputed the common sort, who got

their living by digging, fishing and hunting. 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 inferior to those of the *Low Countries*, and admirable silk imbroideries. It is their laziness that makes them appear less ingenious; and they are so intirely 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, sometimes an hundred. The cause why so many 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 restore it double. Now if the debtor could not perform at the time agreed on, he became 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 increas'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, either because they had happen'd to break the morning silence, or thrown some dirt on them; or for passing by some place where they were bathing; or some such slight occasion; 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 entertain'd any body, sow'd, reap'd, or went any where by water. These were call'd *Namama Bay*; by the *Tagallians*, *Sanguiguilir*; and by the *Bisayans*, *Halan*. Sometimes the same man happen'd to be slave

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to several persons; or else half free and half a slave. This was when he came of a 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.

## C H A P. II.

*The government, weapons, marriages, sacrifices, auguries and funerals of the Indians of the Philippine Islands.*

Punish-  
ment of  
murde-  
rers.

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 then they examin'd the witnesses. If the proofs were equal, what they contended for was divided; if not, judgment was given for 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, whercof a good part he kept to himself; then he paid 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 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, paid 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 paid, 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 second, third, &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 expences

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 *Patignog*; 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 *Gbinapuang*; 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 priestess, 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 decree. There was no difficulty in being divorc'd; 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 inherited as legitimate; but those by the first wife 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.

Formerly there were men that made it their trade to deflower 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 were 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*, *Babaylan*. The manner of sacrificing was thus. They all assembled in a hut or cottage made of wattles for this purpose, and having danced a while 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 flea'd 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 recover'd her senses (as is writ of *Sibils*) she prophesy'd 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 priestess.

They were so superstitious, that if they 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 any body 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

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by sea, were to take nothing that belonged 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.

Widow-  
ers.

F. *Xuaquin Assin* 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 bachelors would be accounted unlucky. The wives do the same when their husbands die.

Child-  
bearing.

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 wrapp'd up in more or less silks, according to its quality. Formerly they anointed and imbalmed the bodies of persons of note, with aromattick 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 lettices round it, and by it a chest with the dead person's best apparel, and his arms if a man, or her necessaries for work if a woman. At certain times, they pla-

Dead  
bodies.

Funerals.

ced 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 fires in the house for many days, that the dead man might not come to take those that were left alive. When the body was bury'd, the 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 *Mourning*. *Bisayans* 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.

### C H A P. III.

#### *Of the beasts, birds and fishes of the Philippine Islands.*

Wild\_cat-  
tle.

THERE is so great a number of wild 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 multiply'd considerably; but not the sheep, by reason of the excessive moisture of the earth.

There are also in the mountains innu-

merable 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 Peco* 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 armpit, to change its sleeping place. These monkeys seem to be sharper in some respects

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 *Taclovo*, 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 into 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.

Mago. 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 snake call'd *Assagua* eats nothing but hens. That they call *Olopong*, is venomous. The biggest are call'd *Bobes*, which sometimes are 20 or 30 spans long.

Iguanas. 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. The *Tavon*. 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 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 little white found in them, but all yolk, yet not so well tasted as a hen's. The strangeness of them is, that contrary to all others, when the chickens are hatch'd, the yolk appears 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 seed makes the yolk fruitful, and that in this case the yolk serves for the same use as *Placenta Uterina* does to an infant. The chickens roasted before they are fledg'd, prove as good as the best pigeons. The *Spaniards* very often eat the chicken and 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 language 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, April* and *May*, like the *Halcions* the antients 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 chickens, which are equally valuable and nourishing.

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 upon it.

The *Colin* is a fowl as big as a black-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 several colours, as gray, green, red and white on the breast, with the same spot like a wound

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a wound on the breast; and the beak and feet red. These and other sorts of birds I 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 grey 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 semicircle, which he told me were brought out of *Persia*.

**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 spoken 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 laid 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 *Volanos*, and several sorts of parrots, and white *Cacatuas*, which have a tuft of feathers on their heads.

**Camboxas.** 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 leggs, 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 feathers 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 paradise. 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. *Combes* in his history of the island of *Mindanao*, says there are such there.

We have spoke before of the great bats 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- Fish. thing singular. One of these is the *Du-Woman-fish.* *yon*, by the *Spaniards* call *Pece-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, Sword-fish. only that there are some there 20 spans or 15 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 small boats will appear, if we observe that their swords have been found broken upon great ones.

As for the crocodiles, providence has sig- Croco- naliz'd it self after several manners in them. diles. 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

numbers of men and beasts. Some of them being open'd, there have been found in their bellies mens 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 musk sometimes found under their jaws. *Eusebius* in his history, lib. 22. cap. 5. mentions the same thing, and experience has often verified it.

**Alligators.** There is another species of crocodiles found in these lakes, call'd by the *Indians* *Bubaya*, by the *Portugueses* *Caymanes*, and are 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 *Alli-*

*gators*, 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 stuck to, that the meat in it gave them all a belly-full.* These shells are every where valued, but especially by the *Chineses*, 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 *Japoneses* 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.

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Whales  
and sea-  
horses.

Tortoises.

CHAP. IV.

Of the trees and fruit of the Philippine islands.

**Santor.** 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*. *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.

Here are also *Bilimbines*, which the *Portugueses* call *Carambolas* (as I observed 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 for sauce raw, and prepar'd with vinegar and sugar.

The *Macupa*, call'd by the *Portugueses* *Giambo*, is bigger than that which grows at *Goa*. There are also *Banchilins*, which

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1697.** the *Portugueses* call *Bilimbines*; *Giaccas*, call'd by the *Spaniards* *Nancas*, *Tanpayes*, by the *Portugueses* 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 *Portugueses* call'd *Mangas-de-Papagalho*, 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 longish like an olive. The *Portugueses* give it the name of *Giambulon*.

**Dottoyan.** 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.

**Panunguan.** 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.

**Carmon.** 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.

**Duriones.** 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 *Laxzones* or *Boasbas*, which for taste and other qualities may be call'd grapes.

**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 *Chineses* make of it is to extract the oil, which serves instead of tallow for ships.

Their oranges are of several sorts, all **Oranges.** differing from, and bigger than those of *Europe*. There are great and small lemons, but for the most part sweet.

The *Jamboas* are twice as big as a man's **Jamboas.** 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 sour. The tree is also like the lemon-tree in bigness and leaves.

Of the fruits of *New Spain* there are brought hither *Ates*, *Anonas*, *Zapotes-prietas*, *Chicos Zapotes*, *Aguacates*, *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 cocoa-tree, or the sicer 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 muscadine grapes, they never come to maturity, no more than the figs and pomegranates in the monastery of the *Jesuits* in the same place.

All those hitherto mention'd, serve only **Palm trees** 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 *Yoro*, the *Pintadas Lardan*, 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: 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 bruis'd and

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 Caraffas* 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 *Calinga*, 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*, made of the cocoa-tree, which besides are of great use to the islands because of the oil drawn from them, which when fresh is good to eat. From the middle of the same cocoa comes a water as sweet as sugar, and a sort of sugar made of the same water condensed. 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*, from which the islands of *Burias* towards the straight of *S. Bernadine* took their name. The tree is thicker than the cocoa; 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 cocoa-tree. Of this liquor, besides vinegar, they make over the fire a sort of honey, and black sugar, which they call *Pacassas*, and sell in little boxes, as a thing much valued 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*.

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; straight and knotty all the way. <sup>GFMEL-  
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1697.</sup> The fruit is like a large acorn, highly valued, because of it, the leaves of *Bette* 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 used, 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.

The last sort of profitable palm-trees <sup>Yonota.</sup> (to say nothing of the rest tho' they bear fruit) is the *Yonota*. It furnishes the islanders with wool, call'd *Baroz*, to make quilts and pillows; and with black hemp, call'd *Jonor*, or *Gamuto*, 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.

The *Tamarines* or *Sampalos* are a wild <sup>Tama-  
rines.</sup> 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.

The islands produce abundance of *Cassia*. <sup>Cassia.</sup> 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 fat the swine with it, especially in the island of *Mindoro*.

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

Cocoa-  
tree.

Burias.

Bonga.

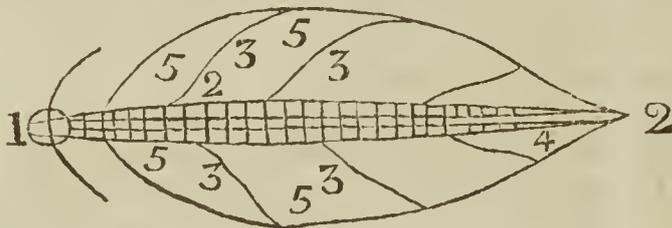
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not made well acquainted with the ways, cannot by any means go far among them, as I saw with my own eyes going a hunting. Among the best of them is the black ebony, the red *Balayong*, the *Asana* or *Naga* of which they make dishes to drink out of, for the water grown blewish 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 like cinnamon; and many more all very useful, as well for dying, as for their smell, and abundance 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 *Portugueses* call it *Ferro*, that is, iron.

Leaves  
turn'd into  
living  
creatures.

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 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 *Recolet*, 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 *Camilio*, 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 descant 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.



1. The head.
2. The body.
3. The feet.
4. The tail.
5. The wings.

Cacao.

The cacao 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*.

Bees, honey and wax.

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 not here pass by the tree, call'd *Aimit*. *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

twining-  
ane.

I will here conclude this chapter with the *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 streight, and not apt to be worm-eaten, serves 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.

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C H A P. V.

Of the plants and flowers in the Philippine Islands.

Plantans.

THOSE the *Portugueses* 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 so 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 called *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 them, instead of napkins and plates, and of the fruit for vinegar. The choicest and most nourishing, are the *Tundiques*, a span and half long, and as thick as a man's arm, which they eat roasted, with wine and cinnamon, 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 *Indians* 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 believe *Avicenne*. The *Arabs* call them *Musa*, and the *Malabars* *Palan*.

and the plant like ivy. The *Xicamas* taste like the *Ubis* and *Batatas*, are eaten preserved or raw, with pepper and vinegar, like cardoons; for when fresh, they are juicy and wholesome. The wild *Carrots* taste like a pear, and the plant is like ivy. The wild *Taylan* has great leaves, and tastes like the *Batatas*. There is such a vast plenty of all these roots throughout the island, that many thousands of savage men live on them, as has been said elsewhere.

The *Pinnas*, by the *Portugueses* 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, colour and taste; and they are preserv'd to eat after dinner. At that time they help digestion; but eaten fasting, tho' they create 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, without 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 monasteries, and belonging to the *Spaniards*.

The first place is due to the flower of *Zampaga*. It is like the *Portuguese* *Mogorin*, that is, like a little white rose, with the three rows of leaves, much sweeter than the jasmín of *Europe*. There is another call'd *Solasos* of a sweet scent, and two sorts of it; besides a wild one call'd *Locoloco*, which smells like cloves. The *Balanay*, otherwise 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 *Bettle*. The *Daso* has an aromatic

Batatas.

Camotes.

Glabis.

Ubis.

There are also abundance of sugar canes, ginger, indigo and tabacco. The *Batatas*, very nourishing to the *Indians*, and much valu'd by the *Spaniards*, are of several kinds; as are the *Camotes*, which look like great radishes, and have a pleasant taste and smell. The *Glabis* are like great pine-apple nuts, and boil'd serve the *Indians* instead of bread, and the *Spaniards* instead of turnips in the pot, and the leaves make soupe. The *Ubis* is as big as a pompion,

GEMEL- tick root, smelling like ginger, and the fields  
LI. are full of it; as also of the other kind of  
1697. it, which is hotter and stronger, call'd  
*Langcovas*. The *Cabling* is sweet green,  
but more when dry. The *Talo* is also an  
odoriferous herb, and more fragrant than  
the *Calaton-don*; of which they make sweet  
water. The *Sarasa* or *Oja de S. Juan* is  
slightly, and has long leaves, with white  
and green stripes.

Medicinal  
herbs.

As for medicinal herbs, no island in the  
world abounds in them so much as the *Pbi-  
lippines*, for besides sage, *St. Mary's-wort*,  
baum, house-lick, and others known in  
*Europe*, they have many peculiar. The  
herb call'd *del Pollo*, is like porcelane, and  
grows every where. They have given it  
this name, because in a very short time it  
cures any wounds their game-cocks receive.  
*Pansipan* 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 sort  
they use after the same manner as the *Turks*  
do opium, to put them besides themselves,  
before 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  
*Manila*, 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.

Venomous  
creatures  
and vege-  
tables.

The islands being hot and moist, and not  
well cultivated, abundance of venomous  
creatures breed in all parts; and the ground  
produces herbs, flowers and roots of the  
same vile quality; insomuch that they not  
only kill those that touch or taste them, but  
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 ex-  
cellent antidotes, among which the prefe-  
rence must be given to the *Bezoar* stone,  
found in the belly of deer and goats. The

Bezoar.

*Malungal* powder'd, and given in luke-  
warm water, and in oyl of cocoa, is a  
most powerful remedy against malignant  
and pestilential fevers. The leaves of the  
*Alipayon*, which are like those of the *Plan-  
tan*, purge or cleanse any sore wonderfully,  
making the flesh grow up, without any o-  
ther 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  
cocoa.

An herb by the *Spaniards* call'd *de Cule-  
bras*, or of snakes, and by the *Tagalians*  
*Tarogtong*, is excellent for joining together,  
and knitting of parts that have been sever'd,  
so that the snakes sometimes cut in two,  
heal themselves with it. The like virtue  
is in a sort of wood call'd *Docton*. The  
*Amuyon* bears a fruit like a nut, of a biting  
taste like pepper, and good for any dis-  
tempers in the belly, proceeding from cold.  
The *Pandacaque* bruised and apply'd hot,  
helps women in labour. The tree *Caman-  
dag* is so venomous, that the *Pilchards* eat-  
ing the leaves that fall into the sea, die and  
kill those that eat of them. The liquor  
that 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, ex-  
cept only a small shrub, which is an anti-  
dote 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 *In-  
dians* are never without it. The earth of  
*St. Paul* has also been found to be a power-  
ful antidote.

The *Maca Bubay*, which signifies giver  
of life, is a sort of ivy, which grows a-  
bout 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 bruised to any wound,  
heals it in 24 hours, better than any bal-  
sam. 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 noble virtues, of  
which brother *George Carrol*, a *German*,  
and apothecary to the college of the *Je-  
suits* at *Manila*, has given an exact descrip-  
tion, in two volumes in *Folio*, with the  
draughts

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.

Sensitive  
plant.

Among the sensitive plants, which are a medium between plants and animals, as *Pliny* observes, *lib. 9. cap. 45.* besides the

*Spugna* 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 *Ibabao*, 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, whensoever 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*.

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## C H A P. VI.

## Of the islands of Mindanao and Xolo.

Mindanao  
describ'd.

**M**INDANAO 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 *Manila* in greatness, its shape almost triangular, ending in the three famous promontories of *Samboangan*, cape *St. Augustin*, and cape *Suliago*. Between *Suliago* and cape *St. Augustin*, which lie north and south, is the province of the warlike *Caragas*. Between *Suliago*, which points to the north-east, and *Samboangan*, is the province of *Illigan*, the jurisdiction of *Dapitan*, and 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 *Suliago*. Its compass is about 300 leagues, but has so many long points running out into the sea, and deep bays, that a man may go a-cross 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 *Samboangan*; *Balisan*, divided by a straight of four leagues; *Sanguil*, the peninsula of *Santrangan*, 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 *Caragas*. That part which is subject to the government of *Samboangan* is most temperate, the winds pleasant, storms rare, and rain scarce. The provinces 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 navigable 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 court 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 *Dapitan*, and with its waters divides the territory of *Mindanao* from that of *Samboangan*. There are also two lakes, the 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 *Tanson*, that spread themselves in many branches over the water. The other, being eight leagues in compass, is in the opposite side of the island, and known by the name of *Malanao*. All the country, except near the sea, is mountainous, yet abounds in rice, and produces very nourishing 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 *Caragas*, near the river *Butuan*.

*Mindanao* produces all the sorts of fruit the other islands do, and the *Durion*, before 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 nature 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

Its pro-  
duct.  
Duriones.

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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.

Cinna-  
mon.

The cinnamon is a tree peculiar to *Mindanao*, 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 mountains; and in one village of the province of *Cagayan*.

Gold.

The inhabitants of *Mindanao* find good gold digging deep into the ground, as also in the rivers making trenches, before the flood. There is sulphur enough in the 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.

Pearls.  
Birds and  
beasts.

In the sea of this island and that of *Xolo* there are large pearls taken. It has all the birds of the other islands, and among the 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.

Xolo  
island.

Thirty leagues south-west of *Mindanao*, is the famous island of *Xolo*, govern'd by a king of its own. All the ships of *Borneo* 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 fruitful in rice. This only island of all the *Philippines* breeds elephants; and by reason the islanders do not tame them, as they do in *Siam* and *Camboya*, they are mightily 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 it produces the *Durion*, abundance of pepper, which they gather green, and a peculiar sort of fruit call'd of paradise, and by the *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 inclos'd 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

Elephants.

Fruit.

describ'd above; but the natives make special use of one call'd *Ubosbamban* 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 *Vendarvales*, 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 *Gadiamina*, 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 *Plantans*, sugar-canes, *Gaves* and *Lawzones*. 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 *Dulian*, as the islanders call it, is here found in great plenty. The *Maron* in the island of *Leyte*, call'd *Tugup*, has a downy rind; when ripe it is as big as a melon, and within contains small kernels, like the *Atas* 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 others peculiar to it; good tortoises of the second sort, that is, such as are valuable for their shell, and two sorts of jet.

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 take no pains for sowing, but live the best they can upon fishing, wandring about the sea of *Mindanao*, *Xolo* and *Basilan*. Yet 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 shores 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 islands are heathens; but from *Sanxil* 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, 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 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 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 scurvy mat. Yet they wear rich bracelets.

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.

As to their manners, they are more barbarous than the other *Mahometans*; 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. 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; *O'ancayas*, rich man; and lords of vassals. In *Mindanao* the princes of the blood royal are call'd *Caciles*.

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

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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.

Funerals.

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 pavilion, 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 *Lutaos*. To put themselves in mind of death, they make their coffin whilst living, and always keep it in sight in their houses. A custom observed by the *Chineses*, and which ought to be imitated by Christians.

Marriages.

The women are chaste and modest, a virtue much forwarded 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 musick. 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.

Boats.

The boats of these islanders are sew'd together with canes split, and on the sides

have fences made of cane, that they may not overfet.

Their weapon in the town is a dagger Weapons. 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 *Bagacayes*: These are small canes, about the thickness of a finger, hardened and made sharp, which darted strike thro' a board.

The *Mahometans*, whose original is from *Borneo*, brought thence the use of the trunk, through which they shoot little poison'd arrows, with the help of a little paper; which, if they make but a slight wound, are mortal; unless the antidote be presently apply'd, and particularly human dung, found by experience to be a sure preservative.

The people of *Xelo*, 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*, govern'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 sort *Mahometans*, and have no communication with the others. This lake is triangular, seated in 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.

## C H A P. VII.

### Of the Molucco islands, and others in that Archipelago.

THE *Molucco* islands lying within the line of the *Spanish* conquests, and having 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 the *Archipelago*. They are seated under the line, 500 leagues east of *Malaca*, and as much south-west of *Manila*. There are five in number, and lie in such order for 25 leagues north and south,

along the country call'd *Betochina del Moro*; that they are always in sight one of the other. The first and chief of them is on the north side, and call'd *Terranate*, or *Ternate*, six leagues and a half in compass. Ternate. Some place it in half a degree of north latitude, 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 Burning mountain. 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

a vast deal of mischief, for three days without 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 hammering in a forge, and now and then like firing of guns.

The country is all mountainous, and almost 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 fruitful, 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 nourishing.

The south-west wind blows here without its natural moistness; but on the contrary passing over the burning mountain of *Macbica*, 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 incurable 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 greatest pride of both sexes is in decking their hair, which they anoint with oil of *Ajonjoli*, a certain herb growing in the *Indies* and in *Spain*, which has a very small insipid seed, whereof they make comfits in *Spain*, and put to other uses. The men wear it down to their shoulders; the women 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 among them, being bare-footed and bare-legg'd. The women wrap a piece of cotton cloth about their waist hanging down to their knees; over which they have another of better value, which serves for an upper 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 mantle. They live miserably, like all the other *Mahometans*, upon bread of *Sagu*, or else *Maiz*, that is, *Indian* wheat, and *Camotes*; and yet they live to a 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 *Min-GEMEL-danao*. 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 itself 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* had 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.

Two leagues from *Ternate* is the island *Tidore*. of *Tidore*, which sailors 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 it has a burning mountain steeper than that of *Ternate*, from the sides 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

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- them they call *Atiloche*, that is, moist wood, because the body, branches and leaves are always dropping water, of a greenish colour, good to drink. The second is *Apiloga*, 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.
- Mutiél.** *Mutiél* or *Timor*, the third of the five islands of *Ternate* lies directly under the line, and is a league from *Pulicabello*. The land is high and desert being unhealthy, but produces clove.
- Machien.** The fourth island is call'd *Machien*, and 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.** *Bachian*, sixteen leagues distant from *Machien*, 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, fruit of all sorts, tobacco, and *Sagu* for common food. It is govern'd by a king of its own, who pays tribute, and makes the *Suba*, that is, a sort of homage to the king of *Ternate*.
- Meao.** Besides these, and three other islands properly comprehended under the name of *Moluccos*, 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.
- Tafures.** *Tafures* is six leagues south of *Meao*, and 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.
- 'Tagolanda.** Sixteen leagues to the northward is *Tagolanda*, a large island, being six 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 fire-arms and other weapons. Their language differs from *Malay*.
- Siao.** 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 issues 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 Catholick 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 *Colonga*, 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 called *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 barks.
- 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 saltpetre from the village of *Mogonda*, and with iron from the 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 *Sibolos*, buffaloes 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

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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 becoming a Christian, was a long time maintain'd out of the king's revenue at *Manila*; because she 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 *Amboyna* 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 *Amboyna*. 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-shoe, 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 fragrance, as if nature had employ'd all her art to make them wonderful sweet. These trees by degrees quit the green, so natural to all vegetables, and put on a blue, mix'd with black, red and gold colour like the rainbow; though not so regularly distribu-

ted. 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 given 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 *Portugueses*, the people of *Malaca* and *Java* traded to them.

The *Portugueses* and *Dutch* count the island of *Amboyna* eight leagues north of *Banda*, one of the chiefest. It lies in four degrees of south latitude, and is 17 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 valued for soldiers or sailors. Besides fire-arms, they use scymitars and javelins, which they dart very dexterously. 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 be-

Land of  
Papuas.

Banda  
islands.

Banda.

GEMEL- tween those four little teeth, which when  
 LI. dry remain like a star, and compose the  
 1697. 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 vari-  
 ety is a very pleasant sight to strangers.  
 They are gather'd in *February* and *Septem-  
 ber*, and do not grow every year, but eve-  
 ry 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, be-

tween 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 va-  
 lued in *Java*. These falling to the ground  
 produce other trees, without any help of  
 art; and they after eight years bear, and  
 last sometimes to an hundred. It is com-  
 monly said, that only the *Molucco* islands  
 produce clove, because of the infinite quan-  
 tity that grows there, and so good that it  
 exceeds the clove of the other islands, but  
 that of *Amboyna* is larger, and little infe-  
 rior to it. The virtue of clove is wonder-  
 ful 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.

## C H A P. VIII.

*How the Philippine Islands were discover'd.*

Magellan. PROVIDENCE made the choice,  
 for the discovery of these islands, of  
*Ferdinand Magellaens*, a *Portuguese*, know-  
 ing in the affairs of this *Archipelago*, by  
 the relation he had from his friend *Francis  
 Serrano*, who was the first discoverer of  
 them round by the east. He was at *Ma-  
 laca* in the year 1511, when *Alfonso de Al-  
 buquerque* completed the conquest of it;  
 after which, thinking he could better  
 make his fortune in *Europe*, he return'd  
 to *Portugal*.

Moluccos discover'd. In *December* that same year, *Francis  
 Serrano*, and *Anthony d'Abreu* sail'd from  
*Malaca* towards these islands, and the se-  
 cond 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 *Por-  
 tugal* and his friend *Magellan* an account  
 of the nature and importance of those  
 islands.

Magellan in Spain. *Magellan*, as we call him in *English*, hear-  
 ing 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 under-  
 taking, 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 ac-  
 count written by *Serrano*, and his map,  
 furnish'd *Magellan* with five vessels well e-  
 quipp'd, for him to try to find a way  
 westward.

He sail'd on the 10th of *August* 1519 Discovers  
 from the port of *St. Lucar*, well furnish'd the  
 with all necessaries for so long a voyage, straight.  
 as the finding a passage from the north in-  
 to the *Scuth-Sea*. Having run along the  
 coast of *Brazil*, and cut the line in 50  
 degrees of south latitude, he entred the ri-  
 ver of *St. Julian*, and in 52 and some mi-  
 nutes found the straight of his own name.  
 He enter'd upon 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 *Islas de los* And Phi-  
*Ladrones*, or the *Islands of Thieves*; and a lippine  
 few days after, the island of *Ibabao*, of the islands.  
 islands here describ'd. The first he met  
 with was *Humunum*, a little desert island,  
 near cape *Guiguan*, now call'd *La Encan-  
 tada*; where the first *Indians* that went to  
 meet him were those of *Siloban*, now un-  
 der the government of *Guiguan*. *Magel-  
 lan* call'd this island *de Buenas Senales*, or  
*Of Good Tokens*, and all the *Archipelago* of  
*St. Lazarus*, because he landed on *Satur-  
 day* before *Passion-Sunday*, in *Spain* call'd  
*Sunday* of *St. 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  
*Dimassava*, kinsman to the king of *Butuan*  
 and to him of *Cebu*, was assisting to *Ma-  
 gellan*, for he brought the ships into that  
 port

port on the 7th of *April*. Before mass was said on *Whitsunday*, that lord and the king of *Cebu* were baptized, 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 1st 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 *Duarte 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 Carvallo* put out of the port of *Cebu* with his ships and men steering east-south-east. Being come to the point of *Bobol* and *Panglao*, he lay by; and then discovering the island *de los Negros*, directed his course to *Quipit* on the coast of *Mindanao*. Thence he sail'd to *Borneo*, where he took *Molucco* pilots, and returning by way of *Cagayanes*, *Xolo*, *Taguima*, *Mindanao*, *Sarragan* and *Sanguil*, 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 itself up to the *Portugueses* at *Ternate*. The ship *Victory* took the same way home the *Portugueses* us'd, and having seen *Amboyna* and the isles of *Banda*, and stay'd some time at *Solor* and *Timor*, sail'd along the outside of *Sumatra*, keeping off from the coast of *India*, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Portugueses*, till it turn'd the cape of *Good Hope*, and arrived at the port of *St. Lucar* in *Spain* on the 7th of *September* 1522, three years and some days after it set out, with only 18 men out 59 that sail'd from the *Moluccos*, *Sebastian del 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 Lofre de Loaysa*, of the order of *St. John of Malta*, was sent thither with a squadron of seven ships, and *Sebastian del Cano* for his successor. These sailing from *Corunna*, came to an anchor in the new

straight of *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 *Loaysa* died, 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 get 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 threaten'd by the *Portugueses* 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 *Portugueses* 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 11 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 *Loaysa's* ships, which was cast away at *Sanguil*, and then going on to the *Moluccos*, fought the *Portugueses*. Then coming to *Tidore*, he there found twelve *Spaniards*, who had fortified 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 Fleet to viceroy of *Mexico*, sail'd from the port of conquer the *Philippines* 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 the *Moluccos*, or other conquests of *Portugal*. After two months sail in the latitude of ten degrees he

The first ship that sail'd round the world.

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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 11 degrees of latitude, but in 10; 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 *August* 1544. The *Portugueses* 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 *Portugueses* to give him a ship to return to *Spain*. But whilst this treaty was in hand he died for grief at *Amboyna*, and all the religious men of the order of *St. Augustin* return'd afterwards to *Lisbon* in 1549, by the way of *Malaca*, *Cochin* and *Goa*.

## C H A P. 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 *St. 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 *Michael-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 through the straight, came to an anchor in the port of *Zebu* (by the direction of a *Moer* of *Borneo*, who was acquainted with those islands, taken near *Panaon*) on the 27th of *April*, being *Whitsunday*, and dedicated to *St. Vitalis* the martyr, who was therefore chosen patron of the city.

Zebu conquer'd.

The fleet enter'd *Zebu* in peaceable manner, but perceiving that *Tupas*, who govern'd there, put off the *Spaniards* with goods words, they plunder'd the place. The 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 *St. 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 3d of *October*, but found that *D. Alonso de Arellana* 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 *Portugueses* 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*, and 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 *Chiampan*s came thence to traffick in *May* 1572. The governor *Legaspi* died in *August* that same year; and *Guido de Labazaris*, entering 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 *Limakon*, a *Chinese* pirate, assaulted *Manila* with a fleet of 70 barks, but was bravely repul'd.

In *August* 1575 *Doctor Francis de Sande*, alcade of the court of *Mexico*, was sent governor. He it was 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 cost, by the king's leave. He also made war on the side of *Tampuan*, against the kings of *Malana*,

*Malana, Silongan and Buayen*, and against *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 Ronquillo* 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.

Conquest  
in Minda-  
nao.

The general *John Chaves* carried on the conquests with a good force, compos'd partly of *Indians*. On the 6th of *April* 1635 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 Atienza-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 palisades 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 *Illigan*, 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

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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 their sides, eat biscuit and smoke tobacco, they went and told their petty king, that those were a people with tails, who eat stones, and cast smoke 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 Perera*, 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, possess'd by the prince his son. There is a good correspondence between this king and the governor of *Manila*, insomuch 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 Goryera*, 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 them retir'd at night to their vessels. The present was only a few quilts, of no great value.

D. *Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera*, go- Xolo con-  
vornor and captain-general of *Manila*, quer'd.  
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 Meroles*. 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 *Batiocan* 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

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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 cloaths to wear for his brother, and a present of two quilts, and other trifles.

When the union of the crowns of *Castile* 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 set 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*.

## C H A P. 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 myself 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 inquire into the religion and customs of the inhabitants, and then 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 are violent, insomuch that a small vessel cannot stem them; and the less, by reason of the winds that prevail there: otherwise it is 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 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

fections 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.

Cavite city.

*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 inclos'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 draw-bridge, 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.

Buildings.

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 bare-foot *Augustinians* is somewhat better, and the church of stone; but the house of the *Jesuits*, tho' began of late years, is very good. The constable of the castle governs it and the city as chief justice.

Arsenal.

*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 *China* 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 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 *Portugueses*, call'd *O Padre Eterno*. 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* compleated 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 to save 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.

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Suburb.

*Thursday* 21st I went to see the suburb of *St. Roch*, 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 *Chinenses* 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 aforesaid galleons, 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

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and all other officers to give their opinions, whether the vessel was fit for the voyage of *New Spain*, and in a good failing posture. Most of them were of opinion it was over-loaded, and therefore could make little way. He therefore order'd all the seamens 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 un-

loaded, 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 seven or eight 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 hold, as is us'd by the *Portugueses* 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 colonel's friends and acquaintance being put aboard again.



*The End of the Second B O O K.*

*A Voyage*

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

Containing the most remarkable Things he saw in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

B O O K III.

C H A P. 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 a-head; 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 sea 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* the 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 *Recolet*, 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 last 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 1st of *July*, having sail'd but half a league. *Monday* the 2d, stirr'd not; and *Tuesday* just weigh'd and dropp'd anchor again, the wind continuing contrary both

days, with much rain; so that in five days, we scarce sail'd three leagues. Some water being spent, the boat was sent to take in more, near the hill *Batan*. 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 inquiring 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 unconquered *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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on the sides to prevent its oversetting, 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 *Batan*. 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 peper, purcelane, 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 *Batan*; so that by sun-set we pass'd the point of *Mericondon* and *Limbones*, and then the rock of *Fortune*.

*Thursday* 12th about noon we left aftern the desert island of *Ambil*, and that next it of *Luvan*; 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 *Manghians*, 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*,

Manghi-  
ans of  
Mindoro.

who live in villages in the plains of the island, under the care of the bare-foot 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 shore, 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 ourselves 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 straight 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 straight 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 shore, went aboard again empty handed.

## C H A P. II.

*The voyage continu'd to the port of Ticao.*

HAVING taken aboard 200 jars of water brought us by the king's galiot, 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 from *Bacchus*, 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 nourishing

ing roots; as also in wild boars, deer, buffaloes 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 *Botonfillo*, or *Little Button*; behind which is another call'd *Simara*, inhabited 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 *Embocadero*, or mouth of the straight, 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 straight made by the islands of *Bonas* and *Masbate*, where there are rich gold mines and the strange birds call'd *Tavonos*, and then by *Ticao*, all of them inhabited by *Indians* not yet subdu'd, and very fruitful.

Having coasted along the island of *Ticao* all night, on *Saturday* 21st in the morning, two hours after sun-rising, we came to an anchor in the port of *Hyacinthus* opposite to *Sursegon*. The *Alcade mayor*, or chief magistrate of *Alway*, 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 refreshments 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 the mission.

The wind coming up very fair for us to put into the bay of *Ticao*, we weigh'd anchor on *Tuesday* 24th early, and advancing a little with the stream, came to an anchor in it. A bare-foot father of *St. Augustin* that belong'd to that province, came to bring us some refreshment of fruit. Going 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 *Indians* 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 mountains every one to plant his *camotes* and *gavas*, 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 straight against the current. *Thursday* 26th a muster was made, to see if any man was aboard without licence, for which they pay twenty pieces of eight to the king. Sixteen persons who had none were put ashore, only two hundred remaining aboard. *Friday* 27th five hundred *Bombones* of cane full of water were brought aboard, which the *Alcade* had caus'd to be cut by the captain'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 south, 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 floating garden with such abundance of fruit and greens brought from the neighbouring parts, as also swine and hens in their *caracoas*, or boats sew'd with *Indian* cane, which have a sail made of mat, triangular or pyramidal, 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 lasted *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 *Embocadero*, or mouth of the channel, at the port of *Palapa* 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 coming 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 continuing on *Monday* 6th, we diverted the tedious hours with cock-fighting, there being abundance aboard, which was not pleasing to me, because we eat no other meat. *Tuesday* 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 designing to inquire into the matter, would have me be assisting to him, but all the punishment ended in causing them both to stand some hours in the bilboes. *Thursday* 9th after midnight  
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the wind blew fresh at south-east, so that about noon the pilot thought fit to sail, because there is no getting out at the *Embocadero*, or mouth of the channel, where the currents are always impetuous, without a wind that's stronger than they. The *Embocadero*, or strait, is eight leagues in length, and four or five and in some places six, over. 'Tis inclos'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 fruitful 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 *Talaxians*, *Tagapola*, *Mongol*, *Kamanda* and *Limbanquayan*, which all together render the passage out towards *America* very difficult, what way soever a man would go.

### C H A P. III.

#### *The voyage continu'd to the Marian islands.*

THE wind holding brisk at south-east, the pilots all agreed to make their way out of the strait, and accordingly about noon weighing the two anchors, the tide being then with us, they hoisted sail, and before sun-set were near the mouth of the strait, 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 strait, nor into those that lie between the islands of *Naranjos*, and between *Capul* and *Samar*. As we were upon getting out, there fell such violent storms of rain, that together 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 astonish'd, and trembled to see the sea have a motion like water boiling over a hot fire, understanding that several ships, notwithstanding the help of their rudder, had been by the violence of the current whirl'd about and at last wreck'd. *Friday* 10th the tide turning for us, we got out of the strait before noon. First, we pass'd near the coast of the island of *Manila*, the mountain of *Bulesan*, where is the burning eruption of *Abvai*, and the rock of *St. Bernardin*, in 13 degrees of north latitude, leaving them on our left, and about sun-set we had cape *Espiritu Santo*, or *Holy Ghost*, on our right; this being the most easterly point of the coast of *Palapa*, and the first the galeons discover coming from *New Spain*, as has been observ'd above. It lies in 12 degrees and 30 minutes of north latitude.

Being come into the open sea, to our great satisfaction, our cables were coil'd between 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 hindrance, 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 ourselves in the latitude of 14 degrees. They that come from *New Spain* to the islands sail continually upon the same parallel of 13 degrees; for sailing from *Acapulco*, which is in 17, to the 13 aforesaid, they always run in a streight 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 furthest 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 northward, 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 *California* carries some hundreds of leagues) and so continue their voyage with the common 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 method 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 continu'd all night fell, and we were becalm'd; and by observation we found ourselves in the latitude of 14 degrees and 13 minutes.

minutes. That day the cloth the king allows the seamen, to keep 'em warm, was divided among 'em. *Monday* 13th the calm continu'd, 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 sail'd east and by north; our latitude by observation 14 deg. 34 min. The same 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* 17th 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, because 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 greedily 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 sail'd east with a north-west-wind, and found 16 deg. 44 min. latitude. *Friday* 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 observation to be taken. About sun-set there fell a great rain, and all the thirsty 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 before day the wind came about, and blew hard at east, so that there was no saying mass, 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 terribly upon its sides. We lay under a mainsail reef'd; and the image of *S. Francis Xavierius* being expos'd, the captain vow'd to make an offering to the value of the sail, which was worth two hundred pieces of eight, devoutly attributing to his intercession the saving of the sail, 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 *Cachorreta* (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 elsewhere. 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 *Cachorretas* 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, there fell such a violent shower. This weather hinder'd our taking any observation 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 had 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 smoke 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 added, that as he pass'd by at another time, a great many of those inhabitants came out in boats, to bring him fish, cocoas, *buvo*, 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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## C H A P. 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 *Sarpana* and then continuing the conquest without any great difficulty, subdu'd them all from 13 to 20 deg. of latitude, where the burning mountain is.

Islands  
conquer'd.

Missioners  
unsuccess-  
ful.

The missionaries 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 missionaries 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 discover'd in this space, are as follow. *Iguana* in 13 deg. *Sarpana* in 14, *Buenavista* in 15, *Saespara* in 15 deg. 40 min. *Anatan* in 17 deg. 20 min. *Sarigan* in 17 deg. 25 min. *Guagan* in 18. *Alamaguan* 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 *de Patas* 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* 1664, by the galeon *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.

Names of  
the islands.

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 straits of *Maggellan* 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.

Islands de  
los Gala-  
pagos.

The chief of the *Marian* islands is *Iguana*, and therefore a strong castle is built on it, 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 gover-

Iguana  
and Sar-  
pana.

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 necessaries 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.

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## C H A P. V.

*Of the people, religion, fruit, climate and wonderful boats of the Marian islands.*

Natives  
of the  
islands.

THE inhabitants of the *Marian* islands are of a gigantick 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 swiftly 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, cocoas, 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 cocanot or a hen, and they might starve, did they not give stuff, cloth, or other things those people want in exchange.

Religion.

No token of any religion has been hitherto found in any of the islands discovered, 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.

Product.

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 beast, 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 creatures at all breed there.

Rima, a  
fruit.

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 *Goa*; 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 plantan. Besides the mountains abound in cocoa-trees.

The *Ducdu* is a tree like the *Rima*; and 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*, *gavas*, *camottes* 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*.

Ducdu.

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 astern, 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,

Boats.

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about, so that which was the stern becomes the head, and he that was in the prow, is steersman. If any thing is to be mended in the boat, the goods and passengers are set upon the sail; and the boat is presently righted, and turn'd up if it was overfet; things so wonderful, the *Spaniards* themselves can scarce believe them, though they see them every day. Though these be fit

only for a short cut, yet in case of urgent necessity, two set 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, Page 433.

## C H A P. VI.

*The author's tedious and dreadful voyage to the port of Acapulco.*

**F**riday the 7th, the wind being east, we stood N. N. E. without taking any observation. Saturday 8th, the wind at S. E. stood E. N. E. and found 21 degrees of lat. Sunday 9th, the wind S. S. E. stood 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, having 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; the lat. 22 deg. 10 min. Wednesday 12th, the wind at E. S. E. we stood 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 observ'd; for which neither pilots nor mathematicians have assign'd any reason in a hundred and eighty years, that voyage has been us'd. It begins at cape *St. Bernardin*, between twelve and thirteen degrees of latitude, insensibly increasing for about half the way, to eighteen or twenty degrees, 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 others N. W. and in some places more, in others less, it is therefore the more unaccountable. There is no pretending it is caus'd by the loadstones, because the islands are at a vast distance, and perhaps a thousand leagues. The pilots perceive this variation when the sun is setting, for marking the true west point, they then see whether the north and other two cardinal points answer.

Thursday 13th, the wind being S. E. we stood N. E. the lat 23 deg. 30 min. so that we were got out of the torrid into the temperate zone. That night it blew a great storm, and Friday 14th we stood N. the wind E. N. E. the lat. 24 degrees 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-sail, and three hours before 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 ran under sail, could scarce be distinguish'd from the true, as we shall observe hereafter. Sunday 16th the wind being at S. E. we stood 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 *Dominican*, and the *Augustinian*, 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 lays eggs, as do the *tortoises*, *crocodiles*, and *sharks* here mention'd. To this purpose *John Zavaletta*, 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 after two months and a half sail, it was increas'd.

Observation about fish.

*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 caring 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 *Cachorretas*, with the same bait of a flying fish made of rags, for those fishes running to catch it, were hung in a hook hid under it. That night the pilot's 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 ourselves about the lat. 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 E. S. E. we steer'd N. E. and by N. the lat. 32 deg. 28 min. Afterwards the wind came to S. E. (abundance

of *Cachorretas* and *Albacoras* being taken, by reason the ship made such swift way) and at night blew so hard at S. that the pilot was forc'd 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 forc'd to lie by the fore-sail back'd, and the waves beat so furiously on the rudder, that the whipstaff broke; the lat. 33 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 arguing 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 de 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 u-

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islands, the pilot having taking their latitude. In short, the *Adelantado D. Alvaro 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 galleon 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 galleon, 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 N. and then to N. N. W. we sail'd E. for fear of running upon *Rica de Palta*, 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 galleon. *Friday* 5th the wind blew at E. and we sail'd N. and then N. and by E. the lat. 33 deg. 50 min. A storm rising in the night the galleon 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 E. 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. and found ourselves in 36 deg. 20 min. *Tuesday* 9th the wind abating, and by degrees growing slack at S. E. we steer'd N. E. and 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 *Garuva*. *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 mass could not be said; at night we drove, the wind being contrary; and at midnight sail'd E. 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 E. 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 E. but the calm returning at midnight we drove N. N. W. The same wind coming up again *Thursday* 18th we sail'd E. 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-mention'd, 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 galleon *St. Joseph* was cast away; for having run up to 35 deg. of lat. and not keeping up to that same, it could never meet the *Senas* or weeds by reason of its being fallen to leeward; and all the seamen had infallibly 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* cover'd. 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*

niards call *Bobos*, or fools (elsewhere spoken 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 N. 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 southward. The wind came up at S. W. and we steer'd E. and by N. It blew hard at night; and the major *Arambolo* 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. *Sunday* 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 eastward, 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 sight 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 herself 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.

Ships lost.

There is no doubt but this voyage has always been dangerous and dreadful. In 1575, the ship *Espiritu Santo*, or the *Holy Ghost*, was cast away at *Catanduanes*, thro' the ignorance of the pilot, who could not find out the *Embocadero*, or mouth of the straight. 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 *Taycofama*, then reigning, to persecute the christians, wherein he proceeded so far as to put to death *F. Peter*, a *Recolet*, who went thither from *Manila* with the character of ambassador, the better to exercise the function of a missionary. In 1602 two other galeons were cast away, and others after that. Nor is the difficulty and danger any less at present; tho' 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 men at sea, and the best but ill condition'd, as happen'd to the galeon *Santo Christo* not long since.

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The wind continu'd to blow hard at N. all night, and *Wednesday*, 24th and put us on E. and by N. Abundance of pigeons were seen about the ship. The captain because of the sharpness of the weather caus'd some wine of palm-tree to be distributed among the sailors, to warm their stomachs. The lat. 55 deg. 45 min. The pump was play'd eight or ten times in 24 hours, the ship made so much water. The wind from N. 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 continuing 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 produc'd 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 *Santielmo*, appear'd on the round top, and was saluted 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 continu'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 of the galeon bound towards the *Land of Promise of New Spain*, endure no less hardships than the children of *Israel* did, when they went from *Egypt* towards *Palestine*. There is hunger, thirst, sickness, cold, continual

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tinual watching, and other sufferings; besides the terrible shocks from side to side, caus'd by the furious beating of the waves. I may further say they endure all the plagues God sent upon *Pbaraob* 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 bisket; so swift that they in a short time not only run over cabins, 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 these 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 at 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 bisket, 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 quenched drought. Providence reliev'd us for a month with sharks and *Cachorretas* 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, bisket, rice, sweetmeats, chocolate, and other things; and the quantity is so great, that during the whole voyage, they never fail of sweetmeats at table, and chocolate twice a day, of which last the sailors and grumets 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 bisket, 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 lucre 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 seven-ty-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 easy 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 boatswain, 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. The extraordinary gains induce

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 that 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 *Pacifick Sea*, as may be seen in the maps; but it does not suit with its tempestuous and dreadful motion, for which it ought rather to be call'd the *Restless*. But the truth is, the *Spaniards* gave it this fine name in sailing 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 appeared 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 sail'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

run E. S. E. *Tuesday* 6th sail'd E. and E. S. E. the wind being at N. N. E. we found we were fallen to southward, the lat. being 36 deg. 40 min. nor could it be otherwise as long as that wind continu'd. At night the wind N. N. E. sail'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 min. *Saturday* 10th the same wind continu'd, lat. 36 deg. 40 min. *Sunday* 11th the wind at E. we stood N. N. E. lat. 37 deg. 25 min. *Monday* 12th wind E. S. E. sail'd N. E. and then E. N. E. lat. 38 deg. *Tuesday* 13th the wind S. sail'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 W. 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 lat. 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 *Toninas*, or tunny fishes were seen about the galeon, which they say do not go far from land. After midnight 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 S.

*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-sail, because it blew a storm. The same weather lasted *Sunday* so furious, that there was no saying mass. 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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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 them 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 declared how much they had been mistaken: The first reckoned 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 o' clock; after which we saw the light they call *Santelmo*, on the main and fore-round top, which was saluted 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 N. 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 toss'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 over board, 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

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 sailor 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 sail'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

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with a rope's end at the least sign given by the president-tarpaulin. I was told a passenger was once kill'd aboard a galeon, 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 *Cachorretas*. The sport lasted till night, and then all the fines were divided among the sailors 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 sail'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 channel among the *Philippine* islands. We did not make any way till *Wednesday* 12th, when we stood 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 seagrass, 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 strangest that ever I have seen in so many countries I have travel'd. I tasted, and found it not unfavoury; and some sailors 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

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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 died 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 <sup>Two dif-</sup> two dangerous diseases in this voyage, more <sup>eases.</sup> 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, putrifies 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 ourselves opposite to the island *Cenizas*, 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 uncopled. 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 ourselves 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 in 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 we 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 musquets given 'em, to defend themselves against enemies

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 ourselves 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.

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 abroad. 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 water 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 canoos, or boats, like those of the *Marian* islands, as well for pearl as for other fishing. Those that inhabit along the coast of that straight, 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 cloaths. Ashore they lie, 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 those 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 *Pitaxayas*, 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. whose 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*,

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or of the lake, governing *New Spain*, with the general applause of all men, two other ships with a tender were sent thither, with several missionaries aboard, to draw those people out of the darkness of idolatry. They kept within cape *St. Luke*, in the lat. of 22 deg. and entering the straight between it and the continent run up a hundred and eighty-two leagues to 29 deg. of lat. where finding the straight but seven leagues over, they turn'd back for fear of the flats and currents, which ran very strong in that narrow. From the violence of these currents they concluded that the straight has a communication with the north sea, and that *California* 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 *Jesuits* 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 straight, at farthest, not above two days sail over. This is suppos'd to be the straight of *Aynan*; through which some will say a *Dutch* ship sail'd out of the south into the north sea. The ships returning anchor'd in the bay and port of *St. Barnaby*, where having built some huts on the shore, the poor *Indians* came to them rather 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. Aboard 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 months to no purpose at the aforesaid cape, but to his own benefit, exchanging trifles with those wretches 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 barbarians, 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 several others. So that it is not to be question'd, that if any other *Europeans* should resort to those parts, they would be ill receiv'd.

We steer'd next S. E. before a small gale at N. W. to cross over the straight of *California*. *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 deg. 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 Marias*, as was expected, our galeon being forty leagues from cape *St. Luke*, and twenty from cape *Corrientes*, which make the mouth of the straight of *California*. The three aforesaid islands are ten leagues from the mouth of the straight 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 straight 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 becalmed, and there appear'd abundance of *Lobillos* about the ship, turning up their tails and paws in the air 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 E. 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 *Sametla*. At night the little wind there was fell, and *Friday* 4th we

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 very far from the mountains (which they say are rich in gold and silver mines) seeing several small snakes of various colours swim by the galeon, which were brought by the current out of rivers. Before sun-set several muskets were fir'd to give notice to the galeon, 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 *Chiamela*, as soon as a centinel from the tops of the mountains discovers a sail at sea. Upon the uncertain tidings 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 messenger 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 *Cbina*, 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.

Nativity and Chiamela ports. The port of the *Nativity* is in the lat. 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 *New 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 feast of the *Epiphany*, we set forward on the rest of the way, which is counted eighty leagues from the *Nativity* to *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 ourselves opposite to the port and village of *Salagua*. *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 *Salagua*. Still coasting along bare mountains and steep rocks, about evening the wind having favour'd, we came upon the coast of *Motines*, or *Montines*, 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. *Tuesday* 8th we held the same course, but the little wind we had soon fail'd, and we found we had scarce gain'd two 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 *Motines* 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 lasted 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 happened to wind. *Tuesday*

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Motines.

Signatanejo.

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*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 no body in the port of the *Nativity* that could furnish him with horses, caus'd himself to be carry'd to the port of *Siguatanejo*; where some fishers of pearls had found him horses 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 Canete*, the new viceroy of *Peru*, and count *Montezuma* of *Mexico*; which two had fallen out before their landing. At sunset 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.

Patatar.

A calm held us all night, and *Thursday* 17th the same contrary wind started up; but after dinner the usual *Virazon* 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 bark 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 ourselves 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 entred 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, being ourselves in 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 *Mimila*. 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 *Isidore 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 *Mendocino*, 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

Length of  
this voy-  
age.

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 an account who I was, they express'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 *China*) 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 with *D. Francis Mecca*, and before we arose from table we heard a cannon fir'd. I ask'd the meaning of it, and he told me it was to signify 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 *Arambolo* with the boat of our ship to view them, and bring an account what they were, because 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 Third BOOK.*



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

Containing the most remarkable Things he  
saw in NEW SPAIN.

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B O O K IV.

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C H A P. I.

GEMEL-

LI.

1698.



*An account of what happen'd to the author at Acapulco, and of that city.*

The in-  
troduction.

I Cannot chuse but condemn those persons, who, suffering themselves to be too much dazled 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 heroick 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 duly consider'd, he must find it will cost more time to read those very travels in *Homer*, than to perform them. What can a man who has rambled but a small part of the world judge of the labours of *Æneas*, 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 folly of *Alexander*, surnamed *The Great*, who before he had subdu'd 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 myself, 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 before 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 panegyriizing *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 increas'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 satisfied he will not deviate from truth, and I shall attain my end, which is to deliver the truth.

No inns  
in Aca-  
pulco.

There being no inn at *Acapulco*, I was forced to go, on *Monday 21st of January 1698*, to the monastery of *Nuestra Sennora 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 straight of *Magellan*, being sent by the most Christian king, to commit hostilities in those seas; besides the *Catholick* king's general order injoining 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 *Arambolo* 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.

Salutes.

*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.

Acapulco.

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*; so 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 supplied 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 desart. 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 inclos'd in it with vast high mountains, as if they were wall'd in; insomuch 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 a 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 satisfied 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 missionaries.

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LI.  
1698.

The port.

There

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1698.  
Port  
Marques.

There is another port S. E. of this call'd *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.

*Thursday* 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  
fair.

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*. *Sunday* 27th there continued 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* 28th there came some fathers of *Bethlem*, 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 hospitallers; 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

A new  
order.

the crib, and therefore the *Spaniards* call them fathers of *Bethlem*. They, as being a new order, have but few monasteries in the city of *Mexico*, city of *Anges*, *Lima*, *Uguanaxaca*, *Guatemala*, and other places.

*Tuesday* 29th, going to visit a *Spaniard* Paraguay aboard the man of war, he instead of cho-herb. colate, 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 jar, 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 Techo'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 died 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 ca-The ca-  
stle, which having no ditch or bastions, is ste.  
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  
small

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* 5th I was much annoy'd with the heat and gnats, but much more on *Wednesday* 6th 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 sort 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 *Mesticos* 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 grandees I saw ride 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.

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## C H A P. II.

*The author's journey to the imperial city of Mexico, and description of the same.*

First inn.

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 *Attaxo*, 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 *Chiachilaccas*. This bird is of an ash-colour, has a long tail, is

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little less than a hen, and as well tasted. In the thickest of the wood I found many fine 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. Wheaten bread is quite banish'd from those parts, for the inhabitants eat none but cakes made of *Maiz* or *Indian* wheat, which is also given 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 are tolerable; but when cold, I could scarce get 'em down.

It set out early upon *Wednesday* the 20th, and travelling thro' a plainer country, came

6 F

after

Second  
inn.  
Bread.

GEMEL-  
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Shiociac-  
cos a fort  
of fruit.

after four leagues riding to the inn call'd *de los Arroyas*, or of *two Books*, where I rested till towards the evening. An *Indian* of this place gave me a fort of wild fruit to eat (call'd *Shiociaccos*, that is, *sharp*) red and white, as long as a finger, and of the taste of a cherry. Within it there were little black seeds like pepper. The tree that bears it is usually ten spans high, and its leaves long. The air being somewhat cooler, we travell'd four leagues farther, and lay at a place call'd *Los Pozuelos*. Before night I kill'd a wild cock, which the *Indians* 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 turky-cock; the flesh of it is not unfavoury. The night was cool, and without gnats, tho' we lay under the canopy of heaven. *Thursday* 21<sup>st</sup> 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 Papagayo*, 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 calabashes, according to the bigness, fasten'd under it. When the float is loaded, an *Indian* 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 *Indian* 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 *Caccavotal* (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 *Chiachilaccas*, which serv'd at supper for want of other meat.

Papagayo  
hill.

Floats.

Dos Cami-  
nos a vil-  
lage.

*Friday* 22<sup>d</sup> after riding four leagues of mountainous way, we rested at *Los dos Caminos*, 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 *Accaguisotta*, in which cottage we supp'd

Caxones  
mountain.

and lay. The officers search'd my goods, and made good my pass I brought from *Acapulco*.

*Saturday* 23<sup>d</sup> we set out late, and travelling four leagues, part mountain and part valley, we came to the *Trapicki* of *Massatlan*, so call'd because there's a good sugar-work. Our muletiers, 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 *Indian* 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*.

Pataquil-  
las, a vil-  
lage.

*Sunday* 24<sup>th</sup>, having rode two leagues, we heard mass at the village of *Chilpan-  
singo*, a convenient place, in the midst of the valleys, so plentiful of *Maiz* or *Indian* wheat, that they lay up their harvest in little country houses, or barns made of wood and clay. The maidens in this place, to beautify their faces, and secure them against the cold, daub 'em with a yellow flower pounded. We went hence two leagues further, to lie at *Zumpango*, *Zum-  
pango*, 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 saint.

*Monday* 25<sup>th</sup> I set out betimes, and travel'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 village pass'd over all our goods and us on floats, as was said above, the current carrying 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-

*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 *Cbiaccalaccas*, 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 *Amacusac*, of the liberty of *Cornavacca*. Such good order is taken, that whensoever travellers come in, the *Topile* and *Mesonera*, or inn-keeper, come immediately to furnish them with all things necessary. The *Topile*, which in the *Mexican* language signifies *serjeant* 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 *Alpugleca*, a village of *Cornavacca*, and there din'd. 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 *Alcadia*, or government of that name, belonging to the marquess *del Valle*, or of the valley, which reaches to the valley of *Amacusac*. 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 *Guichilac*. The inhabitants of it make good *Pulcre*, 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-

mitted when they were drunk. I drank 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 mountain along a craggy road, and travel'd four leagues and a half to *St. Augustin de las 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 entred 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 *Sindics*, or chief magistrates of two *Indian* villages, attended by many people, they being 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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1698.

St. Augustin de las Cuevas.

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*da* is not inferior to it, where on *Friday* 8th I saw the church serv'd by venerable priests, and noble nuns in the upper and lower quire.

*Saturday* 9th the obsequies of the queen-mother were celebrated in the church of *Jesus 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 Isurrieta*, 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*, as 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.

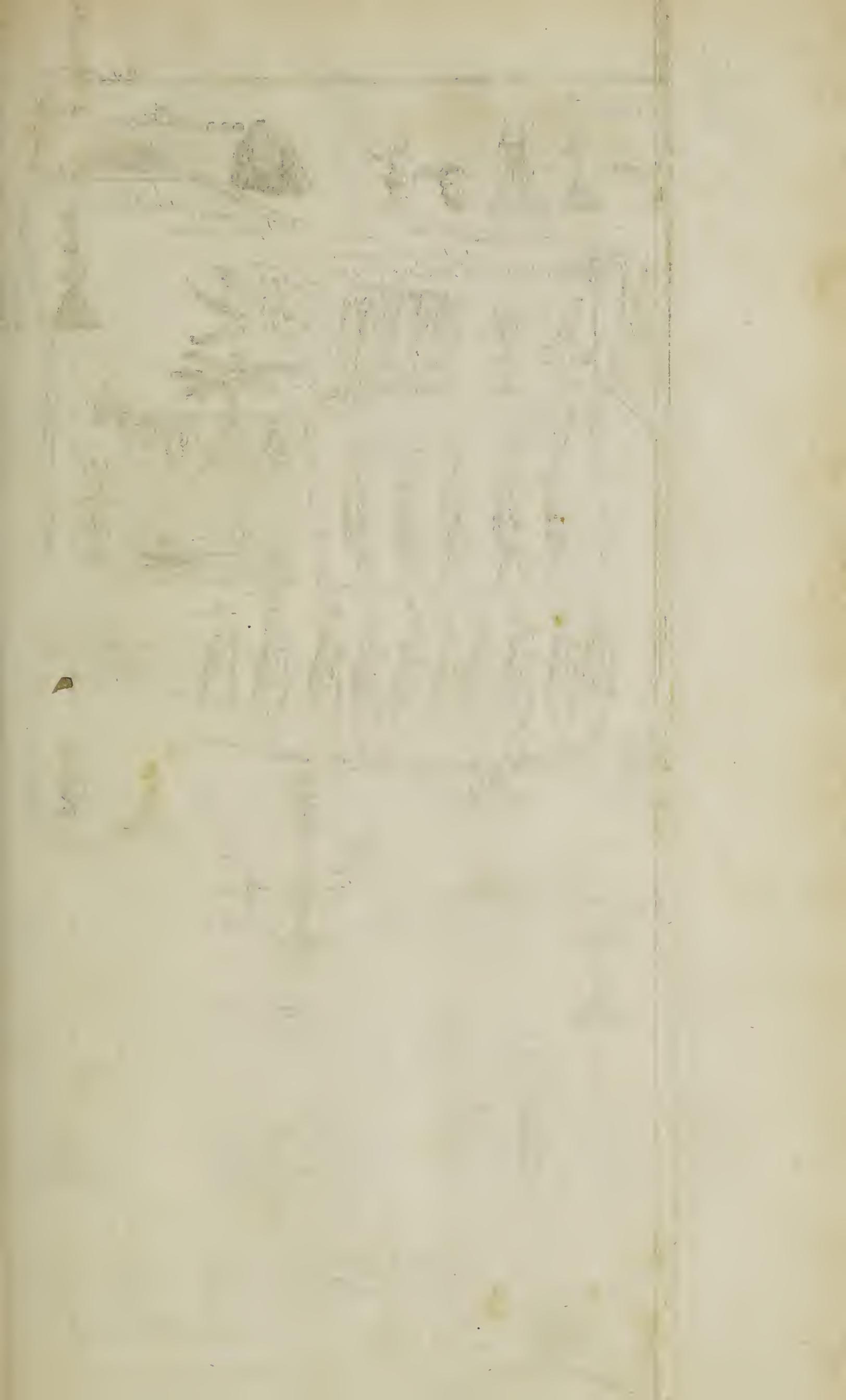
*Mexico* so call'd by the *Spaniards*, and by the *Indians Tenochtitlan*, is in the latitude of 19 deg. and 40 min. and in the midst of a valley, almost flat, fourteen *Spanish* leagues in length from north to south, seven in breadth, and about forty in compass; but if it were measur'd from the tops 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 *Tescuco*. The ridge of mountains that inclose 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 *Chapultepec*; the *Calzada*, or caufway *del Peñon*, 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 perswaded 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 throughout *New Spain*) five dignify'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 *Laurenzana*, 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 dignify'd priests eight thousand each; the canons six thousand; the demi-canons five thousand; the half demi-canons three thousand; each curate





The copy of an ancient picture kept by D. Carlos Sigüenza in which is drawn & describ'd the road the ancient Mexicans travell'd when they came from the Mountains to inhabit the Lake, call'd at present of Mexico, with the Hieroglyphicks signifying the names of places & other things.

Azcatlan  
Flower of Arts

Techcaltlan  
Place of the Locking-las

Apan  
Conduit of Water

Cozcaquauhtli  
The name of a Bird

Xaltocozauhcan  
Where the Sand rises

Huitzquilcan  
The place of Thistle flowers

Mizquiahuala

Tocolco  
Humiliation

Oziotlan  
A place of Grotts

Aztlán  
A place of Magpies where the Mexicans were call'd Aztlamechi

Tezomaco

Gods Monkey

Chicomoztoc  
Seven Grotts

Tetepanco  
Wal of many stones

Quauhtepc  
Mountain of the Eagle

Chapultepec

The Mill of Grasshoppers

This figure signifies 504 years, & this intervall of time was call'd Chuchuc tilitli

Epeoac  
A Burning Serpent

Teotihuacan  
A place of Divine fruit

Yllhuatpec

Atlacaquian  
A whirl pool where the Water is swallow'd

Apasco

Earthen Vessels

Tzapanth  
An Herb with broad leaves

Tolpetlac  
A not of Rushes

Pantlan the Place of pasces

Azcapotzalco  
An Ant Hill

Quauztlan  
the Woody place of the Eagle

Chalco  
The place of the precious Stone

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 necessaries 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 shade, and hot 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; tho' 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 imagined. 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 observed, 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.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1698.

## C H A P. III.

*Of the original of the city of Mexico, its conquests, and the chronology of its kings.*

A Mexican fable of the original of Mexico.

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 *Acalte*. 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

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

GEMEL- what shall be said more distinctly hereafter.  
 LI. See Acoſta's *Nat. and Mor. Hiſt. of the Ind.*  
 1698. *lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. 453.*

Wild peo-  
 ple.

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*) though 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 *Chichequetzal* and *Coxcox*, 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 *Navatlacas*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Chichimecas*; and theſe, as their hiſtorians believe, came from a remote country towards the north, thought to be that now call'd the province of *Aztlan*, or *Teucul*, in *New Mexico*. Some *Spaniſh* authors will have it, that theſe *Navatlacas*, 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-mentioned, 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 *Chialci*, 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, increas'd to ſuch numbers,

Founders  
 of cities.

that their metropolis was call'd *Azcapuzalco*, that is, *Ants-neſt*. They were a long time very powerful.

Then came the founders of *Teſcuco*, call'd *Culhua*, 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 *Tlatelhuicas*, 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 *Quabuac*, 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 gigantick ſtature of their enemies, knew how to overcome them by policy. The barbarous *Chichimecas* ſeeing thoſe 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 believed, 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* abovecited) came the ſeventh, call'd *Mexicans*, from their prince *Mexi*. This nation departed from its ancient country, upon the fatal promiſe made 'em by their idol *Vitzipuztli*, 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 aſham'd to make a compariſon between this people's travels and thoſe of the children of *Iſrael* in the deſart. Four prieſts declar'd the idol's will on the way, making all the multitude at their beck ſettle in ſeveral

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 *Mechoacan*, 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 *Molinalco*, the inhabitants of which place are reputed to be descended 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, *Vitzilipuztli* 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 or, 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*, or the round, of *St. Paul*, and of *St. Sebastian*. After this division, he directed every quarter should make itself 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 appears by the foremention'd cut.

See Cut Pag. 483.

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 *Acamapichtli*, 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 provok'd by them, by killing and stealing 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 *Tapanecas* of *Azcapuzalco*, to whose king the *Mexicans* paid tribute, as being the last that came to inhabit there. The king of *Azcapuzalco* seeking a pretence to break the peace, sent word to *Acamapichtli*, 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 the grass grown in the water, and then carry the floating garden where they please upon the lake. The king of *Azcapuzalco*, 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 eggs, 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,

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First go-  
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sons to succeed  
him; and there-  
fore, in return  
for this his  
moderation,  
the chief men  
assembling,

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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 cloke 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.

Chimalpopoca 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.

Ytzcoatl fourth king.

For their next king the *Mexicans* chose *Ytzcoatl*, 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 *Cuyoacan*, who lived under lords of their own, he also overthrew and destroy'd the *Suchimilcas*, 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.

*Ytzcoatl* having reigned thus prosperously twelve years, died; and the general under

whose conduct these conquests had been made, whose name was *Tlacaessel*, 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. *Mohtezuma*, 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 largess 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 *Tlascalala*, 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.

Mohtezuma fifth king.

The four electors meeting with the kings of *Tescuco* and *Tacuba*, chose *Tlacaessel*, 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 *Cæsar*, 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 *Ticho-chu*, son to the king deceas'd. *Ticho-chu* appearing to be no soldier, the *Mexicans* poison'd him, raising his brother *Axayacac* to the throne, by the advice of *Tlacaessel*, who dying with age recommended his son to the new king, who in gratitude made him his general.

Ticho-chu sixth king.

Axayacac seventh king.

Before his coronation, *Axayacac* march'd against the province of *Taguanpetec*, and in a short time plunder'd and subdu'd it. In his return coming to a battle with the lord of *Tlatelulco* (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- ed the throne, but before his coronation he went according to custom, to punish the king.

Ahuizotl eighth king.

Qua-

*Quaxutatlan*, who had taken the tribute as it was coming to *Mexico* on the road. He extended the borders of his kingdom, as far as *Guatimala*, and encompass'd *Mexico* with water, by bringing to it an arm of the river that ran by *Cuyoacan*. This man, at the dedication of the temple to the idol *Huitzilipochli* (which was in the year 1486) sacrificed in the space of four days following 64080 men; six millions of people resorting to the festival, as the *Mexican* histories tells us. This *Indian Nero* died in the eleventh year of his reign.

Montezuma last king.

After him was chosen *Montezuma*, whom the *Spaniards* found there, when they came to *Mexico*, his name in their language signifying a wise lord; because he, before his exaltation to the throne, was grave, and majestick, a man of few words, and discreet, 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 persuade, 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 revolted, and brought him a rich booty, and many prisoners for sacrifice. At his return he was receiv'd with great joy by his subjects, and crown'd in great state, with abundance of tributes from the conquer'd countries.

If the royal standard happen'd to be lost, those people us'd to retire without prosecuting the battle; as it happen'd 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 carried 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; and therefore sometimes went abroad in disguise, to see whether his orders were obey'd. Lastly, he seldom appear'd in publick, to avoid creating familiarity.

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The downfall of the empire now drawing near; several signs appearing, as blazing stars and pyramidal fire in the sky, monsters on the earth, and prodigies in the lake; *Montezuma*, though at first he had treated 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 afterwards inherited the crown, as born of the *Coya*, or first heiress; but if the king deceas'd left ever a brother, he was preferr'd before his nephew. Whilst *Montezuma* was still alive, the *Mexicans* chose *Quaubtimoc* for their king, who died 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 began 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 people; but afterwards by the advice of *Tlacaehel*, in the reign of *Nizcoatl* the fourth king, it was committed to only four electors of the blood royal, and the two kings of *Tescucuo* and *Tacuba*; the first of which performed the ceremony of the coronation. As long as the kings of *Mexico* were poor, they were moderate in their expence and attendance, but as they grew powerful, they became haughty, tyrannical and stately.

#### CHAP. IV.

*Of the comparison some writers make between the Mexican monarchy and the vision in the 13th chapter of St. John.*

I HAVE dilated a little upon the origin of the seven generations, and the genealogy of the ten kings of *Mexico*; that the

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ingenious and discreet reader may in this chapter conceive how some persons came to take this monarchy for the beast describ'd

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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 *Tescuco* and *Papalotla*, 9. the tail, the lake of *St. Cbristopher* and *Xaltocan*, 10. the horns, the two rivers of *Tlamanalco*, *Tepeapulco*. And then the other lakes lying confusedly, they say they were made by the flaver of the beast.

See Cut Page 486.

Now follows the refemblance between the *Mexican* monarchy and its religion and the same beast.

The seven generations or nations inhabiting it, are, the seven heads.

- |                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>Suchimilcas.</i> | 5. <i>Tlatelulcans.</i> |
| 2. <i>Chalcas</i>      | 6. <i>Tlascallans.</i>  |
| 3. <i>Tecpanecas</i>   | 7. <i>Mexicans.</i>     |
| 4. <i>Tescucans</i>    |                         |

Ten kings.  
Ten horns.

|                             |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Acamapichtle,</i> 56  | 6. <i>Tizochic,</i> 37   |
| 2. <i>Huizlaubtli,</i> 96   | 7. <i>Axayacac,</i> 27   |
| 3. <i>Chiomalpopoca,</i> 66 | 8. <i>Abuitzotl,</i> 77  |
| 4. <i>Ytzoatl,</i> 62       | 9. <i>Montezuma</i> 84   |
| 5. <i>Moubtezuma,</i> 84    | 10. <i>Quaubtimoz</i> 77 |
| 364                         | 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. X. 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  |
| 56     | 96     | 66     |

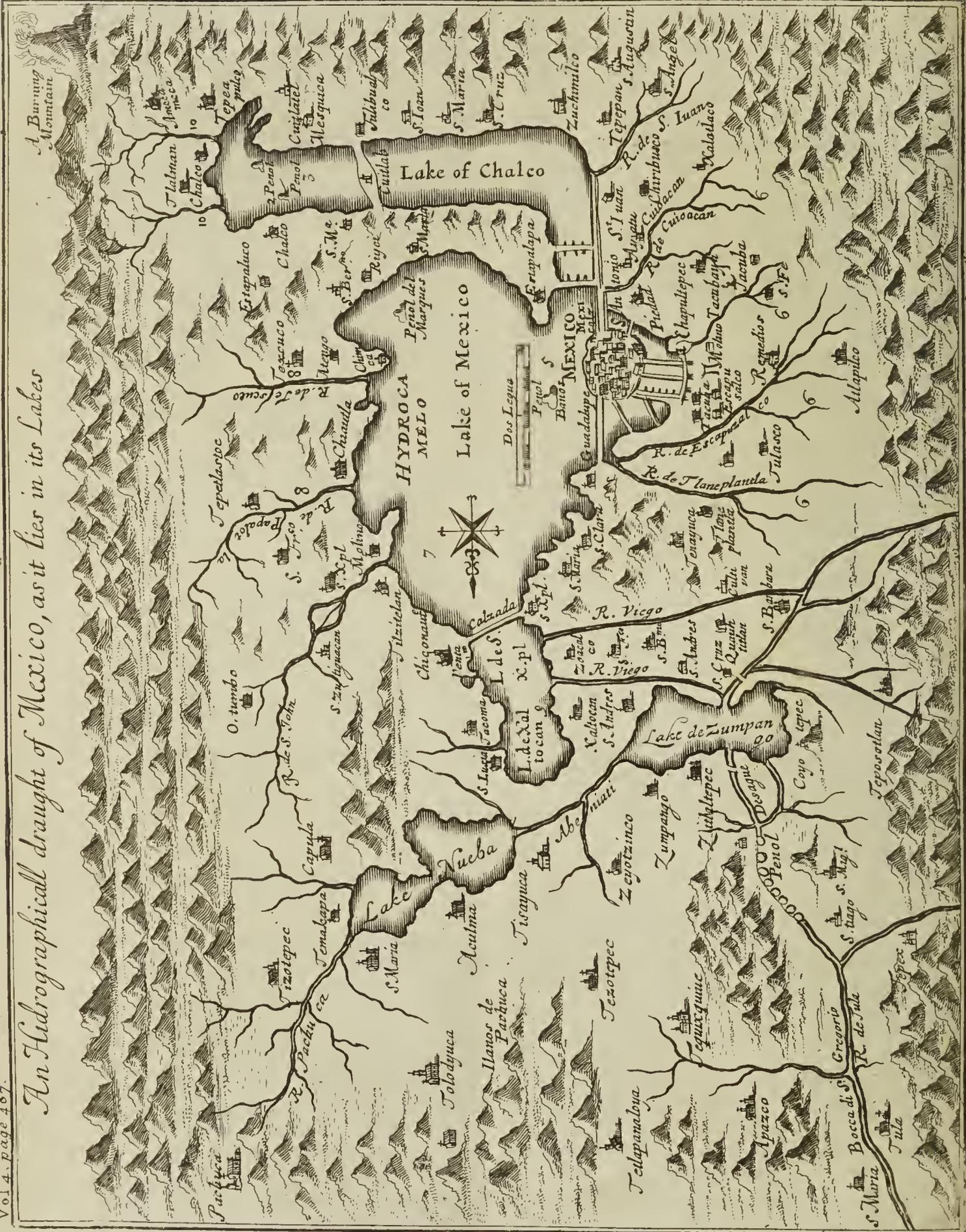
| 4.     | 5.     | 6.     |
|--------|--------|--------|
| I — 5  | M — 7  | T — 12 |
| T — 12 | O — 9  | I — 5  |
| Z — 15 | V — 13 | C — 2  |
| C — 2  | H — 4  | O — 9  |
| O — 9  | T — 12 | C — 2  |
| A — 1  | E — 3  | I — 5  |
| T — 12 | Z — 15 | C — 2  |
| L — 6  | V — 13 |        |
|        | M — 7  |        |
|        | A — 1  |        |
| 62     | 84     | 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  |
| 27     | 77     | 84     | 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



An Hydrographical draught of Mexico, as it lies in its Lakes



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 Guadaluja*, 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.

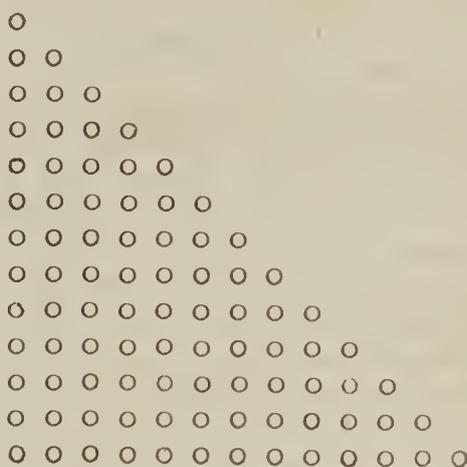
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CHAP. V.

*Of the Mexican months, years and age, and of their hieroglyphicks.*

Mexican  
age.

FOR want of letters, the ingenious *Mexicans* used 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 clothes 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 *Chineses*. 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 itself 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 *Uutztlampa*, whose hieroglyphick was a rabbit in a blue field, which they call'd *Tochtli*. Lower was the part that signified the east, call'd *Tlacopa*, or *Tlabiulcopa*, 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 *Tecpatl*, 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 though 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 *Nanahuatzin*. 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, *Nanahuatzin* became 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

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From what has been said above there arises 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 *Nanahuatzin* and *Tecucilecatl*, 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 enlighten'd 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 argued 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 *Vivitznaoa* dwelt, in respect to whom they call'd the south *Vivitzlampá*.

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 *Tlalocatetublli* god of the water,

*Tecpatl* to *Chetzabcoatl* god of the air, and *Cagli* to *Xiubtecubil* 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 *Chetzabcoatl* 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 *Tecucipacilli*, 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 any thing remarkable had happen'd; the succession of their kings; and other things of note.

Their solar year consisted of 365 days, according to the form of the *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 thing (says the same author) they thought him to partake of the divine nature, and therefore call'd him Olibama and Arsa, 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 learn'd 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 learn'd of his father *Mesraim*, who had them from *Cham*, or *Ham*, and from his grandfather *Noah*, among the first inhabitants of *Egypt*.

As for the months, though some of the 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. *Tlacaxipehua litztli*, 2. *Tozoztli*, 3. *Hueytozoztli*, 4. *Toxcatl*, 5. *Etzalcualiztli*, 6. *Ticuyil huitl*, 7. *Hueytecuil huitl*, 8. *Micayl huitl*, 9. *Hueymicayl huitl*, 10. *Ochpaniztli*, 11. *Pachtli*, 12. *Hueypachtli*, 13. *Cbeciogli*, 14. *Panchetzaliztli*,

Their months.





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*cbetzalixtli*, 15. *Atemoztli*, 16. *Tiitli*,  
17. *Izcagli*, 18. *Atlacoalo*, as may be  
seen by their characters upon the inner cir-  
cle of the figure.

Their  
days. Every one of the twenty days had its  
proper name, which were, *Cipaēlli*, *Cecatli*,  
*Caglicuetzpaglin*, *Coatl*, *Michiztli*, *Mazatl*,  
*Tochtli*, *Ati*, *Itzcuintli*, *Ozomatli*, *Malina-  
gli*, *Acatl*, *Ocelotl*, *Quaulitli*, *Cozcaquaubt-  
li*, *Oglin*, *Tecpatl*, *Quiabuittl*, and *Xocitl*.

Noweeks. These months were not divided into  
weeks, because these began among the He-  
brews in the time of *Moses*, in memory of  
the days of the creation, long after the in-  
stitution 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, where-  
of 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 confu-  
sion; for giving the name of any day, ac-  
cording to this method, with the number  
answerable to it in this order of thirteen  
and thirteen, they knew what month it be-  
long'd to, without ever mistaking. Be-  
sides this division by thirteen, there was  
another of five and five days, on which  
they made *Tianguetz*, 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 *Tochtli*, *Acatl*, *Tecpatl*, and *Cagli*;  
and this rule was always the same, though  
the years did not begin with *Tochtli*.

See Cut Page 489.

This further makes out the great resem-  
blance with the *Egyptian* computation;  
for as these to twelve months (which they  
call'd *Tbotli*, *Phaophi*, *Atkyr*, *Ceac*, *Tybi*,  
*Mecir*, *Phameneth*, *Pharmuthi*, *Phacon*,  
*Paymi*, *Epephi*, and *Meseri*) 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 *Nenontemi*, 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 *Cipaēlli*. 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 *Tochtli*, to  
which *Cipaēlli* answers, as first day of the  
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first month; if the three hundred and sixty  
days, which make the eighteen months of  
this year, be counted round successively by  
thirteen and thirteen, it will appear that  
the last day of the eighteenth month, will  
be 9 *Xoxitl*. But if the five days call'd *Ne-  
nontemi* had no name, the following year  
must have begun from two *Mazatl*, with  
ten *Cipaēlli*. Thus the reckoning of the  
thirteens would have been interrupted with  
*Cipaēlli*, had not they been reckon'd in.  
The *Mexicans* to this day sufficiently solve  
this difficulty; saying, that the days *Ci-  
paēlli*, *Michiztli*, *Ozimatli*, and *Cozca-  
quaubtli*, are companions to, that is, in all  
respects follow the order of the four figures  
that denote the years of an age, viz. *Tochtli*,  
*Acatl*, *Tecpatl*, and *Cagli*; to signify that  
every year whose symbol is *Tochtli*, will  
have *Cipaēlli* for the first day of the month;  
that, whose symbol or distinctive mark is  
*Acatl*, will have *Michiztli* for the first of  
the month; *Tecpatl* will have *Ozomatli*,  
and *Cagli* will have *Cozcaquaubtli*. Yet this  
is to be farther observ'd, that the numeri-  
cal value according to the thirteens, regu-  
larly counted from the beginning of the age  
(including the five *Nenontemi* days) will  
answer to that, which belongs to the first  
day of the year, according to the successions  
from *Tochtli* 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 *Nenontemi* days, were ten *Cipaēlli*,  
eleven *Cecatli*, twelve *Cagli*, thirteen *Cuetz-  
paglin*, 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 *Michiztli*, which is the  
day immediately following *Coatl*, and con-  
tinuing on with the thirteens, since the last  
of the five *Nenontemi* 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 Michiztli*. 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  
*Michiztli*, will end its months at ten *Coatl*,  
and three hundred sixty-five days at two  
*Itzcuntli*, so the following third year *Tecpatl*,  
will begin at three *Ozomatli*, and the next  
being the fourth *Cagli*, at four *Cozcaquaubtli*,  
and so on in the rest, till the thirteen is out.  
By this it appears, that the four days *Ci-  
paēlli*, &c. did not only answer to the four  
symbols of the years *Tochtli*, &c. but that  
they had also the same numerical denomi-  
nation, deriv'd from the thirteens.

They therefore who know how much al-  
most all the eastern nations err'd in this par-  
ticular,

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ticular, may be judges how much the wit of the *Mexicans* deserv'd to be commend- ed, and look'd upon, for inventing so artificial and regular a circle. But this honour is not due to the *Mexicans* of these times, who are neither astrologers nor arithmeticians, and therefore by their ignorance 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 Siguenzay Gongora*, professor of the mathematicks 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 *Catzigasco*, and of S. *John Teotihuacan*, who inherited them from his forefathers, kings of *Tescuco*, 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. *Monsignor Sumarica*, 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*

*Siguenza*, who presented me with these extraordinary rarities.

They order'd the biffextile, or leap-year, 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 in Peru. and twelve months with as many days as we 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 *Inga* 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 for sowing and reaping, every pillar having its proper name.

## C H A P. VI.

*Of the horrid sacrifices the Indians offer'd to their idols, and of their festivals and habit.*

Sacrifice to  
Tezcatli-  
puca.

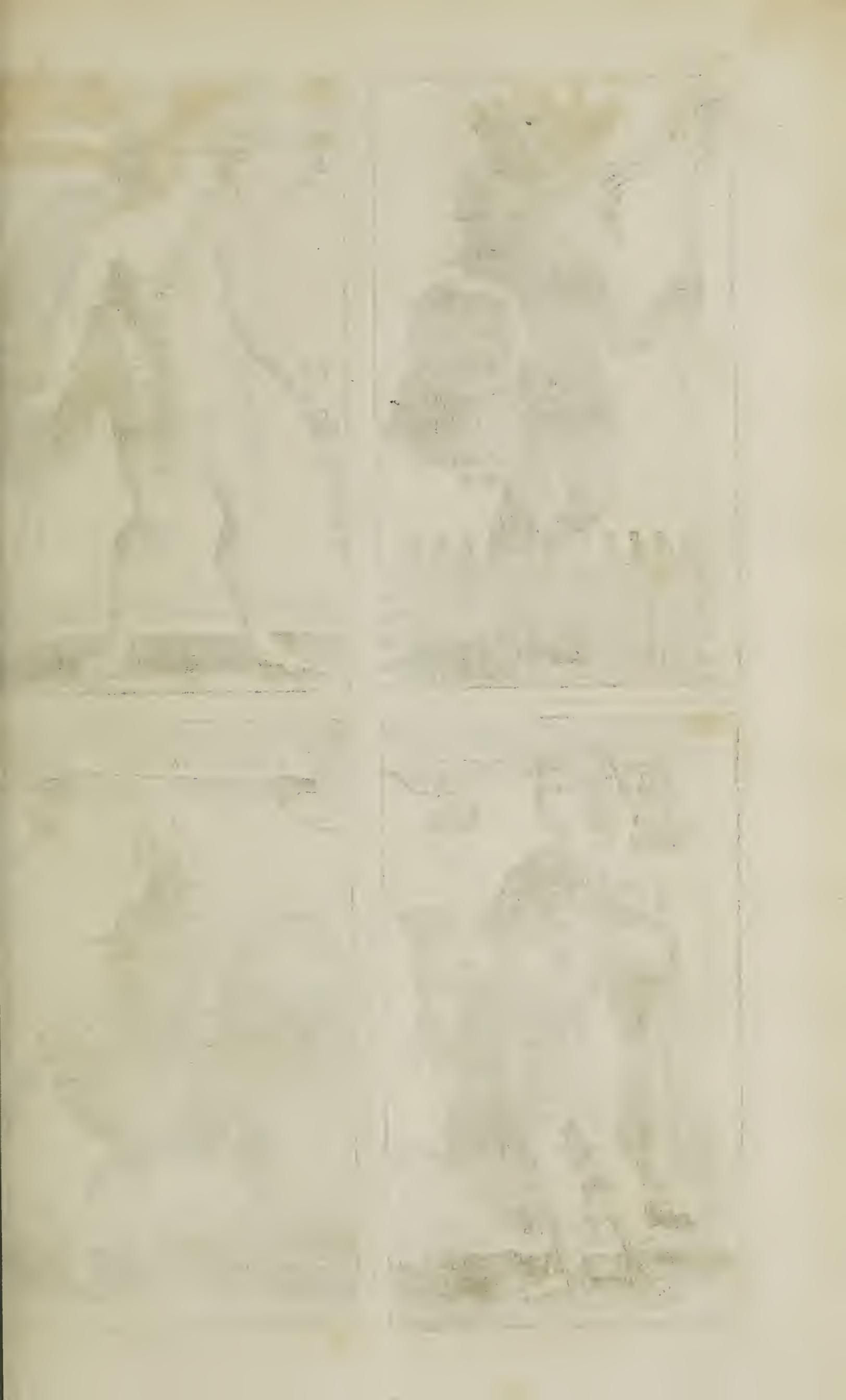
THE *Mexicans* kept as it were a jubilee every fourth year, on the nineteenth of *May*, on which was the festival of the idol *Tezcatlipuca*. They fasted five days before it, and the priests abstain'd from their wives, and went about beating themselves in a penitential habit. All other people were clad 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 fatted up some days before, and worship'd about the city like Gods.

To Quetz-  
za a le-  
tatl.

The festival they kept in honour of their God, *Quetzalatl*, 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 Valztli*, which signifies fleaing Other in-  
human sa-  
crifices. of people; because they flea'd a slave, and cloathing another in his skin, led him about the city, begging for the temple, and striking









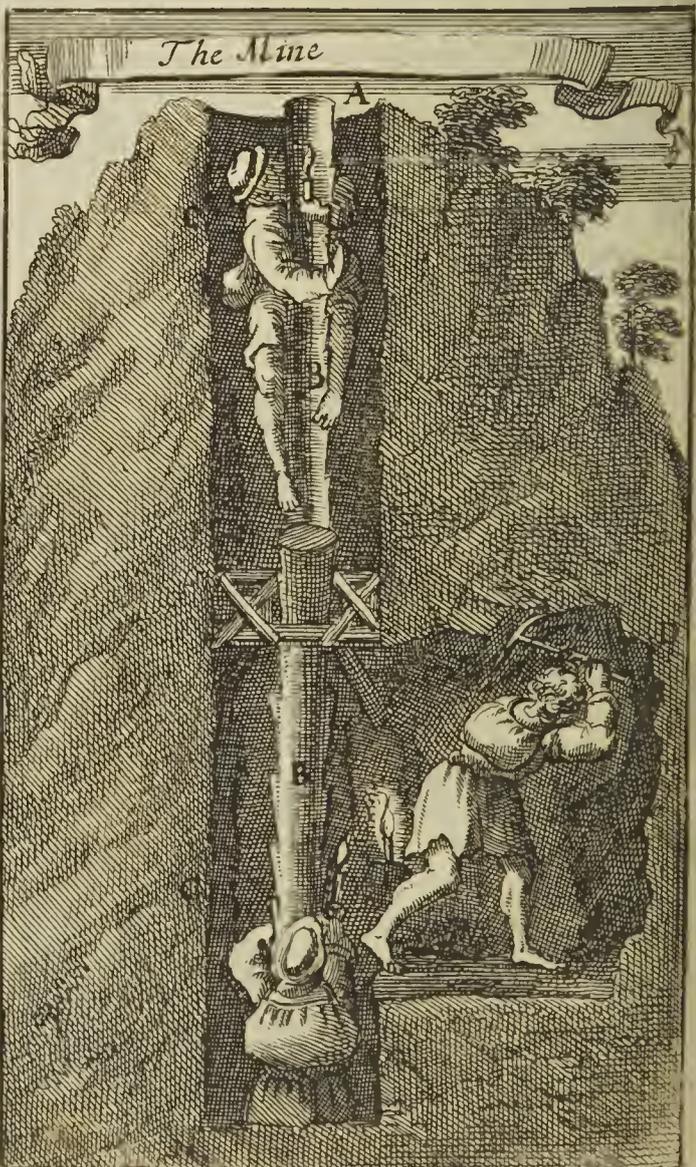
Chuitzotl VIII king



Mouhtezuma IX king & 2<sup>d</sup> of the name



Quauhtimoc X king



The Mine

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 sacrificed 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 *Viracova*; stifling or cutting their throats.

The most famous idols in *Mexico*, next to *Vitzilipuztli*, were *Tescatepuca* and *Hucilobos*, 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 *Obsli*, 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 a 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 491.

In *Peru*, besides adoring the statue of 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 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 tyger'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 491.

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 the 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, tho' they were quite naked, or in rags. The women all wear the *Guaipil*, (which is like a sack) under the *Cobixa*, 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

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Ingas a-  
dor'd in  
Peru.

Mexican  
Soldiers.

King and  
princes  
habit.

Indian  
habit  
now.

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Blacks,  
Mulattos,  
&c.

such as they use in their buildings, thinking it refreshes the head, and makes the hair 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 cloath'd after the *Spanisk* 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 *Tawnies* is so increas'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.

Genius 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 *Ckupaflor*, that is, *Such-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; Their Vices. but excessive cruel, if well back'd. 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.

## C H A P. VII.

*The author gives an account of the most remarkable things he saw in Mexico.*

THERE 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 *Pedreros* 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 and a daughter, and then robb'd and murder'd 'em, two leagues from the city, two 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. Malefactors punish'd.

*Friday* the 15th of *March*, a devout procession in honour of our Saviour's passion 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

rying a tunick hanging to a spear, representing that of our Saviour; but there were very few musicians. This procession must infallibly be made, because the king has given 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 gallery of the court, I saw the viceroy 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.

*Cathedral.* *Monday* 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 assigned it a tax of half a rial a head throughout the diocese; and therefore the archbishop 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 extraordinary 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 archbishoprick 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*, *Guadalaxara*, *Guatemala*, *Yucatan*, *Nicaragua*, *Chiapa*, *Honduras*, and *Nueva Biscaya*, or *New Biscay*; 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 capable of abundance of religious men. Going thence, I met the blessed sacrament

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going from the cathedral to some sick boy. 'Twas carried by a priest in a coach drawn by four mules, maintain'd at the charge of the brotherhood. GEMPL-  
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*Wednesday* 20th I heard mass at the nunnery of *St. Clare*, famous for the excellent sweet pastiles the nuns make. The church is well adorned, 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 renowned 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, that only the *European* 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; variety of apples, peaches and quinces; for there are but few walnuts, chestnuts, or the like. The archbishop claiming the tithe 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 college 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 nunnery call'd *The Conception*. The nuns are eighty-five, and have about an hundred women-servants; because most of the monasteries in *New-Spain* not living in community, 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.

6 K

*Saturday*

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*Saturday* 23d I went into the neighbouring church of the nuns of *St. Lazarus*, which is also well adorn'd, has seven altars, and the roof gilt.

Domini-  
cans.

*Sunday* 24th I saw the hospital of *St. Hiacinthus*, belonging to the *Dominican* missionaries 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 *Cbina*; *F. Martin Ibanes* having told me it yields eight or nine thousand pieces of eight a year in only herbs and salads. 'Tis to be observ'd, that the compass 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 called *St. Nicholas de Villanueva*, of the *Augustinians* of the mission of *Cbina*, 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 keep 300 servants: The church has seven 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 forsaken, in their monastery, they begg'd alms to bury and say masses for them: Then they carried 'em to *St. Francis*, where those fathers perform'd their obsequies according to custom, and then carrying them thro' the great streets of the city, bury'd '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, *Fator* 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 cheated of, which is a greater sum. *D. Philip de Rivas*, the king's refiner, or assayer 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 separating 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 New Mexico.

whom I had known in *Naples*, 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 *Chichimecas* 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 without 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 manner 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 pieces 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 government comes to be worth three hundred thousand pieces of eight. These soldiers are arm'd with a buckler, musket and half-pike; not to fight with the *Chichimecas*, but to go a hunting after them, as if 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 hundred and fifty leagues have been conquer'd westward, tho' the people endeavour to defend themselves with their arrows. The worst is, that being five hundred leagues from *Mexico*, those barbarians quickly revolt, 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 peopled, that they travel several days journey thro' it without meeting any village; for which reason the viceroy of *Mexico* sent several 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 chappel, 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 neseigays 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 *Oydore*, 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 performed, the king's chief refiner and other officers sitting under a canopy, and the person to be examined 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 a-piece.

*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 midst of them; 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 *Chineses*, because made by *Indians* of the *Philippine* islands: Each of 'em carried its images, with abundance of lights, and a company of armed men, after the manner as was mentioned before, besides some that went a horseback, with trumpets sounding dismal before 'em. The procession being come to the palace, the *Chineses* 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 sightly, 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 appeared a great many brothers with lights in their hands, and among 'em several persons whipping themselves. Then follow'd a company of armed 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 sodality 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 serjeants before them. Then follow'd abundance of knights and brothers, and all the mysteries of the passion carried

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on small 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 is also a pulpit of the same fine marble of the pillars curiously wrought.

A fine tabernacle.

*Sunday* 7th I saw the viceroy at the church of *St. Augustine the Great*, at mass, sitting on his throne, and eighteen knights of *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 is now building a

Guadalupe.

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 aforesaid 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 itself. 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 *Tamales*, 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.

Atole a liquor.

*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

Chapultepec.

expen

GOMEZ.  
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1698.Our lady  
de los Re-  
medios.Viceroy's  
reception.

expende it was; 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 *Fuego 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 *Bethlem*, 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 conveys 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 thick-

er. Some say 'tis spoil'd by being convey'd beyond *Chapultepec* in leaded pipes, but I found it good enough.

*Friday* 12th I travell'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* bare-foot friars, 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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## C H A P. 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 travell'd three leagues along the plain to the village of *Tanipantla*. Then going up the hill of *Barrientos*, two leagues further came to *Guautitlan*, 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 *Guautitlan* (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 *Teplosotlan* in the noviceship of the *Jesuits*, where the rector entertain'd me courteously. This house is built upon a hill, with dormitories and conveniencies for fifty-two priests, novices and lay-brothers. The church is of the invocation of St. *Francis Xaverius*, 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 travell'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 Moxica* 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 *Abuitzotl*, 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 causeway of *S. Lazarus*. This

not being a sufficient defence against the mischief that might happen, they began to turn away the river *Guautitlan*, 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 usefess, 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 *Arrigo Martinez*, an *European*, who undertook to bring the work to perfection. The expence being so great, the same viceroy caus'd the houses, possessions, merchandize and goods of all the citizens to be apprais'd, which

A great  
canal to  
carry  
away the  
water be-  
gun.

which were valued at 20267555 pieces of eight, upon which he rais'd one in the hundred, and that amounted to 304013 pieces of eight and two rials 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 *Gueguetoca*, 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

*Guautitlan*, which carries the greatest quantity of water into the lakes of *Mexico*, *Citlaltepec* and *Sumpango*. Then he offering to throw up the banks about the city, the next year 1615, for the expence of an hundred eighty-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 *Guautitlan*, 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 *Guautitlan* 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 *Guautitlan* breaking into the canal of *Zumpango*, 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 2d debate, 'twas resolv'd to continue the canal of *Gueguetoca*, 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*

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*Indians* every day, according to the method propos'd by *Martinez*, which was found to be easier than the rest. The marquis de *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 *Tacubaia*, 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 Corrillo* to draw up another particular of all that had 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 two hundred ninety-five thousand 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 consultation 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 geometers 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 *Guatitlan*, 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*, *Tescuco* 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 hindred 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 there by digging under ground, like coney-boroughs. 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 month 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 many thousands of people, and require a much greater experience than the 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 *Guatitlan* 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 *Pennon*, 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.

GEMEL-  
II.  
1698.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the danger the author run himself into, to see the plate 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 *Techischiac* 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 Lavarrea*, 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 son-in-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 further, for fear I should tumble head-long; 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 imminent 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

Mines.

Depth.

GEMEL-  
II.  
1698.

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* 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 Champechiana*, *Joya* and *Pennol*. Tho' these be three mouths, they all go to the same vein. As for its riches, persons of reputation and well acquainted with the place, told me, that in these ten years there have been forty millions of silver drawn thence, nine hundred or a 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 explained) 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 owner, 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, en-

courag'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 myself 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 myself 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 staid 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 502.

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 *Pachuca*, and din'd with *Lavarrai's* son-in-law.

## C H A P. X.

*How the silver is separated from the stone of the mines by fire and quicksilver.*

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1698.

The ore  
broken.

AFTER dinner they carry'd me to see 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 *Haziendas* 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, thro' 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.

Refining.

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, 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 controller, 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 quicksilver 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; as 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 *Azoguero*, 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 use taken out of neighbouring rivers. If it is cold, they add more copper dross, because the quicksilver is 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

GMEL: more or less, according to the nature of  
the ore.

LI.  
1698.

Washing.

This mass or mixture is afterwards wash'd at the *Lavadero*, or washing-place, with 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 sprout, 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 of 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 the mercury coming from *Spain* or *Peru* is very dear; they paying eighty-four pieces of eight the hundred weight, and being oblig'd to separate an hundred marks with it. In my time I saw three hundred pieces 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 *Pachuca* betimes, and having travell'd seven leagues, din'd at the inn of the village of *Tesayucca*. Then riding two leagues further I lay at *St. Lucia*, a farm of the *Jesuits* belonging to the noviceship of *Teplosetlan*. 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 pieces of eight. They have about one hundred forty 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*.

The End of the Fourth B O O K.

A Voyage

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

Containing the most remarkable Things he saw in NEW SPAIN.

B O O K V.

C H A P. I.

*Upon what conditions the mines are granted to proprietors.*

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1698.

Mines  
free to all.

**A**NY person whatsoever that discovers a mine, whether of gold or silver, may make his 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 his opposition is to take place or not.

How di-  
vided.

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.

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.

Of drain-  
ing.

These, as has been said, pay the tenth to the king, wherein they differ from the *Peruvians*, who pay the fifth, as to silver; but as for gold, there is no privilege, and they are all bound to pay the fifth.

The  
king's  
due.

C H A P. II.

*Of the mint, and royal office of the Apartado, or house to separate the gold from the silver.*

How  
much plate  
is enter'd.

**A**LL 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 seven hundred thousand marks into pieces of eight at the mint.

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 the king a rial in a mark, which the *Spaniards* call *Senoraje*, that is, the duty of lordship, to wit, when the plate is such as they call *de ley Casada*, that is, bare standard, which is two thousand two hundred and ten *Ma-*

Manner of  
coining.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1698.

*Maravedies* a mark, and so up to two thousand three hundred sixty-seven *Maravedies*, call'd *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 sent 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 loss 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*, and one hundred and twenty *Raciones*, or parts. Fees for coining.

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 *Brazajereros*, 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, and every one has a right to make his over, or resign it to whom he pleases. Officers of the mint. 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 their places. between fifty or sixty thousand pieces of eight a year. Those of assayer, and founder (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

eight furnaces, and twenty coiners, have every one between eight hundred and a thousand pieces of eight a year, and the meanest servants earn a piece of eight a day. A good number of these being the treasurer'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, paying two rials short of the value in a mark; one that they pay to the king for *Senorage*, or duty of lordship, and the other for the cost of work; for whereas the value of standard silver of two thousand three hundred seventy-six *Maravedies*, is eight pieces of eight, and six rials a mark, they pay but eight pieces of eight and four rials.

**Separation of gold and silver.** There being some gold, as has been said before, mix'd with the silver, it is separated in another place, call'd *El Apartado*, or the separation. Before the plate goes thither, 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 *aquafortis* to dissolve. The gold remains at the bottom of the vessel like black powder; and the *aquafortis* containing the silver is put into two

glasses with their mouth together; by the *Spaniards* call'd *Cornamufas*. Putting fire to it, the silver remains in one of the two glasses, and the *aquafortis* 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 allow'd to the house *del Apartado*, or of separation. 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 *Maravedies*, '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 thousand pieces of eight.

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-witness to, and the rest was told me by *D. Philip de Rivas* of *Seville*, who had been assayer thirty years.

## C H A P. III.

*The journal continued.*

**U**PON *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 dainties 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 *Istacalco*, which in the *Mexican* language signifies the *White house*. The water of this lake being boil'd with a sort of earth they call *Techisbite*, 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 fruitfulness of the soil.

*Monday* 29th five thieves were hang'd, a *Spaniard*, a *Mestizo*, a *Mulatto* and two *Indians*. The *Spaniard* had kept a *Mestiza* woman, whereupon his father-confessor prevail'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 several 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

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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 *Peru* 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 Poteusi*, to be coin'd into *Spanish* pistols. *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 *Indian* 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 *Dominicans* electing a provincial, which is alternative, for one time they choose a *Spaniard*, and another the son of a *Spaniard* born there. The *Franciscans* choose 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.

#### C H A P. 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 inclosure, 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.

*Sunday* 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.

herbs. They pray at the same time as those in the monastery, being govern'd by the same bell.

A vast inclosure.

All the ground belonging to this monastery being about seven leagues, is inclos'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.

Strange crows.

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.

Mountain of idols.

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 founder.

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, *Da 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.

A wonderful fortune rais'd from nothing.

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 *Chiribusco* of the order of *S. Peter de Alcantara*, a league from *Mexico*; that of *S. Elizabeth*, of bare-foot *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*.

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*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 *Xorge*. 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.

Another.

*D. Francis Canales*, knight of the order of *Calatrava*, having made his wife heiress 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.

Great charity.

*Dominick Laurencana* coming poor into the *Indies*, acquir'd so much wealth that he built the famous monastery of the *Incararnation*; and afterwards a nun of the same, without letting it be known who did it, built the nunnery of *Valvaneda*.

*John Navarro Pastrana*, by no better a trade than a coachman, got so many pieces of eight, that he built the nunneries of *St. Joseph de Gracias*, and that of *The Conception*.

*Stephen de Molina Mosquera*, 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 a 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*)

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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*.

## C H A P. V.

*What more the author saw during his stay at Mexico.*

Escapu-  
falco.

**F**RIDAY 24th I went to *Escapufalco*, to see whether there were any footsteps 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 friers, 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 valu'd *Cochinille* 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.

Cochi-  
nille.

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 conveniency, 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 gaol-delivery for *Whitsuntide*, and took his seat between five *Oydcres*, 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 va- thieves. gabonds, 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 it is, 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 Hospital, 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 licentiate *de Alphonso Gomez* made a present to this charitable place, of the twelve pictures of the apostles, of a great value.

*Thurs-*

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Corpus  
Christi  
procession.

Thursday 6th, against the procession of *Corpus Christi*, all the streets 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 shew. In the silver-smiths streets was the conquest of *Mexico* curiously painted, with the houses exactly as they were then, and the habits the *Indians* then wore. The procession 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 cannons carrying the blessed sacrament on a thing like a bier. The last were the archbishop, the viceroy, the ministry, magistrates of the city and nobility.

Cortes's  
tomb.

Friday 7th I went to the monastery of *St. Francis the Great*, to see 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 preserv'd, not yet honourably bestow'd. The feast of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, being the 29th, was kept in the cathedral, the high altar being so richly adorn'd, that it was valu'd at an hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, the chalice alone, which was set with emeralds, having cost eleven thousand. Sunday, being the last 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, because there are several water-works. The bason is of brass much better than that in the middle of the great square.

There having been a plentiful harvest of the grain they call *de Riego*, that is, which comes up with watering, the viceroy, on Monday the 1st of *July*, sent for all the bakers and farmers, and desir'd them to make the bread of the weight it us'd to be; and the more to oblige them, treated them with biscuits and chocolate, being by himself 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 else they could never wear cloaths worth four or five hundred pieces of eight.

Tuesday 2d, being the visitation of the blessed virgin, the viceroy and his lady went to the college of the maids of *St. Elizabeth*, where they were entertain'd. Here twenty-six orphans are maintain'd by the brotherhood of the blessed sacrament, 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-six thousand pieces of eight a year of royal foundation to be spent in the cure of those that have the *French* disease.

CHAP. VI.

The funeral of the lady *Fausta Dominica Sarmiento*, grandchild in the fifth descent of *Montezuma*; also the festival of *St. Hippolito* and *Pendon*.

Montezuma's  
offering.

ON Tuesday 16th dy'd the lady *Fausta Dominica Sarmiento*, grandchild in the fifth descent to the emperor *Montezuma*, and daughter to count *Montezuma* the present viceroy. She was but eight years of age, and by her death a revenue of forty thousand pieces of eight a year she had in the *Indies*, fell to her younger sister. For the clearing of her genealogy the reader is to understand that the emperor *Montezuma*, among his many wives, had one call'd *Miyabuaxochite*, who was also his niece, as being the daughter of his brother *Ixtilecuecabuac*. By her he had a son whose name was *Tlaca-buc-pantzinyobualyca-bua-catzin*, who was afterwards baptiz'd, and took the name of *Peter*. He took to wife the lady *Magdalen Quayauhxicil*, his own cousin (as being the daughter of *Tlacabucpan*, third brother to *Montezuma*) of

whom was born *D. James Luis Ikuil Temocitzin*, who marry'd in *Spain*. From him are descended the counts of *Montezuma*, *Tula*, &c. to whom the king's exchequer of *Mexico* pays forty thousand pieces of eight a year. By another wife, whose name they say was *Teitalco* (which it is likely has been ill spelt, because it is no *Mexican* name) *Montezuma* had a daughter call'd at first *Tecubich potzin*, and when baptiz'd, *Elizabeth*. Her first husband was her uncle *Cuittlabuatzin*, who ought to have succeeded *Montezuma* in the empire, had not *Quaubtimoc* usurp'd it. Her second husband was *Quaubtemocitzin*; after whose death *Ferdinand Cortes* gave her in marriage to *D. Alonso de Grados*, who had no issue by her. She had to her fourth husband *Peter Gallego de Andrada*, from him are descended the *Andradas Montezumas*, now living

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neral.

living in *Mexico*. Her fifth husband was *John Cano*, from whom come the *Canos Montezumas*.

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 brocado'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 mass 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 this family are an eagle with her wing extended towards the sun, and *Indian* figs about her.

Notable  
charity.

*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 Aguiar 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 prelate 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-

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 *Ildephonsus* 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 *Huitzilipochtli*, 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 now 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 Solemnity the solemnity they call *del Pendon*, or of <sup>ty del</sup> *the standard*, which is the greatest that is <sup>Pendon,</sup> kept in *Mexico*, in memory of the con- <sup>or of the</sup> *standard*. quest 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 (beasts 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 injoin him to mount and attend the standard, going on 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 mass on *Tuesday* 13th, being the day of *St. Hippolitus*, and then carry'd back the

A rich image.

the standard. *Thursday* 15th was the festival of the *Assumption* of our lady, when her image was carried 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 drew lots for three of them to have three hundred pieces of eight a-piece, portion.

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## C H A P. VII.

*Of the sport the Spaniards call la Gamita.*

Wild Indians.

**M**ONDAY 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 *Ottomito 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 shot 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 *Guaxolotes*, or *Turkeys*, that went about the wood in troops. These are the best fowl the *Spaniards* found in *America*, 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 been set 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 Chichi- found in the great hall four *Chichimecas* (a mecas, 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 stagg's skull with all the horn on, and the skin of the beast's neck fitted to theirs. Others carry'd a wolf's head with all the teeth; others a tyger's, and other's a lion's, to look the more terrible. But when they are abroad, the cries and noise 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.

## C. H. A. P. VIII.

## Of the Cus, or pyramids of St. John Teoti-Guacan.

GENEL.  
LI.  
1698.

Pyramid  
of the  
moon.

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-cross the lake of *St. Christopher* to *Acolman*, or *Aculma*, 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 were 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 buried; for which reason the road to it is still called *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 covered with gold, as was that of the moon, which afterwards the *Spaniards* took away at the time of the conquest.

Pyramid  
of the  
sun.

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 carried thither by the *Spaniards*. The word *Cu* is not *Mexican* (it might perhaps be of *Mechoacan*, or some other province) for the *Mexicans* call the church *Teocagli* or *Zoptli*.

The building of these pyramids is attributed to the *Ulmecos*, 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 *Ulmecos* 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 *Cartaginians* 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 *Tonagli-iguezia*, which signifies, the fall of the sun. *Saturday* 21st I return'd home. *Monday* 23d it rain'd so much that

that several houses were ruined, 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.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1698.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the birds and beasts of New Spain.*

Birds.

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 *Sensontle* (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 *Gorrion*, or sparrow, sings sweetly, is as big as our sparrow, 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 a-piece 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, valued for singing. The *Cuir-lacobe* has dark feathers, and is as big as the *Sensontle*, but has a longer beak and red eyes. When kept in a cage it must have a pumice-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 blackbird, 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 *Guacamayas*, 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.

Fowl to eat.

As for eatable fowl, there are two sorts of pheasants; one with black wings and tail and a dark body, which they call *Gritones*; 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 blackbirds, which 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 blackbird, 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 smoke 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 *Chupaflores*, that is, sucking flowers, because it is always seen in the air, sucking flowers, without ever lighting on the ground. The *Indians* say they stick 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 abovementioned.

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, wild boars, but different from ours, for they

Beasts.

GEMEL- they have the navel upon their back,  
 LI. hares, rabbits, deer, foxes, tygers, lions,  
 1698. and 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  
 peculiar 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.

## C H A P. 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 ha-  
 ving 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 forts that *Europe* af-  
 fords, except nuts, cherries, medlars, and  
 service berries. Those peculiar to the  
 country, are plantans, pine-apples, or *A-*  
*nanas*, *Anonas*, *Cocos*, *Ates* 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.  
 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 it, do allow it exceeds  
 all the fruit of *Europe*.

Sapotes. The next place is due to the *Sapotes*,  
 whereof there are four several forts. Some  
 they call black *Sapotes*, their tree is as big  
 as a walnut, and thick; but the leaves  
 very 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 fort  
 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 fort is call'd *Sapote Bor-*  
*racho*, or drunken *Sapote*. The tree is like  
 the last, but the branches more sightly.  
 The taste of the fruit is between sweet and  
 tart, but very pleasant; the colour is green

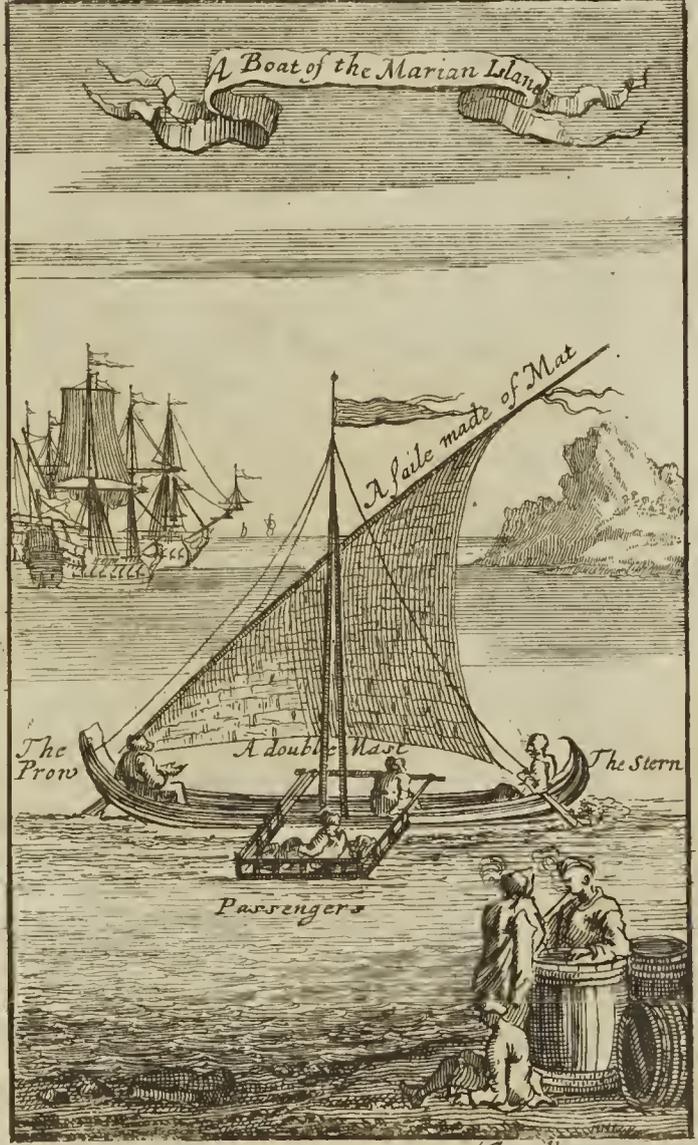
and yellowish without, and whitish with-  
 in, with two kernels. The fourth is call'd  
*Chico Sapote*, or *little Sapote*. The tree is  
 higher, bigger and thicker than the wal-  
 nut. The fruit without is almost purple,  
 and within higher colour'd. It has four  
 small kernels plac'd as it were 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 la-  
 dies 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 barley 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 forts 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 support every one, and about them plantans 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 running up; the ground must be weeded, and the root 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 chefnut-tree, but a little narrower; the blossom comes out all over the body and branches, like the jefmin; 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 chefnut 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 are then kept three days in a 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 again, that it may be thorough dry. These shrubs make the air somewhat unwholesome.

Bainillas.

The *Bainilla* is a sort of *Indian* cane by the *Spaniards* call'd *Bexuco*, which twines about the orange-tree like ivy. That long cod 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 *Bainillas* are the principal ingredients of chocolate. The *Europeans* to every pound of cacao add a pound of sugar, and an ounce of cinnamon. The *Indians* use no *Bainilla*, 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; not 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 cacao, which gives the chocolate a pretty relish. This drink is very ancient, and us'd

by the *Indians* before the *Spaniards* conquer'd 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 useful plant in the *Indies* Maghey, call'd *Magbey*, 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 distempers. 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 *Pulche*. 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 standing, they cut away the middle leaves, making a concavity in the middle, which receives 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 *Aquavite* of it, after the same manner as was said of the coco wine in the foregoing volume.

This drink is so universal among the *Indians*, 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 palace in the year 1692, as was said above, and the drink itself was prohibited. Nevertheless it is conniv'd at, and some *Spaniards* drink it as well as the *Indians*; for which reason, whilst I was there, fresh orders came from the king to receive the duty again, and allow of the drink as formerly.

The *Indian* fig-trees do not only produce pleasant fruit, but also the cochinille for dying scarlet, as was said before. For dying blue 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 mention'd here, there grow almost all that *Europe* affords, of which it is needless to give any account.

The End of the Fifth Book.

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

Containing the most remarkable Things he saw in NEW SPAIN.

B O O K VI.

C H A P. I.

GEMEL-  
LI.  
1698.

*The author's journey to the city of the Angels, and an account of what is remarkable there.*

First day's  
journey  
7 leagues.

**B**EING 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 aboard the advice-boat bound for the *Havana*, 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 *Mexicalcingo*, a little village, where a river that comes out of the lake of *Chalco*, runs out towards that of *Mexico*, and is very serviceable for conveying of goods. Travelling on a league further, over marshy plains, I came to the village of *Istapalapa*, 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.

*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 headlong.

Second  
day 5  
leagues.

*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 *Cordova*; 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 more like a robber than any thing else.

*Saturday* 12th we proceeded betimes along the mountain way two leagues, to the inn of *Tesmoluca*; thence I descended into a delightful plain strew'd with little country houses; and three leagues thence got by noon to the little village of *St. Martin*. After dinner I would go to *Tlascalala*, 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 cross'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 *Tlascalala* (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,

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 streight, 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 allummy, 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 cupola. The chapels are well painted and gilt.

*Cathedral.* 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 handsomly 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. *Nicholas GEMELÉ* <sup>LI.</sup> *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 tradition, that these giants dwelt on the mountains above *Tlascalala*. 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. In the church of *Churches.* 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 cupola upon four large stone arches. S. *John de Dios*, of the fathers hospitaliers, 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.

*Sunday* 20th I went to the village of *Cholula*. *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 friers; and the church

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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 *Bethlem* has been fifteen years building, with the monastery. The college of *S. Ildephonus*, 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.

## C H A P. II.

The author continues his journey to Vera Cruz.

Fifth 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 *Quachiula*, in the *Indian* governor's house.

Sixth day  
7 leagues.

*Tuesday* 22d after riding 4 leagues 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*.

Seventh  
day about  
7 leagues.

*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 *Aculsingo*, 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 *Ingenio 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 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. Nicholas*, 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.

Eighth  
day  
5 leagues.

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 sort 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. Laurence 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

Ninth day  
10 leagues.

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 six 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 forc'd to hang up our stirrups and shoes, that they might not be eaten. The host was a lean naked *Spaniard*, who led an hermitical 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.

Tenth day  
8 leagues. 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 *Mulattas* make good thread, call'd *Pita*, to sew shoes, of an herb like *Magbey*, which they plant. Here I found myself 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 myself 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 ourselves, we bethought us how little we should have been pitied, had the *Mulatto* left us both 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 *Alcade*, to punish the *Mulatto* that kept it for some offence, took it from him, forbidding him to receive or entertain any passengers, but to send 'em the way of *Cotasta*; which was for his advantage; and the *Mulatto* 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 *Alcade*. 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 *Asperilla*, where there was an infinite multitude of gnats, and we were forc'd to pay dear for two hoods to defend us against 'em.

Eleventh  
Day 5  
leagues. Sunday 27th we rode two leagues, to 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 History of the *Philippine Islands* concerning the bird *Carpintero*, viz. that it finds an herb which makes iron flie 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 further, 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 forc'd 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 apartment in his house.

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## C H A P. III.

*The description of the new town and port of Vera Cruz.*

Vera Cruz. **T**HE new city of *Vera Cruz* is seated in the latitude of 19 deg. and 16 min. and 273 deg. 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 wholesome, especially 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 intrusted 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, because 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 and 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 *Lorenzillo*, a pirate of *Petiguavas*: he landed 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 *Sanficios*, 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 anchor under its walls. The port is naturally strong, because on the east and west 'tis defended by abundance of rocks, which strangers who are not acquainted, cannot avoid running upon.

Inhabitants. Now tho' all the fleets or single ships, that go out of *Europe* to *New Spain*, put into this port; yet the city, instead of being rich and large like *Mexico*, is, for the reasons above alledg'd, small and poor, little 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 unwholsomeness 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 chapels. The church of the *Jesuits* is poor, has but ten altars, and those meanly adorn'd. *Sunday* 3d I din'd with the governor, before 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, ferry'd over a great river to the old *Vera Cruz*. Old Vera Cruz. This at present may more properly be called a small village of fishermen, than a city; for it has no houses, but cottages cover'd with leaves and inclos'd with canes. The inhabitants are always tormented with the stinging of gnats. Before me they took some fish in the river call'd *Bobos*, or *Fool*; because when the north wind blows they make to the sea, and so fall into the nets. Their roes dry'd are excellent to eat. These rivers and all those of *New Spain*, but particularly those of *Guatemala* being full of crocodiles or aligators, it is worth observing, that the dogs when they cross them, knowing by instinct of nature, that the aligators are most fond of their flesh, go first to secure themselves, and bark in one place, that the alligators may come thither, and then run to swim over at another place. *This same is related by F. Navarrete 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.

## C H A P. IV.

*A short account of the discovery and conquest of New Spain.*

**C**ORTES'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 authors have already made publick, some particulars kept in that country by tradition from father to son, and extracted out of  
four

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 accidentally discover'd by a ship drove thither by tedious storms, which returning afterwards 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 notions go about this particular, too tedious for us to handle, and therefore we will come to the point.

*Columbus* being himself in no condition to undertake this voyage upon his own account, 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 *Ferdinand* 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 cardinal *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 soldiers and sailors. He set sail on the 3d of *August* 1492, and having furnish'd himself with necessaries at the *Canary Islands*, continu'd his voyage. On the 11th of *October* he discover'd land, which was one of the islands *Lucayos*, call'd *Guanabani*, between *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 *Cacique* 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 *Cordova*; and taking ten *Indians*, forty parrots, some gold, *Indian* wheat, and other things to make out the truth of his discovery, 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 godfather 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 westward, and all eastward to the *Portugueses*, dividing the world between those two kings, by two lines drawn from north to south.

*Columbus* for a second voyage was furnish'd with eighteen ships, and one thousand five hundred men aboard them, besides 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 along near the line, the first land it discover'd was, the island afterwards call'd *Desseada*. 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 *Isabella*, 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 discover'd the island *Cuba*, and other lesser islands. He fell at variance with the pope's vicar for his severity towards the priests and *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*.

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* 1497. From the *Madera* islands 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 forc'd 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*.

*Bartholomew 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 south coast to *Nombre de Dios*. He return'd to *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, but could

not

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Second  
voyage.

Third  
voyage.

Fourth  
voyage.

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not get to *Santo Domingo* for want of ships. Here his men mutiny'd, but the mutiniers were defeated in fight by *Bartholomew 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 Velasquez*, governor of *Cuba*; both of them had skirmishes with the *Indians*, but could make themselves masters of no place.

Cortes. Heaven had design'd this conquest for *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 afterwards 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. 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 *Tlascalans*, 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 *Tlascalans*, at length dismay'd, sued 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* enter'd *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 *Tlascalans*. 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 sacrificed. Hereupon *Montezuma*, being more terrified than before, sent another ambassy to him, with presents of gold and rich coverlets, excusing himself on account of the business 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 *Tescuco*, and other noblemen in great pomp, to meet him a day's journey off, and conduct him. *Cortes* came with them through *Iztapalapa* to the broad causeway 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 *Tescuco* 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 <sup>Monte-</sup>age, of a good stature, a dark complexion, <sup>zuma.</sup> a chearful 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 carried 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

Goes to Mexico.

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 *Huychilobos*, the god of war, and of *Tezcatepuca* of hell, both brothers, full of a deadly stench caus'd by the men there sacrificed.

He is secur'd.

The soldiers one day searching about for a place to make a church of, broke thro' 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 *Montezuma*, but was afraid of the success, because 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 telling him he must be content to live a prisoner, or to die. 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, promis'd 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 carried 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 *Tescuco*, 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, though 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.

*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 sand of certain rivers. After this the emperor made a present by way of tribute to the king of *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 600,000 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, provoked that *Cortes* had set up the cross upon their temple, excited the people to fall upon 'em, and therefore *Montezuma* advis'd him to be gone; but he, to gain 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.

This being the posture of affairs at *Mexico*, and *James Velasquez* understanding that *Cortes* had sent deputies to the emperor with rich presents, without taking notice of him, he fitted out nineteen sail 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 *Magbey*. 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

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Narvaez  
sent against  
Cortes.

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Narvaez  
routed.

Spaniards  
besieg'd in  
Mexico.

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, caused *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'd out with his forces towards *Mexico*. *Cortes* hearing of it, left *Peter 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 *Tlascalala*. 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 *Cempoalla*, 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 soldiers 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 *Tlascalans*. 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 garrison 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 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

Montezuma  
kill'd.

Cortes  
leaves  
Mexico.

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 las 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 *Tlascalala* was well receiv'd, tho' it had lost twelve hundred *Tlascallans*.

*Quaubtimoc*, *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 *Tesputlan*, 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 besiege *Iztapalapa*, *Cuyoacan* and *Tacuba*, and broke down the aqueduct of *Chapultepec*, that carried the water to *Mexico*. He went in his brigantines about the lake, and sinking several canoos 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 causeway 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 lost all the ground they had gain'd upon the causeways; 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 horses 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 causeways, 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 canoos 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 *Huychilobos*, casting their bodies out to be devour'd by wild beasts, and keeping only the legs and arms, to eat them with *Chilmole*,

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Comes to  
Tlascalala.

Cortes re-  
inforced.

Returns to  
Mexico.

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Indians  
forsake  
Cortes.

*mole*, a hot fauce. 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 *Tlascalala*, *Tescuco* and other places went away 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 fascine, 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 *Tlascalala* and *Tescuco* came again to their assistance.

They re-  
turn.

In the mean while *Cortes* made application to the king for peace, but he daily grew 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

He takes  
part of the  
city.

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 incompass'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 necessaries 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 Melinche, 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

King of  
Mexico  
and the city  
taken.

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. Hippolitus*, after a siege of ninety-three days; therefore the anniversary of the conquest was kept on that day, as has been said before. *Quaubtimoc* 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 assist-ed him, with thanks, sending them away loaded with spoils of the conquer'd; and the *Indians* thought themselves very rich, in carrying away many loads of dry'd flesh 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 inhabited; 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 *Alonzo de Avila* and *Antony de Quinones*, with a present of two hundred twenty-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 intreat him not to send lawyers into the *Indies*, to breed dissension among the inhabitants.

These two sail'd on the 20th of *December* 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 Portugal have divided the new world between 'em, without allowing me any share; I would desire them to shew me Adam's will which intitles them to it.*

*Avila* going into *Spain*, did not only obtain the government of *New Spain* for *Cortes*, but a confirmation of the division he had made of the country among the conquerors, 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,  
Yo en seruiros sin segundo,  
Y vos sin igual en el mundo.*

That is, as the phenix has no mate, so neither has any man serv'd you like me; nor have you any equal to you in the world.

*Cortes* going afterwards to punish the rebellion of *Christopher de Olid*, in the provinces of *Higueras* and *Honduras*, took along with him *Quaubtimoc* 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 convinc'd of the falshood of your words, captain Melinche, and that you would put me to death: unhappy I, that did not kill myself 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 the government of *New Spain*, and therefore went away to court. He was there honourably receiv'd in the year 1527, and

created marquis *del Valle*, worth at this day GEMEL-  
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1698. sixty thousand pieces of eight a year, and had the title of captain-general of *New Spain* and of the south sea; and, to compleat his honour, falling sick, the emperor went to see him. Then returning into the *Indies*, he retir'd to his own estate, and apply'd himself to building of ships, as he had promis'd to do, to discover other islands and countries on the south sea. After discovering *California*, with a thousand disasters, and the expence of three hundred thousand pieces of eight, he came over to *Spain* to have his expences allow'd him, but was so far from getting his money, that he was forbid going over to the *Indies* till he had flood 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 under-lip.

## C H A P. 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 Almagro* and *Ferdinand Luque*, a priest of *Panama*, having the governor's leave. Landing when he had sail'd an hundred leagues, he fought the inhabitants with much bravery, and was wounded by them; but *Almagro*, 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 inhabitants lived like birds, upon trees. Being therefore in no condition to do them any harm, he retir'd to the island *del Gallo*; and *Almagro* went again for recruits to *Panama*. *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 Castille*; 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, Began his  
conquest. 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 threatned 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

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quaint him with his arrival at that place. They brought back a very ill answer; whereupon he prepared 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 crim'on 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 offended, that he presently began to shew himself 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, hop'd to be able to pay *Pizarro* the promis'd sum: But he was punish'd after the same manner for his barbarity; for, having delivered 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*.

Atabaliba  
taken.

Civil war.

The war with the *Indians* being at an 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 ordi-

nances; but the new conquerors refusing to obey them, rebell'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 *oydore Alvarez*, who had been entrusted to carry the viceroy into *Spain*, when they came to *Guaura*, 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 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 joining, 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 went 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

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 cap-

tains 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 *Cbile*, and fifteen leagues in breadth, it never thunders, lightens nor rains.

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## 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 observed, that tho' 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 returned home full of *Garrapatas*, a sort of vermin bred in the wood 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.

Churches  
and monasteries.

*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 is call'd *Nuestra Sennora la Antigua*, or *Our Lady the ancient*. The *Augustinians* are so poor that they have no church, but only a little chappel. The hospital of *St. Hippolitus* is divided into two parts, one for men and the other for women; but both small.

*Wednesday* 20th 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 about 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 feathers 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 no 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 Loranz y Roda*, knight of the order of *Santiago* or *St. James*, recommended me to the captain of a vessel that was to carry me to *Havana*, and gave me letters of recommendation to captains of galeons there, as also a present in money. *D. Alonso de Penalosa*, 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.

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## C H A P. VII.

*The author's voyage to the port of Havana in the island of Cuba.*

HAVING taken leave of the governor and friends, on *Saturday* the 14th of *December* I went aboard the vessel called the *Sevillian*, that came with licence from *Maracao*, to join the galleons at *Havana*, and sail with them to *Cadiz*. The governor 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 castle, 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 passengers, 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 in 24 deg. 3 min. of lat. At night we stood E. N. E. and so continu'd *Saturday* 21st, making much way. Finding 25 deg. 30 min. lat. which was enough to avoid 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, tuny-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 *Christmases Eve*, the wind came up at S. W. and drove us E. S. E. At night we were again becalm'd; and *Wednesday* 25th, being *Christmases 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 anchor 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 out 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 the castle *de Morro*, and had not we got in as we did, we had been in great danger. *Monday* 30th I landed and carry'd my goods to a house I hir'd near the hospital of S. *John de Dios*.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The description of Havana, and particulars of that country.*

Havana.

THE *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, inclos'd 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

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 throve 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 venemous 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 seed; but they set bits of it in the ground to grow again.

Jucca.

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.

Blacks.

The city of *Havana* is incompass'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 Fort*, 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 viage*, serv'd by secular priests. Next day that of the *Recolets* seated on the best ground in the city, and in it twelve beautiful chappels, 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.

Indians of Florida.

of lat. *Saturday* 11th a boat arriv'd in twenty-four hours from the opposite coast of *Florida*, and 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

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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; tortoise-shells, and a sort of scarlet birds to keep in cages, for their colour, call'd cardinals.

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*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 king's 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 intire credit to the written particulars they deliver to one another; for afterwards the bales and chests are open'd in the presence of publick notaries; and if they find any thing amiss, the companies of *Seville* and *Lima* are to make all good. This year the company of *Lima*-traders paid five thousand pieces of eight for goods found over and above in the bales at the foregoing fair. The same is practis'd at *Acapulco*, when the galeon comes from *Manila*.

There was also deliver'd to the master of plate (which is an officer aboard the galeons, who had charge of all the plate and jewels) aboard the admiral, a pearl weighing sixty grains, shaped like a pear, by *F. Francis de la Fuente*, a *Jesuit*, to be deliver'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 Persequida*, or *The Persecuted*, he there died before he went aboard, and therefore committed it to the care of the aforesaid *F. Fuente*, who told me 'twas larger than that call'd *La Peregrina*, but somewhat duller. The *Black* had his liberty for his reward.

A rich pearl.

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There went aboard the galeons twenty doctors of *Peru*, being the sons of *Spaniards* and *Indian* women, going to court for preferment; and the least that every one of 'em carried, was thirty thousand pieces of eight.

Cotorreras  
and Gua-  
camaijas,  
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 houses with gardens and farms, where there is no want of *Indian* fruit. I found a sort of snails very large, like the sea-snails. *Friday* 24th I saw the church and monastery of the *Augustinians*; the first has thirteen little altars; the latter, very poor dormitories. *Sunday* 26th I was at the mother-church of the city, where the bishop officiates with the clergy belonging to it, his residence being at *Havana*, tho' the cathedral 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 discourse of my travels, and see the curiosities I had, among whom was D. *Charles Sotomayor*, knight of the order of *Calatrava*, and *Oydore*, or judge of *Santa Fe*, to whom an incredible accident happen'd.

A very remarkable  
passage.

This gentleman went, by order of his court, to receive informations against the governor of *Carthagena*, for having deliver'd up that place to the *French*, and carried along with him the governor of *Santa Marta* to put into his place. He going alone into *Carthagena*, because the governor of *Santa Marta*, who was more crafty, remain'd without to see what the event would be, began to proceed with more rigour 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 imprison'd, 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 *Carthagena* 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 accident; 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 persecuted.

*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 revenue is twelve thousand pieces of eight.

On *Saturday* the 1st of *February* arriv'd the long wish'd for vessel, with provisions for the fleet, being seventeen hundred *Quintals*, or an hundred weight of biscuit, six hundred load of meal, fish, and other necessaries for the galeons.

*Tuesday* 4th I went to the hermitage 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 sometimes. *Wednesday* 5th I saw the castle of *the Point*, which is very small, and has four bastions. *Monday* 10th, going to visit the castellan D. *Antony de Roxas*, I had the opportunity 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 proclamation 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 prohibited, upon pain of death, for any boat to go out of the harbour, for fear the enemy should have notice that the galeons were ready to sail; notwithstanding, the deputies of the company of *Seville*, not liking the admiral, used all means to obstruct his sailing. 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.

There are two particular sorts of fruit at *Havana*, which do not grow elsewhere: *Fruit of Havana.* one is like a heart, call'd *Guanavana*, green without, and has some thorny prickles; within, made up of white morsels of an unpleasant 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,

green, and on the other of a cinnamon colour. Of *European* fruit there grow quinces, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and other sorts.

Birds and  
beasts.

The mountains are full of wild boars, cows, horses and mules. Of birds there are abundance, especially parrots, and partridges bigger than quails, with blue heads; and as for those that are fit for the cage, there's great plenty of those they call *Chambergos*.

Friday 21<sup>st</sup> there arriv'd a bark from *Matacumbe*, a small island on the coast of *Florida*, with five *Franciscans*, who in *November* before had been sent for by the *Cacique Charles*, as missionaries, and were since expell'd naked, for offering, out of an ill-timed zeal, to make a procession in the night before the temple of the *Indian* idolaters; who fled at first, but then came again arm'd, and abused the friers, driving them out of their country, so that they were forc'd to go away half naked to *Matacumbe*, a territory of christian *Indians*.

Saturday 22<sup>d</sup> the captain of the *Maestranzas*, 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 23<sup>d</sup> there was a council held of all the sea-officers, where they concluded that the hold must be well stow'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 galeons should not be loaded

with merchandize. The admiral therefore having on Monday 24<sup>th</sup> acquainted the captains of the galeons and the deputies of the merchants, that it was convenient for the king's service (or rather for their own) that the galeons should be more loaded, it began to be very diligently put in execution on Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup>, the time appointed for sailing drawing near.

Monday 3<sup>d</sup> of March I saw the castle *del Morro*, built upon a rock, on the left of the mouth of the harbour, which it defends 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 *Cardinals* being brought over from *Florida*, I saw the people belonging to the galeon 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 *Carthagena*, and the expensive delay of keeping the fleet three years in *America*. Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> proclamation was made, forbidding 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 galeon, he sent on Sunday 9<sup>th</sup> for my equipage. Monday 10<sup>th</sup> several grumets, who had receiv'd their pay, ran away. Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup> I took leave of my friends, and provided sweetmeats for my voyage.

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Castle del  
Morro.

## CHAP. IX.

*The author's voyage from Havana to Cadiz.*

THE fleet being under sail, I went aboard on Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> in the afternoon. Thursday 13<sup>th</sup>, the warning-piece being fired, all the galeons weigh'd anchor again, and the admiral, by sun-rising, 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 14<sup>th</sup> we were twenty leagues from *Havana*, but the two aforementioned galeons 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 15<sup>th</sup>, the wind E. we steer'd N. N. E. the lat. 23 deg. 40 min. Sunday 16<sup>th</sup>, 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 galeons the year before were in such a

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terrible storm, tho' it was in *September*, that they had all like to have been lost, some of 'em return'd to *Havana* unmasted, 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. That 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 Yeguas*, 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 sound, 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 merchants ships, our captain, *D. Ferdinand Chacon*, 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 sixty leagues from *Havana*, the soldiers and gunners began to be exercis'd, for fear of meeting an 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. 15 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 sail'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 *Curazau*. 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 *Clan* that he might safely deviate from the king's orders, which were

were, to run up to 42 degr. 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 deg. of lat. about the islands *Cuervo* 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 auntient set up at the stern of a ship that had made a-head to discover land, which caus'd great joy: yet we could not make near to land, by reason of the calm; nor on *Wednesday* 23d, because the wind was contrary; wherefore we lay by, in sight of the islands of *Cuervo* and *Flores*, four hundred and eighty leagues distant from the *Bermudas*: that of *Cuervo* is not inhabited, but serves to graze the cattle of the *Portugueses*, who live in the island of *Flores*, which is no bigger, but more fruitful. We being to pass thro' a channel three leagues in breadth, made by the two islands, 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 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 S. 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 was 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. 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* 7th 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 *Flores*, 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 deg. 9 min. We were becalm'd till 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

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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 recover 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. 36 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 52 leagues beyond the island of *St. Mary*. Others said, it had been an earthquake; others, that we had pass'd over a whale as she lay asleep; but hearing that the same had happened 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-fail, 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 50 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 pleased God to shew his mercy on us, sending a N. E. wind, which allowed 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 a-head 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 standing 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 incumbrance. There was much confusion in stowing so many chests and bundles as lay about; then he furnish'd all persons with arms and ammunition, and assign'd every man his post: at night he kept lights between decks, and all his crew in a readiness, having heard five guns fired one after another, which gave notice that the four ships were close a-stern 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 observation was taken. Before night we saw three ships, which again put our galeon into an alarm; but *Friday* 30th, being come nearer, we found one of 'em was our admiral, and the other two the galeons of *Ovillla* and *Garay*, parted from us in the storm above two months before. The merchant-ships saluted them with five guns, were answer'd with three, and return'd the like number; then the admiral gave one, and the merchants did the same. We were inform'd that the admiral, coming out of the channel of *Babama*, sprung her fore-mast and maintop-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 *Indies*. 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 first 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. *Monday* 2d we could not approach

approach the land by reason of the contrary wind, which was E. and therefore we steer'd N. We made little 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 pilots 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 being call'd in by a flat from the admiral, put up *French* colours, and answer'd with a gun: then the *Frenchman* saluted with seven, 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 *Puntales*, having sail'd four hundred and sixty leagues from *Bermudas*, and thirteen hundred from *Havana*, in eighty-four days. All *Cadiz* rejoiced, forgetting the loss of several millions by the sacking of *Cartagena*; not only the houses, but the steeples being adorn'd with colours set up; and all the shore cover'd with a multitude 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, knowing it could not be carried off till the *Indulto* 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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BOOK CHA P. 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. **T**HE island of *Cadiz* was first call'd *Juno'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 straight of *Gibraltar*, in 36 degr. 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 *Africk*, the *East* and *West Indies*, and those of the straights bound into the ocean. The city is in an island; for on the east side, that is towards the continent, it has a chanel that joins the waters of the bay with those of the main 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 all inclos'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 supplied 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. 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 *Mata Gorda*, t'other near *Puerto-Real*, or *Port Royal*, both of 'em encompass'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. *D. Francis Gutierrez de los Rios y Cordova*, count of *Fernan Nunnez*, entertain'd me nobly on *Monday* 9th, to hear me give an account of my travels, and engag'd me to make use of his table during my stay. Being there at dinner on *Tuesday* 10th, news was brought us of the arrival of the tender belonging to the galeons, 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 unadvisedly fell into four or five fathom water. This account turn'd all the joy of the people of

Forts.

The bay.

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Port St.  
Mary.

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 used all endeavours to come aboard that ship, but it pleas'd God, for my good, I did not prevail. *Wednesday* 18th the count carried me in his boat to *Port St. Mary*, two leagues from *Cadiz*. This place, and the country about it, belongs to the duke of *Medina-celi*; 'tis much larger than *Cadiz*, the streets handsomer, 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 *Carthusians*, call'd *Cartuja de Xeres*, 'tis inhabited by very rich merchants. *Friday* 20th the count carried me aboard *Monfieur Coetlogon*, who commanded ten *French* men of war, and receiv'd us very honourably, treating the company with coffee and tea, which the *Spaniards* 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 *Espannoleta*, commanded by *John de la Vaca*, which was thought to be lost, and worth half a million. There we were inform'd, that another small vessel, call'd *The Savillano*, 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 rarities I brought, presented me with a mineral stone, in which was a large emerald, that I might add it to the rest of my curiosities; 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.

The End of the Sixth BOOK.



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

Containing the most remarkable Things he saw in SPAIN, FRANCE and ITALY.

B O O K VII.

C H A P. I.

*An account of what is most remarkable in the city of Seville, and the author's journey to Madrid.*

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**O**N *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 of some sharper, so he cry'd it up to sell it him for a piece of eight.

St. Lucar.

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 *Geboc*, a village belonging to the duke of *Veraguas*, where we anchor'd; because the tide was ebb, and against us. About two in the morning we advanced again

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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 arsenal 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 Caesar*; it is not known whether they were erected by the *Romans*, and I doubt of it very 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 37 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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able of which is that of *Xeres*, at which king *Ferdinand* made his entry, when he took it from the *Moors*. The suburbs are those of *St. Bernard*, *St. Benedict*, *St. Roch*, *Tablada*, *La Fuente del Arcobispo*, and others. On the right side of the river is another little city, call'd *Triana*, join'd to *Seville* by a wooden bridge. There is nothing in it remarkable, but a monastery of *Carthusians*, and the palace and prisons of the inquisition. *Seville* is nothing inferior to *Madrid* for bigness, or number of inhabitants. The men are handsomer 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 pillars, where they say was the king's table, they go to the baths. Then we came into the second court, about which there are noble 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*, furnam'd the *Cruel*, who often 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 cupola, 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 bason, with a statue pouring out water at several parts; then there is a way on the right, down two pair of stairs, into two squares, incompass'd with high and thick myrtle-trees. Here there are several statues, clad in that same green, and representing musicians, with several sorts of instruments in their hands; on the ground there are abundance of little holes for water 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, curiously wrought, the other under an arch, with several figures of beasts and men, one of them sounding 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 order'd, and by it another bason, with a statue pouring out water. Here are several plats of roses and other flowers. Adjoining to this is another orange and lemon garden; 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 inclos'd with high walls, with square towers at convenient distances.

*Monday* 7th, going about to view the city, I saw the monastery of *St. Paul*, of the *Dominicans*, not yet finish'd; the plan is large, has great pillars, which are to support 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 for beauty, but for bigness, having several cloisters, with a great number of cells for two hundred friers. The noviceship stands apart 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 *Biscainers* and *Portugueses*. 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 *Alcades* and *Jurados*, who oppose them in such things as are not convenient. The first of these sit upon benches made fast on high about the room; the others on benches cover'd with leather standing on the floor; there is such another room above stairs for winter. The church of the *Mercenarians*, whither we went next, tho' small, is very beautiful; and the monastery spacious, with pleasant cloisters adorn'd with marble pillars. This was the first built in *Seville*, after expelling the *Moors* in the year 1249.

Thence I went to the *Lonja*, otherwise call'd *Casa de Comercio de la India*, which is the *Exchange*; which is a large structure, arch'd and supported by pillars of hard stone. Here a prior and two consuls administer justice to merchants, under a canopy, in a stately hall; and to assess and receive the *Indulto* the king demands upon the arrival of plate fleets; as also the duties

ties for other expences. That year, notwithstanding the loss sustain'd at *Cartagena*, the merchants were oblig'd to pay three millions and a half at *Portobello*, and the counsils endeavour'd to make them pay a greater sum.

pieces of eight. They still shew the key <sup>GEMEL-  
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1699.</sup> the *Moorish* king 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 still 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 Giralda*, which turns with the wind like a weather-cock.

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, inclos'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, inclos'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 *Beatrix*. 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 Mondo 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 inferior 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 relicks, is a silver tabernacle, weighing two thousand six hundred and fifty pounds; and a brass *Tenebrae* candlestick of two thousand pounds, 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

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 and large, and there are good beds in the galleries. The church, though 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 boys are taken in 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 as the aqueduct, which though 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 enter'd 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, two for civil causes, in each of which four *Oydores*,

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dores, or judges, meet; and the other for the criminals, where three *Alcades*, and a *Fiscal* 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 *India-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 swordmen; 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.

St. Je-  
rome.

Wednesday 9th my friend and I went to the monastery of *St. Jerome*. The most wonderful thing there is an image of that faint, 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, though small, has seven altars well adorn'd. Returning to the city we pass'd by the monastery of *St. Lazarus*, and that call'd *De la sangre*, or *Of the blood*; the first for curing 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.

Two ho-  
spitals.

Carthu-  
sians.

Going over the bridge we came to *Triana*, and thence to *Las Cuevas*, or the *Carthusians*. Though 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 reliëts, 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 inquir'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 happen'd.

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 *St. 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 *St. Francis*.

Sunday 13th, having taken leave of all friends, I set out for *Madrid*, in a coach journey to 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 Ossaetta* of *Lima*. Going out of *Seville* near sun-setting, we came to *Castel-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 2d day, craggy mountain. About noon we rested on the bank of a rivulet, and moving thence came two hours after nightfall to *Santa Orelia*, 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 were 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 Centorian*. 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 friers.

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

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, tho' they were never so still.

5th day,  
6 leagues.

*Friday* 18th we did not set out till afternoon for *Merida*, six leagues distant, whither we came about one in the morning. We had a scurvy inn, because all the good ones were taken up for the ambassador 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 *Italian* mile in length, and broad enough for two coaches to go abreast, over the river *Guadiana*. 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 monasteries of friers, and four of nuns. The common walking place is not contemptible.

Merida.

6th day,  
7 leagues.

*Saturday* 19th we set out late, and rested after two leagues, at the little village of *St. Peter*, whence going three leagues further on a plain country, we came to *Medellin*, and two leagues thence to *Miajadas*, both places belonging to the earl of *Medellin*. All the inns were taken up for the ambassador, so that we far'd ill.

7th day,  
3 leagues.

*Sunday* 20th we went after dinner three leagues to *St. Cruz*, where we lay till midnight.

8th day,  
6 leagues.

*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 afterwards passing by *Casas de Mirabete* in the dark; I broke my gun, and had some other loss. Three leagues further we cross'd the river *Tagus* 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 travelled two leagues over a plain well cultivated, in which there was a very good village, we went to take up our quarters at *Calcada de Oropesa*.

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9th day,  
2 leagues.

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 Venedo's* inn, where we found neither beds nor meat, that place being always in danger of highway-men. In *April* the year before, nine of those strollers had robb'd and bound about forty travellers. Having rested a little we went four leagues further to *Talavera*, a town well known for the excellent earthen ware made there, and containing 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*.

10th day,  
10 leagues.

Talavera.

*Thursday* 24th we set out late, and having rode six leagues over good plains, lay at *Santa Olalla*, a village belonging to the count *de Orgas*.

11th day,  
6 leagues.

*Friday* 25th, continuing our journey through olive gardens and good villages, especially that call'd *Noves*, for six leagues, we came to *Casa Rubia*.

12th day,  
6 leagues.

*Saturday* 26th went four leagues further, and lay at *Mostobes*.

13th day,  
4 leagues.

*Sunday* 27th travell'd three leagues and arriv'd at *Madrid*, over the bridge of *Segovia*. I took into an inn in the street call'd *Calle de Silva*, but then remov'd to that of *Oliivo alto*.

14th day,  
3 leagues.

CHAP. II.

*The description of the royal town of Madrid, and what is most remarkable in it.*

Madrid  
describ'd.

THE royal town of *Madrid* is seated in a champain, water'd by the river *Mancañares*. The country about is uneven, some plain, some high and some low; but the air is very good and wholesome, and though it be not in above 40 deg. and 40 min. latitude; yet the cold in winter and the heat in summer are intolerable. The shape of it is almost oval, little 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 hogsheds of water in carts, which they let out about the streets to carry off the filth, and sometimes it runs in streams that stop the way, and poison with the stink.

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The houses for the most part cannot compare with those of *Italy*, being generally ill built with timber ribs. But as to particulars, the king's palaces are most magnificent, as well for 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.

Placa  
Mayor.

Among the publick buildings the *Placa 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.

Having visited D. *John Francis Pacheco*, duke of *Uzeda*, and shew'd him all my curiosities gather'd 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 inquir'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 *Mercenarian* monastery of the *Mercenarians*, which is 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 chappels that were compleat. *Monday* 18th heard mass at *St. Phelipe el Real*. The monastery is of *Augustinians*, very small; but the church is well set off. *Tuesday* 19th I saw the church of *St. Andrew*, which has a most beautiful cupola, and chappels and altars well adorn'd; especially that where the body of *St. Isidorus* 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 *Leganitos*, where the *French* embassador 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, 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 with D. *Peter Chaves*, who was to go with me into *Italy*, to see the *Escorial*, and din'd at *Roxas*, three leagues from *Madrid*, whence we travell'd the other four leagues, passing

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 rarities of that monastery. We came into the great court through a noble front of massy stone, over which is the statue of *St. Laurence*; and proceeding thence into the second, found there beautiful apartments about it, and a most curious frontispiece over the church-door, with six statues of prophets. The church has three islands, supported as is the cupola by large pillars of hard stone. The high altar is exceeding majestick, and adorned with double rows of pillars of choice marble, being eighteen 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 precious pillars of jasper, and within it another less tabernacle adorned with precious stones of inestimable value. On the side walls are the statues of *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* 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. Laurence*, kept in a cupboard, with many relicks of the most glorious saints of the church.

The church.

Pantheon.

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 buried till this day. Then we went to see the sacristy, and here were shew'd church-stuff, adorned with precious stones, gold fringes and rich embroidery. There is also a great silver tabernacle of extraordinary 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 relicks, some manuscripts 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*.

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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 *Arabick* manuscripts were gone they knew not which way.

The pictures in this place are wonderful, being painted by great masters, but the most stupendous 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-mentioned.

In the monastery are fourteen cloisters, with five rows of dormitories one above another; but it is to be observ'd that in this place there live three several families of religious 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-gardens, with myrtles curiously cut, representing the king's arms and other figures; nor are the cristalline fountains less delightful. Besides the fine myrtles in the great cloister, there is a stately cupola of choice marble in the middle; and fish-ponds full of several 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 II.* in pursuance of a vow made on the 10th of *August*, 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 finished in thirty-two years, a short time for so great a structure, that king laying out twenty millions and half upon it; besides the yearly revenue of forty-six thousand pieces of eight a year, for maintenance of the monastery.

Friday

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Friday 5th we returned by the way of *Roxas* to *Madrid*, where being disappointed 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 *Pamplona*, and having taken leave of my friends, prepar'd for my journey.

## C H A P. III.

## The author's journey from Madrid to Toulouze.

First day's  
journey  
3 leagues.

Monday the 8th of September having perform'd my devotions in the church of our lady of *Bethlem*, I took coach after dinner, and went three leagues to lie 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 *Latins* called *Complutum*, in the diocese of the archbishop of *Toledo* and a famous university. It is seated on a plain near the river *Henares*, inclosed 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 lie at *Junquera*, leaving behind *Marciamalo* 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.

Second  
day 9  
leagues.

On Wednesday 10th, when having travell'd six leagues, we din'd at *Xadraque*, and went three leagues further to lie at the village of *Regulara*, being tir'd with the ill way and rain; which continuing we set out late on

Third day  
9 leagues.

Fourth  
day 5  
leagues.

Thursday 11th, and therefore were forced to stay and dine at the inn of *Rio Frio*, but two leagues from where we lay, and then proceeded three leagues still with rain, to lodge at *Barabona*, but had ill accommodation, this being a wretched village, reported to be inhabited by witches.

Fifth day  
5 leagues.

Having travell'd two leagues on Friday 12th, and pass'd through two villages, we baited at *Almasan*, a town belonging to the earl of *Altamira*, inclosed 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 *Almaril*.

Sixth day  
7 leagues.

Saturday 13th, after five leagues riding, we din'd at *Ainojosa*; and then passing over high mountains, came to *Agreda*, 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

Seventh  
day 6  
leagues.

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 set out I saw in a monastery of nuns, the body of the blessed *Mary of Agreda* 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*, *Arragon* 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, and excellent fruit.

Monday 15th we lay in the same place. Eighth day 6 leagues.

Tuesday 16th after two leagues travelling 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 *Arragon*, which falls into the *Ebro*, and lay at *Marfella* a city near to it.

Wednesday 17th we set out two hours before day and din'd at *Tofalla*, four leagues distant, a large city, inclos'd with a wall, and belonging to the king. Then we pass'd through *Barascin* and other places, in the space of two leagues, and went two leagues further of very bad way, to lie at the inn, call'd *de las Campanas*, or of the bells in the village of *Tieves*.

Thursday 18th having travell'd two leagues, we came before noon to *Pamplona*, and I lodg'd at a good inn in *St. Nicholas's* street. Tenth day 8 leagues.

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

Pamplona describ'd.

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an octogon, 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 a-breast 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 *Navarrais* 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 selling, 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 *Suveri*, 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 *Gascoigne* 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 *Roncesvalles*, 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 belong 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

with iron, us'd formerly in war, and one 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 seven leagues, we took up in the fortress of *Navarrens*, at the customer's 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 trouts. The king of *France* has not only made the way safe, but for the travellers greater conveniency, 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 so 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 inquiring 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 baited at

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*Moneim*, 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*, 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 antient manner, without any modern fortification. In the court of it there is noble carving, and half statues of exquisite workmanship; especially a shepherd and shepherdes set in a wall. They shew'd me *Henry* the IVth's royal chappel, 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 inclos'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 other two for civil causes. Every counsellor is allow'd by the king 100 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 *Bagneres*; 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 bait at the inn of *Bordes Point*, and thence three leagues to lye at *Tarbe*, by reason of the bad way. *Tarbe* 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 village of *Lamette*, and one more to lye at *Battaille*.

We mounted at break of day on *Saturday* 27th, and riding three leagues, baited 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 travell'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 forebore opening my trunks, and therefore without making any stay, having cross'd the suburb, we went a-foot 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 may 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*, *Q. 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*.

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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 *Toulouse*, 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,*

*Hactenus inviso jungens tua littora ponte.*

*Hoc opus inceptum, desperatumq; pependit,*

*Donec Ludovicum felicia secla tulerunt,*

*Qui tot ——— possit mirante Tholosa,*

*Tantam 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 happy times brought *Luis*, who [here's a casina] to the admiration of *Toulouse*, 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 picture 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 *Toulouse*. In the next antechamber, 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 *Infanta* of *Spain*, his queen.

Then I went to see the great canal, made by as great a king, to open a communication between the mediterranean and the ocean, cutting a way thro' mountains, levelling the valleys, and forcing nature to submit to art. Several gatherings 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 *Toulouse*, and they go down to the port of *Set*, four leagues from *Montpelier*, where the water of the canal falls into the mediterranean, as the *Garonne* falls into the ocean after passing 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.

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## C H A P. IV.

*The author's journey from Tolouze to Marfeilles.*

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HAVING hired a calash for nineteen crowns to *Montpelier*, I fet 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 *French*-man. At this place there's a gathering of water for the use of the canal, and two leagues off another, call'd of *Norouse*.

Setting our 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 *Toulouze*; 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 *Piscia*, three leagues from *Carcafonne*, and then went three leagues further, along a stony way, to lie at *Poussol*.

*Friday* 3d at the end of three leagues, we pass'd thro' *Capestan*, 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, plentiful, 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 *Toulouze* 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 *Toulouze*. 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 incompass'd with a deep ditch. The houses generally are very good, three or four stories high, like those in *Naples*,

Carca-  
fonne.

Montpe-  
lier.

Beziers.

ples, 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 *Marseilles*; 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 from the sun.

*Monday* 6th, having rode four leagues, I dined in the city *S. Gil*: I wou'd willingly have gone as far as *Nismes*, 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 quarre*, 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 *Rbosne*, 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 sols for the calash passing the bridge, we came to *Arles*, after three leagues riding. When I came to the bridge of boats, 100 paces in length, over the other arm of the river *Rbosne*, which is twice as broad as that before-mention'd, the officers ask'd four sols toll. The *Rbosne* 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 feated 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 ancients than *Rome*. There's a theatre in it, built by the *Romans*, but not so intire 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* 7th 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 sols 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 Ossa*

Michaelis Nostradami, unius omnium mortalium dictodigni, cujus penè divino calamo totius Orbis, ex Astrorum influxu, futuri eventus conscriberentur. Vixit annis 62, Mensibus 6, Diebus 17. Obiit solo 1566. Quietem posteri ne invideant. 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 *Marseilles* 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 *Marseilles*,

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but only four fols for opening the gate, which was shut.

*Marfeilles* was built by the *Phœnicians* 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, inclos'd with iron chains and benches made fast to keep out cattle, and make it fit for the men without any 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 *Costadin*, 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 gallies 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 gallies at once. That which they call *The king's Arsenal* is very stately, and has a noble pavillion in the middle for the officers of the gallies, 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 chappels 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 gallies 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 <sup>Aix.</sup> 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 inclos'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, inclos'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, streight, 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 bless'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 *Chaperon*, 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 Precheurs*, 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 tossel 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,

ner, read the petitions, but he wore a cap of crimson velvet laced with gold. This officer in *French* is call'd *Premier Huiffier*. 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 soveraign judges of all the affairs of the province.

After dinner I return'd the same pleasant way, and got to *Marseilles* betimes.

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## C H A P. V.

*The author's voyage from Marseilles 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 to 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 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 *Marseilles*, 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 continent. 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, inclos'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 *Villafranca*, 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 defended by a castle on the shore, and a fort built on the high mountain *Albano*, garrison'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 *Monaco*, 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 *Monaco's* palace. The way to it is up two spacious marble stair-cases made semicircular, which afterwards meet in a stately long gallery, that leads to the lodgings and apartments, which for their number, magnificence 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 friers. 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, leaving on our left hand, on a hill, the village of *Rocca oscura*, and others belonging to the same prince, for ten miles along a dry country; and then began to coast along 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.

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Savona.

The calm held all the night, so that on *Friday* 17th at break of day, we were opposite to the village *Del Ceruo*. The wind coming up against us, we were forced to lie tacking upon the delightful coast of *Genoa*, where the industrious *Genoefes* 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 citizens, and at last came early to *Savona*, where we pass'd the night. This city tho' small is wall'd, and has a suburb as big again 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 beautiful enough, as well for their embellishments in marble as for the structure it self and painting; especially the *Ducmo*. The castle stands upon the shore, and has a treble inclosure, besides several outworks, and a deep ditch out of the solid rock. The harbour though small is safe, but of difficult 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 *Ventimiglia* 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 *Arbisola*, the delicious plain of *Arenzano*, *Cogolotto* 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 *Pofsevera*, whose mountains are nothing inferior to the delightfulest parts of its banks, came at length to *Genoa* before noon.

*Genoa* lies upon the *Mediterranean*, facing the south, in the lat. 43 deg. 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 inclos'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-

tifications, under whose protection there are two docks, one for the galleys, the other for the wine boats. In 935 it was burnt by the *Saracens*, and all the inhabitants slain or made slaves, but was afterwards rebuilt much more nobly. It is called the haughty, because the nobility are so proud and intractable, having a great conceit of themselves, though the little dominion of their common-wealth does not extend 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 extremely 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'Oria* 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 27 senators and agents (as they told me) meet, clad in long gowns almost like the *French* civil magistrates; but the agents 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'Oria'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 colours; it is large, and has three isles form'd by eight marble pillars, but not so well beautify'd as is *S. Ambrose*.

The

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 bare-foot *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 cupola 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 *Genoeses*, 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 to a *Portico*; and thence two other nobler 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 governess 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 œconomy, 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 womens 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 mass in the church of *S. Matthew*, which is small, but has three isles form'd by eight pillars, and well adorn'd. 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 painting, 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 *Bandinello 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 carv'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 *Genoefes*, who have deserv'd well of their country, placed about the wall. The new chamber, where sometimes the par-

ties concern'd meet to the number of four hundred, is larger, and about its walls are sixteen statues of good marble, placed 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 sides, and two galleries, each adorn'd with eight pillars. There are stairs that look majestic, which lead up to the court; and from the court another stair-case not inferior to the first, dividing itself 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 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 *Anunciada* 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

being resolv'd to go myself by land, because of the ill weather which had lasted many days. Accordingly on *Thursday*

both I hired a calash for *Milan*, and order'd my affairs so to depart.

## C H A P. VI.

*The author's journey from Genoa to Milan, and the description of that city.*

**I** SET out on *Saturday* the first of *November*, and after several times crossing the river of *Polsevera*, and had enjoy'd the pleasure of the shore of *S. Peter de Arena*, I struck 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 *Milan*. 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 cultivated. 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 proceeding 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 inclos'd with a low wall and ditch; has a castle on the hill with a good garrison; but the houses are not handsome. Proceeding ten miles further I pass'd thro' *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 riding ferry'd over the *Po*, and five miles further over the *Grevalu*, and stay'd to dine at *Pavia*, crossing the *Tesin*, which waters it, on a bridge.

*Pavia* is a strong place inclos'd with a broad wet ditch, and good outworks. The castle looks more like a palace than a fortress, and within it is a good armory, restor'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 itself upon holding out the memorable siege laid to it by *Francis I.* king of *France* in the year 1525. Its universality is famous for having bred the famous *Civilians*, *Jason*, *Baldus*, and the most learned *Alciatus*. The monastery here of the *Carthusians* is one of the most renowned in *Italy*, and not without reason for the excellent picture in it. Riding ten miles after dinner, 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

building 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 magnificence of its *Duomo* or cathedral, which is never without workmen about it; its impregnable castle; and the famous library, call'd *Ambrosiana*, given by the cardinal *Frederick Borromeo*, archbishop of *Milan*, and containing at least thirty thousand volumes. By reason of the conveniency of its situation, it has deserv'd from its foundation to be the residence of princes and emperors; *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Constantius*, *Maximinian*, *Constantine* and others, having liv'd here for a considerable time. When the power of the *Roman* empire 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 emperors till 1162, when the emperor *Frederick* 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 *Francis* the first being made prisoner; that same emperor gave the investiture of the state to his son *Philip* the second, king of *Spain*, under 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 windows look upon the place of arms; for that on the left is taken up with the ammunition, armory and hospital, and its windows look towards the wall. I was told these two houses had been built there designedly, that the two dukes, who then were no good friends, might not so much as look at one another. This castle has six bastions, with twelve pieces of cannon upon each of them, and six half-moons, and a wide deep ditch. At the

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the entrance there are 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 of 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 precincts 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 *Vaudemont's* furniture. Having pass'd the hall and antechamber, 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 lightsome, 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 antechamber, 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 antechamber, 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, hospital founded by the dukes of *Milan*, and

and it 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 hundred 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* upon it.

Lazaretto.

*Sunday* 9th I saw the *Lazaretto*, for people infected with the plague, which is another great square structure, two good musquet-shot in length, with above three hundred rooms about it. In the middle of it is a garden, let for two thousand *Philippines* a year.

*Monday* 10th in the evening, *Peter Paul Carvaggio*, professor of mathematicks, carried 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 excellent structure founded by a pope of the house of *Medicis*. None but persons of birth are admitted into that college, and to them is referr'd the first hearing of civil causes by superior courts.

*Tuesday* 11th the governor, archbishop,

and officers civil and military, went to hear *GEMELLI* mass and sermon at the *Duomo* or cathedral, that being the last of the nine days devotion to *S. Charles*. The governor sat within a curtain, on the left hand of the altar Cathedral. within the rail, and the princess in a sort of pew. The officers had not chairs, as in the royal chappel, but benches cover'd with damask, and cushions to kneel on. The sermon 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 largeness, 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, notwithstanding 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 chappels are, especially the high altar, on which there's a rich silver 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 parishes, and seventy-four monasteries of monks, friers and nuns, besides hospitals.

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 brass; 'twas richly embellish'd with gold within.

## C H A P. 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 *Adda*, 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 brass

statues on horseback, of excellent workmanship, 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* resides when he comes to this city. 'Tis magnificent both for structure and furniture; and particularly, in the prince's apartment, there are four rooms hung with wrought sattin, 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 handsome altars.

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I fet out late from *Piacenza*, and having travel'd fifteen miles along a well-pav'd road, between pleafant fields well cultivated, lay at the inn of *Grattarolo*, there being no fording the river *Stiron*, because it was fwoln with the rain fallen the night before.

We fet out betimes upon *Saturday* 15th, pafs'd thro' the city *Borgo*, and, having gone fifteen miles, at the river *Taro* met fuch a number of coaches and calafhes, that I was forc'd to wait four hours to get over the two branches of that river, tho' there were two boats, which had a *Roman Testone* for every one they ferry'd over. Riding five miles farther, we came late to *Parma*, where we fhould not have got in, had not the duke, having been himfelf at the river, order'd, out of his own goodnefs, that the gate fhould 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 fuch an excellent air, that fome 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 ftreets wide, efpecially that call'd *del Verze*. The compafs 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 feveral princes, and has good apartments embellish'd with excellent pictures, and all forts of rich houfhold-ftuff.

*Sunday* 16th I heard mafs in the cathedral, which has three ifles divided by tall pillars, but without much ornament. The college is one of the fineft ftructures that can be feen, both within and without, being all painted like the palaces oppofite to it. There are rooms enough for two hundred and fixty collegians of good birth, and for the profefors, officers and fervants. There are alfo two theatres, a little and a great one, well painted, as is the great hall for gentleman-like exercifes. The publick theatre is not very magnificent, nor any of the beft in *Italy*, being fmall, and having only five rows of feats.

We fet out from *Parma*, and at five miles end paffing 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 houfes of pleafure, came to *Reggio*. This city was built on the *Via Æmilia* by *Lepidus* the *Triumvir*, who refided in it a long time. 'Tis famous for its great fair, for its good churches and ftreets, and for the palaces that embellish'd it, and among the reft, that of *Profpéro Scarufio*, before which there are two moft excellent ftatues,

Reggio.

of *Hercules* and *Lepidus*, fit to be plac'd in any royal gallery. The church of our lady of *Reggio*, call'd *of the Father's fervants*, before which the afore-mention'd fair is kept, has three ifles of good ftructure, with moft beautiful altars, efpecially that of the bleffed *Virgin*, which has curious work in marble, and is adorn'd with filver.

*Monday* 17th, having travel'd nine miles, we were ftopp'd by the river *Secchio*, fwoln by the rain that fell in the night, fo that we were forc'd to ftay till the boat could be got ready, and paid two *Giulios* a man for our paffage. Then travelling fix miles further, we came in good time to *Modena*. This city is feated in 44 deg. of latitude, on the *Via Æmilia*, which ran from *Rimini* to *Piacenza*; the country is marfhy, having the river *Panaro* on the eaft, and *Secchio* on the weft. 'Tis the refidence of the princes of the houfe of *Este*, under whofe auspicious govenment it enjoys that peace it formerly, and after the death of *Cæfar*, wanted a long time, thro the ambition of private *Romans*. 'Tis inclos'd with a good wall, and defended by a great fort, built after the modern manner. Its compafs is between three and four miles; but there's nothing remarkable in its houfes or narrow ftreets, unlefs it be abundance of dirt. In the middle of it is a very high tower made of coarfe marble, which is an argument of the antiquity of the place. Nothing is yet finish'd of the ducal palace but the left fide, and yet it looks great: the entrance is under a high tower, into a court fet about with large pillars; and paffing thence into a lefs, there appears a fpacious ftair-cafe, adorn'd from top to bottom, with good marble pillars, which leads to a great hall before the duke's apartment.

*Tuesday* 18th, fetting 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 confifting of one long ftreet, with good fshops; but there is by it a good fort, with a garrifon of the pope's. Then going four miles further, I din'd at the inn of *Samoggia*, where the poft is; and ten miles from thence, thro' a cultivated country full of pretty country-houfes, came betime to *Bologna*, and lay at the pilgrims inn. Meeting here with the meffenger of *Florence*, who was to fet out the next morning, I refolv'd to go with him.

*Bologna* is feated in 44 degrees of latitude, and on the *Via Æmilia* as well as *Modena*. 'Tis a city of great antiquity, ennobled by the archiepifcopal dignity, and refidence of the legate apoftolick; famous for its univerfity, beauty, bignefs, wealth, delightfulnefs,

Modena.

Bologna.

ness, and number of inhabitants, which amounts to eighty thousand. The buildings 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 well for its crooked structure as extraordinary height. I pass by the rest in silence having said enough in the first volume of my travels in *Europe*.

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## 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* 19th with the messenger, and after riding sixteen miles among the *Appennine* mountains, whose steepness does not hinder the country people from sowing a great deal of corn upon 'em, we staid to dine at *Lujano*; then continuing our journey with a violent cold wind that had like several times to unhorse me, enter'd upon the dominions of the great duke, divided from the pope's by a rivulet near the village of *Filicaia*. We shew'd our certificate of health, which must of necessity be brought from *Bologna* at *Pietramala*, and at last came to *Firenzuola*, after fourteen miles riding.

*Thursday* 20th we set out two hours before day, the wind blowing violent hard and cold, and with great trouble mounted the six miles to the top of the high mountain *Giogo*, which to me seem'd like *Æolus'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.

*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 exceeds 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 degr. 20 min. latitude, in a plain encompass'd with mountains, and is said to have been founded by *Sylla's* soldiers in the year 645 after the building of *Rome*. The *Triumvers* made it a colony; and after the declining of the empire, and rise of the *Longobards*, becoming an imperial free city, it so continu'd till 1530, when 'twas forc'd 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 of *St. Laurence*, divided by fourteen pillars into three isles. Here is the ducal chappel, 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, only 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 chappel. 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 Buonorota*, and three of his best scholars.

The cathedral is adorn'd on the outside 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 cas'd with marble. All about it there are excellent statues, but the best are an *Adam* and *Eve*, one of our Saviour, 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 *Octogon*, beset with small pillars, and other curious works in marble.

Opposite to this, is the church of *St. John*, built round in the form of a cupola, with three brass gates of admirable workmanship, over which there are nine statues, three over each, six of brass, and three of marble, 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 under a noble gallery, supported by twenty marble pillars.

After dinner I went to the *Piazza* or great square, to see the statue of *Cosmo de Medicis* on horseback, all of brass, exquisitely wrought; and then the giant's fountain, with twelve brass statues about it, and

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and one in the middle of an excessive bigness. Before the gate of the old palace, which was the house of the common assemblies of the commonwealth of *Florence*, are two great statues; one of them being a great master-piece, is said to be *Hercules*. Within 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.

Great  
duke's  
gallery.

Tho' I had twice before seen the great 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 keeps 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, several vessels of the finest *China* ware plac'd in excellent order; and in the middle, a table 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 *Cosmo de Medicis* in pursuance of a vow, setting 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 *St. John's* day, to receive homage of his subjects; and in the rest, vessels of gold and silver of incomparable workmanship, and other rarities of inestimable value. In another room they shew'd me a tabernacle and antependium, enrich'd to admiration with oriental pearls, for the service of the chappel beforementioned. 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 amber presented by the duke of *Saxony*; a picture in *Mosaick* 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 workmanship, and the skeleton of a mare standing, 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 *Medicis*, made in *Greece*, as is supposed two thousand three hundred years since, with five other excellent statues. Besides this, a cabinet set with precious stones; a night-piece drawn by a *Dutchman*, in which is painted a woman with a candle in her hand, which gives it such a light that it is wonderful; another piece of *Mosaick* work made not long since by a *Frenchman*; a large head made of one only *Turky* 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 cabinet 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 jasper 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 instruments; and an extraordinary loadstone, and a great piece of *Lignum Aloes*. 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 delightful fountains, a plat of myrtle curiously cut, and a park with a great statue of the goddess *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 *St. Michael*, which is a square building very strong and

and high, all of marble. Within it there are fourteen excellent statues, some of brass, and some of stone, and four altars curiously adorn'd. Returning home I met with a *Florentine*, 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 large room of the monastery of *S. Lawrence*. Over the gate appears a noble front, made by the di-

rection of the renown'd statuary *Buonarota*. The chief value of the library consists in above three thousand manuscripts in several languages; 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 *Medicis*, he having the good fortune to get very many belonging to the library of *Constantinople*.

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## CHAP. IX.

*The author's journey from Florence to Rome.*

HAVING hir'd a calash to *Rome* for twelve *Piastrs*, I went along with the messenger, who set 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 *Barberinos* 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.

We 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 front is in the fine chappel of *St. John Baptist*. Adjoining to the church, opposite to it, are the prince's 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 *Turri-neri*, 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 *Radico-fani*, 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 *Radico-fani*.

*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 *Ronciglione*, 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 *Tyber*, which comes in at the north end and runs out at the south towards *Offia*. It is suppos'd to have been founded, and so call'd by *Romulus*, the son of *Rhea Silvia*, descended from *Aeneas* 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-

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gions, or wards: But why do I take upon me to speak of *Rome*, which by its actions has rendred itself glorious and immortal throughout the world, insomuch that he scarce deserves the name of man; who has not some knowledge of its prosperity 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 multitude call 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 past ages; 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.

## C H A P. 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, inclos'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 *Barborassa* 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 *Gargigliano*, 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 *Minturnæ*.

*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 inclos'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 detested 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 *Genfericus* king of the *Vandals*, rebuilt by *Narses*, and again subverted by the *Longobards*. At present it stands on the ground, where the ancient *Casilinum* 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, entred 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 Xaverius*, the apostle of the *Indies*, and protector of travellers. For the reasons mention'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 satisfing 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

and *Misenum*, in 41 deg. 2 min. latitude. On the east of it is mount *Vesuvius*, and the fruitful plains of *Terra de Lavora*, or *Campania Felix*. Towards the south it looks upon the *Tyrrhene* sea, and looks like a great shell inclos'd with fruitful and delicious banks.

This city (according to the most probable opinion) was founded by *Fumelius Phalerus*, 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 *Phalerum*, 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 *Phalerum* or *Parthenope*, to distinguish it from the new 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. Publicius* 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 *Neapolitans* 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 Egiccio*, 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 overthrow'n 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 *Heruli*, 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' reduc'd to great extremities, most of the inhabitants being destroy'd. At length in 1128, it submitted to *Roger*, the third *Norman* duke of *Aquileja*, who had the title of king given him by *Anacletus* 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*, this 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 heiress, she adopted *Alfonso* king of *Aragon*; who in 1442 having overthrow'n 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 is 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 *Possilipo*.

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filipo. This is sufficiently evinc'd by its having been chosen 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 noblemen. 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 have brought forth men, famous for learning in all ages; and not to mention *Sallust*, born at *Amiternum*, now *Aquila*; *Ovid* at *Sulmo*; *Ennius* at *Rudia* 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 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, *Italica*? 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 *Jamblicus Calcidicus*, 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; though *Plutarch* makes him of *Locris*, perhaps because *Samos* was in the territory of *Locris*. But nobody can deny that (not to mention others less famous) these that follow were *Calabrians* of *Reggio*, viz. *Teeteus*, to whom *Plato* directed his dialogue of wisdom; *Timeus*, master to *Plato*; *Theogenes*, the first expositor of *Homer*; *Aristides*; *Parmenides*; *Melissus*; *Archita*; *Zeno*; and *Zeleucus*, the great philosopher and legislator; and also *Xenocrates*, an heroic poet and musician; *Stesicorus*, a lyric poet; *Alexides*, another lyric poet; *Orpheus*, the writer of the *Argonautica*; for *Orpheus* the *Thracian*, who flourish'd before the *Trojan* war, could not make mention of king *Alcinous*, 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*, *Ceriolanus*, *Martrianus*, *Pomponius*, *Letus*, *Berardinus*, *Anthony Telesi*, and *Sertorio Quettrimani*; and now in our days *Marco Aurelio Severini*, 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.

The End of the Seventh BOOK.

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T R A V E L S  
T H R O U G H  
E U R O P E,  
B Y  
*Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri;*  
I N S E V E R A L  
L E T T E R S  
T O T H E  
Counfellow *AMATO DANIO.*

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Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-*  
*noster Row.*

T R A V E L S

THE

E U R O P E A N

DR. JOHN HENRY CLAY

BY

J. E. L. R. S.

IN

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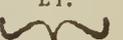
# TRAVELS through EUROPE,

By Dr. JOHN FRANCIS GEMELLI CARERI;

In several LETTERS to the Counsellor *AMATO DANIO*.

## LETTER. I.

*Containing the author's journey from Naples to Venice.*

GEMELLI  
LI.  


Honoured Sir,

Venice, Jan. 25. 1686.

**W**ERE my ambition of gaining renown, and the proud appetite of being applauded author, equal to the affection and respect I deservedly bear you, I should now certainly forbear giving you any account of my journey, as has been often desired by you, and as freely promised by me. You are very sensible of the occasion of reasonable fear and apprehension: the regard you are pleased to have for me, and all that is mine, will prevail on you to read some of the letters I shall send you, to those able masters, who know how often we have diverted ourselves, and made sport with them: and I cannot but foresee, that tho' they will be then silent out of respect to you, as is usual for men when they think ill to comply with another, yet they will not spare, in another place, to lay me open: and one will alledge that my expressions are barbarous; another, that the style is insipid; a third, that the matter is trivial; in which they will find several particulars not mention'd in their books. And in fine, some one will say, if it were his case, he would write in another method. But enough of this, it signifies little, provided you are pleased, for I shall little regard the rest.

Thus, without any other introduction, I must inform you, that I arriv'd yesterday, an hour after night, in this famous city; I say famous, on account of what I have been told of it; for I should be very vain and extravagant, did I of myself give it so great an epithet, upon so short a residence, and that in the dark. As soon as I had secur'd my baggage in the inn, I went away to the theatre of *S. Luke*, to see the opera call'd *La Teodora Augusta*. I am no great proficient in point of musick; never-

theless, forasmuch as the harmony pleased me well enough, and many who seem'd to be competent judges, did not find fault with it, I take the liberty to tell you, it was good; yet, in my opinion, inferior to that I heard there before my departure. It is reported that *Cortona* the famous singer will not appear upon the stage this year, to avoid the displeasure of the duke of *Saxony*, whom he refused to go serve. What curious reflections I could now make upon this subject!

—*Sed motos præstat componere fluctus.*

But it is better to lay those swelling waves.

That this letter may not be too short, nor any thing omitted towards affording you diversion, it will be proper to give you an account of my journey. The roads in the province of *Abruzzo*, being very bad, by your advice, I set out in a horse-litter, for *Chieti*. God forgive you! it is much better to be expos'd to the waves in a little boat; besides the intolerable tediousness of it: for tho' it be but eight miles, we were almost starv'd before we got thither, and at last reach'd *Capua* with that *F. Pio Operario* whom you saw after night; and yet it is but sixteen miles from *Naples*, and the best road in the world. The next morning our litter-man resolving to keep company with the *Abruzzo* carrier, we were oblig'd to get up and set out very early, and consequently had not time to go two miles out of the way, to the village of *S. Mary*, to view the remains of the ancient *Capua*, Old *Capua*, once head of all *Campania felix*, and haughty rival of *Rome* and *Charthage*. I cannot, in truth, but admire foreigners, who neglect

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to visit those antiquities, and yet are so curious to go to *Pozzuolo*, where perhaps there is less remarkable, tho' many of them go on purpose to take notice of such trifles.

Since we are talking of impertinences, you must needs hear some of mine; and therefore I must inform you, that we had not gone many miles from *Capua*, before the horse-litter overturn'd, and a pan of fire my fellow traveller carry'd, so very tender was he, fell upon me. However, the worst of it was, that at night, after travelling thirty-three miles, some mountain, and some bog, we found very bad entertainment, at a dear rate, at the inn of *Tuliverno*, not far from *Venafri*; a wretched dinner the next day at *Aquaviva*, and no better lodging that night at *Castel di Sangro*.

This place is twenty-seven miles from *Tuliverno*, seated at the foot of a mountain whose top is always cover'd with snow. At break of day we enter'd upon the plain that is five miles over, where at this time of year, sometimes travellers are either starv'd with cold, or buried in snow, and proceeded to *Sulmona*, whence we have the celebrated sweetmeats. It is seated in a pleasant plain, inclosed with mountains. About the dusk of the evening we had travell'd thirty miles, and took up our quarters at *Popoli*. At length, on *Wednesday*, after eighteen miles riding, I came to *Chieti*, now the metropolis of the hither *Abruzzo*, and formerly of the people call'd *Marrucini*, as you may well remember. Thus ended the toil of the horse-litter, and of the priest's tenderness.

I design'd to embark at *Pescara*, for *Ancona*; and, in order to it, set out thither a horse-back on *Thursday* morning, being but seven miles distant, but was disappointed; for the sea was boisterous, and so full of foam, that I concluded master *Nephtune* had got cold, and goddy *Galatea* had made a buck to wash his handkerchiefs. But jesting aside, *Pescara* is a fortress of note, on the *Adriatick* sea, furnish'd with good cannon, a garrison of an hundred and twenty *Spanish* foot, and a ditch, into which, upon occasion, they can bring the river of the same name. The next day, having no other choice, I road twenty-eight miles along the shore to *Giulia nova*, a town seated on the top of a hill, belonging to the dukes of *Atri*, and still subject to them, where I was most courteously entertain'd by the *Capuchin* fathers. On *Saturday*, having pass'd the borders of the kingdom, near *Ascoli*, I got to the *Grotts* by noon; which was owing to the good horses and even road, else I could not so easily have travell'd eighteen miles. Here they shew a church erected to the honour of *St. Lucy*,

in the place where pope *Sixtus Quintus* was born. Some will have it, that *Francis Sforza*, who after the death of his father-in-law *Philip Visconti*, came to be duke of *Venice*, was born in this place. I went to lie that night at *Fermo*, thirteen miles distant. I mounted about break of day on *Sunday*; and, having rode twenty-four miles near the sea, came to *Loretto*, which is a little above two miles up the land. The first thing I did, was visiting the holy house, partly out of devotion, and partly out of curiosity to see a place so renowned and venerable. The chappels on the sides of the high altar, the cupola cover'd with lead, the steeple on the left hand of the gate, the rich shops on the left hand of the square, the stately arches on the right, supporting the dwellings of the canons, the curious fountain in the middle, the noble brass statue of *Sixtus Quintus*, the work of a very great master, and other such things, render the outside prospect extraordinary beautiful. Within appears a sumptuous church, with three isles, and beautiful chappels, a curious brass font, the standard taken from the *Turks* by king *John III.* of *Poland*, at the battle of *Barkan*; and a well contriv'd choir on the left, where twenty-two canons perform the divine office, each of them having at least two hundred crowns a year. That which is properly call'd the holy house, and we are inform'd by tradition, was brought by angels from as far as *Nazareth*, stands under the cupola, with an ascent of seven steps to it, that is, four to the high altar of the church, where they shew the window at which the angel deliver'd to the blessed virgin the message of the redemption of man; and three more to the level of the three gates caused to be opened by pope *Clement VII.* for the convenience of pilgrims. This house, or rather room, consists of only four brick walls, on the inside whereof appear some strokes, and almost indiscernable signs of ancient painting: I am apt to believe they were so adorn'd by the faithful in following ages. The length of it is about thirty-two spans, the breadth sixteen, and the height twenty. When the new roof was made to sustain the prodigious number of rich lamps that are always burning there, the materials of the old roof were put under the floor, and part of them applied to make up the door at which it is likely the blessed virgin came in and out. The pavement is said to have remain'd at *Nazareth*: upon what ground this is asserted I know not; or whether it be only tradition that requires this belief of us. The statue of our lady is plac'd in a nich over the chimney. It is of wood, and, thro' age, of a sort of olive colour. Whether it be the work of *St. Luke* or no,

Pescara.

is a question upon fact; but we know, that all the images in our parts, which exceed three or four centuries, are attributed to this holy evangelist; this we now speak of, I am piously apt to believe may be one of the true ones. After dinner it was requisite to procure the governor's favour, to see the three wooden porringers, which an uninterrupted report brought down to us, says were used by the blessed virgin and her son; forasmuch as the canon, who had the keeping of them had put me off, alledging they could not be shewn after the twenty-second hour, and the more for that two *Capuchins* were sweeping the holy house, as they daily do. In conclusion, having seen the chimney, which is behind the altar, and again worshipped the holy image, I went away to see the treasure. Without any hyperbolical magnifying, I can testify it is inestimable for the infinite quantity, variety, beauty and value of the church-stuff, vessels and jewels sent thither as presents by the devotion of several emperors, kings and other princes of less note. Among the rest is a vestment sent by our queen of *Spain*; on which there are no less than four thousand diamonds imbroider'd. I will not speak of any more, lest I should swell to a book.

The armory is well stor'd, and remarkable for the curious and ancient arms, which were the gift of the duke of *Urbino*; as also for those taken from the *Turks*, who were miraculously blinded, when they came with a design to plunder that place. *Bacchus's* storehouse is much better furnish'd than that of *Mars*; for there are usually three hundred casks of an extraordinary magnitude, in fourteen large hir'd vaults, of only the wine growing on the vineyards that belong to the holy house. They shew one of these, which contains four hundred and thirty barrels, or quarter-casks, and another but a little smaller, yet so contriv'd that they drew three sorts of wine at the same cock. In short, they take more care of those casks than they do in other places of *Raphael Urbini's* painting. I would now willingly tell you something material concerning the city, but I know not what, for in reality there is nothing, and I am resolv'd not to pick my fingers and wrong my conscience; therefore, without bubbling to no purpose, I will conclude, acquainting you, that *Loretto* is a small but beautiful city, and the suburb it has towards *Recaniti* is also very fine.

*Monday* the 14th, setting forward a horseback, about half way I met with the new cardinal *Mellini*, returning from being *Nuncio* in *Spain*; and having travell'd fifteen miles, came about sun-setting to *Ancona*, a plentiful and wealthy city, by reason of its famous port, tho' most of the

Ancona.

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money is in the hands of the *Jews*. It has a castle on the top of the hill, the works of it reaching down and joining to the city walls. The garrison consists but of thirty-five men, and ten more are quarter'd on the ravelin of the mole. I know not of what use these would be, were there any sprightly souls in *Italy* at this time, like the *Sforzas*. The next day I went to *Senigaglia*, twenty-four miles distant. It stands in a plain, the streets beautiful and wide, and what is much more considerable, the inhabitants are wealthy. The port is form'd by the river *Penna*, and capable of none but small vessels. I set out from thence immediately in a post-calash, that was returning to *Fano*, travelling fifteen miles in a short time, along a road by the sea-side, which is most delightful, compar'd with that cursed way from *Loretto* to *Senigaglia*. Not far from the city we pass'd over a pav'd wooden bridge of a prodigious length on the *Metauro*, a river of no small note among both the *Latin* and *Greek* poets, as you know better than I. As to the number of inhabitants, there are about seven thousand in *Fano*, few more or less than at *Senigaglia*; but considering the beautiful structures, the many noble families, and the splendor they live in, it is much preferable to the latter. The theatre is one of the beautifullest, and most magnificent in all *Europe*, being one hundred and fifty spans in breadth, and four hundred and fifty in length, two thirds whereof are taken up by the stage, which has curious scenes and artificial machines. There are no less than five ranks of boxes, each containing twenty-two, and all neatly painted. Above this theatre is the prison of *St. Martin*. The castle has no garrison at all; and perhaps on this pretence, every peasant paying fifteen *Bayonos*, which is somewhat better than ninepence, has leave to wear arms, that is, sword, dagger and pistols. But the same being used throughout all the province, I am willing to believe, as the best interpretation, that the governing prelates suffer themselves to be led away by the good opinion conceiv'd of the people of *Marca di Ancona*, who for the most part are mere gulls, and would not hurt a worm. Provisions are every where cheap and extraordinary good, especially fish.

The next day I first travell'd five miles to *Pesaro*; thence ten to *Cattolica*, and lastly sixteen to *Rimini*, where I lay. *Pesaro* is a large city, of sixteen thousand inhabitants, most of them rich, especially the *Jews*, the country being very fruitful; I observed, that at this time of the year there were colliflowers as plenty, and perhaps more so, than we use to have at *Naples*. In the great square is the palace of the *Gonsalonier*, or chief magistrate of the city, and that where

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the legate uses to reside, being at present the cardinal *Spada*; as also a marble fountain, and a noble brass statue, erected in honour of pope *Urban* the eighth. The castle is guarded by only twelve soldiers. If any attempt should be made, there is little confidence to be repos'd in those few *Swiss* belonging to the cardinal. Some years ago here was a port made by art, with the water of the river; but at present there is no way into it. Without the city are some very curious gardens, belonging to the great duke of *Tuscany* and to the lords of *Mosca*.

Cattolica.

*Cattolica* is the last town in the territory of *Marca di Ancona*, and is said to be so call'd, because there the *Catholicks* parted from the *Arians*, who were going to the council of *Rimini*, and of this, besides cardinal *Baronius*, an inscription set up in the midst of the town, is an undeniable testimony. I cannot give you any better account of it, but that it is thinly inhabited, and poor, tho' seated at a small distance from the sea; and now the women walk along the shore picking up those bits of wood, the *Adriatick* throws up.

*Rimini* stands upon the coast, and its port is made by the river that runs close by. The inhabitants, as I was told, are about twelve thousand. In the great square, or market, is the place, where, they say, *St. Anthony* miraculously made the ass adore the blessed sacrament; and at a small distance where the fishes came to hear him preach. In another square is a brass statue of pope *Urban* the eighth, the governor's palace, and other things of less note, which I omit, as knowing you will not care to read them.

Rimini.

I travell'd fifteen miles after dinner from *Rimini* to *Cesenatico*, a small castle, inhabited by fishermen, where I lay. Here is a canal, which serves instead of a port for small vessels. I set out about break of day, and made choice of the *Ravenna* road, to go to *Bologna*; because the way by *Cesena* and *Forli* was so deep and full of sloughs, that none would hire me horses to ride it, for fear they should fail in the middle of the journey. On this side the river *Savi* there is nothing but thick and tall pine trees, forming green and delightful woods; yet not so delightful, but that the thick fogs, rising from the marshes and the salt-pits of the city *Cerva*, almost continually keep the sun-beams off them. For my part, I am of opinion, that the poets might, without much wrong to it, have call'd this the land of the *Cimmerians*, the court of the god of sleep, and even *Pluto's* anti-chamber.

Ravenna.

I travell'd twenty miles, and enter'd *Ravenna* at noon. To deal ingenuously, we seldom can come near the point, when we endeavour to form to ourselves an idea of a city from what we read in books. It is

true, the compass of the walls is large; but instead of houses it is all full of orchards, gardens and farms, with some few remains of antient structures scatter'd among them; and in reality it requires much force of imagination, to persuade oneself, that it was the seat or residence of the exarchs or vicars to the *Greek* emperors in *Italy*, for the full space of one hundred eighty-three years, and that so many notable things have been done in it, as we find in our histories. The best to be seen there are the churches, either in respect of their venerable antiquity, or the beauty of the structures. In that of *Santa Maria in Portico*, they shew'd me two jars or pitchers of weighty porphyry stone, affirming they were some of those in which our Saviour converted the water into wine, at the wedding of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Many more are shewn in other parts of *Italy*; which oblige us to own ourselves much beholden to our ancestors, who took care to bring over such precious rarities from the holy land. Over the high altar of the church of the Holy Ghost they shew a little window; at which they confidently assert the Holy Ghost has come in, at least eleven times, in the shape of a dove, to chuse as many bishops, alighting on a stone, which is also preserved there. What can be said beyond this? In the church of *St. Benediēt* are to be seen the tombs of the *Gotkish* kings, excepting that of *Theodoricus*. He is said to be bury'd in his own palace, where now is the monastery of *Apollinaris*, tho' it was some time in the round church, under that very stone which his daughter *Amalifunta* made use of, to cover a cupola. The antient port where the *Roman Prætorian* navy was wont to be laid up, is not now in a condition to serve. *Innocent* the tenth, caused a canal of three miles in length to be cut, which brings up small barks, to carry goods into the city. In the square, or market, which is not very spacious, stands the statues of two saints, their protectors, on two pillars; and not far from them another of brass, representing pope *Alexander* the seventh. The brass statues I have hitherto mention'd, put me several times in mind of the antient grandeur of *Rome*; and again made me reflect on the infinite number of statues and colossus's, the cities subject to the empire, did in its flourishing days doubtless erect in honour of the emperors.

I perceive this letter now begins to grow tedious, and to tire your patience; but what remedy? I am now engag'd in writing my journal, and more loth to leave it imperfect, than to write on; and therefore when you have once begun to read, it will be proper to hold on, till you come to the end. You will tell me, The argument does not hold;

Faenza.

Bologna.

hold; and I say, You may make it hold, by reading on; and the reward of your trouble will be the satisfaction of knowing my proceedings, which is no matter to be slighted. I set out from *Ravenna* about three in the afternoon on horseback, and made such good use of my spurs, that I got to *Faenza* an hour after night fell, having rode twenty miles, and along the road saw the sprouting vines winding about the tall poplars, just as we generally see them in the province of *Terra di Lavoro*. The city seem'd to me as big as *Fano*. The gate I enter'd at was between two towers, standing on the bridge, which joins the city to the other bank of the river. Rising very early the next morning, I rode five miles to *Castel Bolognese*, and thence as far to *Imola*, a beautiful large city; whence I went twenty miles further by the post along a dirty road to *Bologna*, and got in by day-light. I will not here enlarge, or let my tongue run to extol the plenty of this city, preferring it before *Naples*, as perhaps another would do, and I am well enough inclin'd to it; but, without making comparisons, which are odious, I must tell you, it very well deserves the epithet of *La Grassa*, the fat; for to deal sincerely here is living in clover, and any man may indulge himself in eatables. Do but consider what it must have been——*Troja dum regna manebant*, when in its flourishing days. As for the structures of note, the first place in my opinion is due to that they call *La Torre Torta*, that is, *The crooked tower*, nothing inferior for workmanship to that of *Pisa*, and the other nam'd *Degli Asinelli*, of the asses, which tho' not so well adorn'd, is not only as much, but even more to be admir'd, for its extraordinary and prodigious height. In the next place are observable the cardinal legate's palace, some others of noble citizens, and a few churches, that is, the *Duomo*, or cathedral, not yet finished, that of the sacrament, where the body of St. *Catherine* still remains intire; that of St. *Dominick*, in the right hand isle whereof hangs a crocodile; that of St. *Petronius*, remarkable for its magnificent high altar, and the pyramid erected on four columns, and reaching to the roof; and that of St. *Stephen*, or the seven churches, rich in miraculous and most precious relics. Next, the greatest and most stately monastery is that of St. *Michael*, of the fathers of mount *Olivet*. It is built in the form of a semicircle, on a hill that over-looks the whole city, so that no place in all the country round about affords a finer prospect. In short, all the buildings are imbellish'd with curious vaults and arches, by help whereof a man may walk two or three miles dry, in spite of all proud *Juno's* malice. The publick schools

are also a noble structure. The arches about their court are supported by good columns, and the church which stands opposite to the entrance, is adorn'd with excellent pictures. The professors of civil and canon law use to divert themselves in a room on the left hand, till the hour of reading comes; and in another on the right, the professors of other sciences. They are in all seventy-three, the two chief whereof have a salary of three thousand *Italian* pounds, which is six hundred *Roman* crowns; the others less and less, according to their professions and seniority, so that the lowest have but forty ducatoons a year. About the upper arches are the schools orderly dispos'd, in which there is not a handful of the wall without some inscription or memorial, in marble, painting, or gilt plaister-work, serving to transmit to posterity the names of the cardinal protectors, of professors, and even of scholars. Would to God they could all as easily obtain the perfection of what they study! The hall for anatomy is also nobly adorn'd with statues, in the nature of a theatre. In these schools they read four hours before dinner, and as many after, according to the order set down in the list of the professors. In other respects *Bologna* pleases me well; for it has near ninety thousand inhabitants, all of a good and pleasant disposition. The women wear some straw hats. They are not so reserved either in church or elsewhere, as the *Neapolitans*, who turn away their snouts wheresoever they see a man; in short, they are not over-nice in point of conversation, and those of quality are somewhat more pert than is decent, and never give over chatting and prating when the subject pleases them; but their language is so short and affected, that a stranger cannot forbear laughing at them. I saw the opera call'd, *The coronation of Darius*, at the theatre of the *Malvezzis*, and it prov'd indifferent good; yet I thought it much inferior to ours, both for musick, singing, and scenes. The other company, call'd *de Formagliari*, represented *Junius Brutus*; but I had not time to see it before my departure. This is all the account I can give you of *Bologna*. I had like to have forgot that the custom is here, when they bury bachelors, to put a flower into their hands, as it were to reward their constancy, which never yielded to woman. I should approve of the practice, if every bachelor never had any thing to do with women; but the innocence of our forefathers is not to be found in our days; and even boys will be thought cock-sparrows.

*Tuesday* the 22d I went into a cover'd boat, with the common post for *Venice*, at three in the afternoon, if I mistake not, and having run twenty miles upon an arm of the river *Reno*, came about break of day

GEMEL-  
LI.

Ferrara.

day the 23d to *Malo*, a place inhabited by wretched fishermen; where removing into such another boat I went twenty miles farther, on a canal of standing water, to *Ferrara*. This city is not very wholesome by reason of its flat situation, and the water running round in the ditch, and therefore, tho' the compass of its walls be one half greater than that of *Bologna*, yet it contains not above twenty thousand inhabitants. In the square, or market-place, stands a brass statue on horseback, representing that duke *Borgia*, who said, he would be *Cæsar* or nothing; and another of the marquis *Leonelli*, who was also some time lord of *Ferrara*.

*Dii multa neglecti dederunt  
Hesperie mala lætuose.*

That is, *The slighted gods sent many calamities upon disconsolate Italy*. The castle stands low, and the ditch of it is fill'd with the same water of the river *Reno*, which they pass over on two long bridges secur'd by four corps de garde. The place of arms is large enough for any military exercise; and in it a marble statue of pope *Clement VIII.* with good cazerns for the garrison, amounting to four hundred men.

Going aboard towards sun-setting on another canal, I went on three miles; and about three hours in the night, remov'd into another boat on the river *Po*, often saying to myself, Who knows which of these poplars was sister to the unfortunate *Phaeton*? Thus the night passing away, what in sleep, and what in thinking of such a strange metamorphosis, we found we had run thirty-five miles three hours before day. Then taking up my small baggage, as the gypsies do, I went into another boat on the river *Adige*; and running along in sight of good inns, for the space of twenty-seven miles, arrived at *Chiozza* about two in the afternoon. This city is inhabited by about twelve thousand people, most of them fishermen and gardeners; nor does its situation deserve better, for it stands in a marshy plain, and the water of a great canal running quite round, makes the air unfit

Chiozza.

for lungs that are any thing tender. It is beholden for this to the river *Adige*, from which they go to it over two long wooden bridges. We held on our course hence, along a piece of land well defended with piles against the violence of the sea; and having, in our way, had sight of *Palestrina*, five miles distant from *Chiozza*, came thro' several canals and roundings, into the neighbourhood of *Malamocco*, a handsome city enough, and of good trade. Here were twenty-six merchant-ships of several nations, kept off by the shoals from going up to *Venice*; and among the rest, an *English* vessel, which celebrated its captain's obsequies with much firing of cannon. In short, as was said above, I landed an hour after night in this city, after nine miles run on the water. But now perhaps you'll believe I was tir'd with my voyage, as beyond all controversy, you are with my letter. Quite contrary! there went with us a certain tippler, so very comical, especially when the wine was got into his head, that he could not possibly speak three words to the least purpose. Sometimes not knowing whether he was in the world in the moon, or in an oven, he fell to holding forth, making such curious speeches, so full of barbarisms and insipid babbling, that no learned men could possibly, with ever so much art, have put them together; and compared with him, our *Attilius* would have pass'd for a *Demosthenes*. To compleat our entertainment, we were honour'd with the conversation of two damsels of *Romagna*,

*Che molte genti fer già viver grame.*

*Who had brought many a man to a morsel of bread; yet I could not forbear wishing them their hearts full of such goods.* Now indeed I have no more to write, and the pen is ready to drop from my weary fingers, and therefore I intreat you, if you are not quite tir'd with this long tale, to salute all friends in my name, every one in particular, without my making an exact catalogue of them, whilst, expecting your commands, I remain, with all respect, &c.

## L E T T E R II.

*Of the greatness of Venice, the carnival, the nobility, theatres, &c.*

*Venice, Jan. 29, 1686.*

PRAY, Sir, observe how punctual I am in keeping my word, since I rather chuse to be troublesome, than to omit acquainting you with all I daily happen to see or hear. I persuade myself, that if you have not read all that epistle, or rather the long story I sent you four days ago, you

have at least cast an eye upon the top of it, and consequently are inform'd that I am in *Venice*, and, if you please you may add, in perfect health, and sound as a roach, at your command, which is the main point. As God shall save you, lay aside your gravity, and conform a little to the genius of the



the carnival season, as I did when I came into this city; for I am not able to forbear being led away, in writing, by the extravagant itch that possesses me, and the *Bacchanal* fury that runs in my veins. What do you think on't? Don't I write as a pedanick schoolmaster talks? I will now, in the first place, describe you the city of *Venice*, such as I have found it in these few days. *Venice* is a large, magnificent and plentiful city, built for the security and delightful liberty of all sorts of persons; and govern'd by all the rules of a most excellent, and by long experience, approv'd policy. Do but observe what I am about to say, and you will plainly perceive the truth of my assertion. As to the first part of it, no man in the world can deny it, if he does but reflect that it contains three hundred thousand inhabitants, all well to pass, thanks to their great trade, especially into the *Levant*: besides, there are seventy-two parishes, and fifty-nine monasteries of both sexes, a number not at all contemptible, if we please to call to mind the occasion of the interdict of *Paul V.* above fifteen hundred bridges, which join the seventy-two islands; above two hundred stately palaces along the famous canal of *Rialto*; and lastly, that it is full eight miles in compass. My second article plainly verifies itself, forasmuch as the situation is wonderful strong, and therefore chosen to be the retreat, I know not whether of fishermen, or noble families, flying from the cruelty of *Attila the Hun*, about the year 422. As for the charming liberty, it is such as pleases the noblest and best inform'd nations in *Europe*; and though it be very chargeable to them, the *Germans*, *Polanders*, *English* and *French*, never fail coming every year, at this time, to enjoy the excellent opera's, entertainments, balls and all other sorts of diversions; and the more for that every person is allow'd to go mask'd into all places, concealing both the sex and countenance. Yet I do not think the liberty allow'd the women in this particular, altogether commendable; and it is certain, that their going about with other masks they meet in the streets, at inns, and at the *Ridotto*, eating sweet-meats, and drinking muskadine wine, is often the occasion of disorders. This very day, a husband had like to have kill'd his wife, they not knowing one another before they came into the inn, had not the good man of the house prevented it. However it is, such accidents daily happen; yet no doubt it is a great matter, that every one may go about where he pleases, without being disturb'd by any body. Since I have mention'd the *Ridotto*, you must understand, that it is otherwise call'd *The Devil's house*, being a

palace, in the several rooms whereof there are about an hundred tables for gaining, which are worth to the republick at least an hundred thousand crowns a year. So much money is made of the cards and lights paid by the nobility, who alone are allow'd to keep a bank. Hither all the masks retire about the dusk of the evening, for at other times none but noblemen and absolute princes may go in, and they generally play at basset. All is done in silence, laying down the quantity of money every one designs to venture, on what card he pleases, all other particulars being mark'd down with bits of card; and in the same manner he that wins is paid without any hesitation or controversy. It is certainly a pleasant sight to behold so many strange fashions of cloaths, and ways of expressing themselves; and that the gamesters should so little value their money, and sometimes their whole estates. I go thither frequently; and am the better pleas'd, because I see their pleasure disturb'd by their losings, and my own satisfaction no way cross'd; forasmuch as I am there only a spectator, without intermeddling in what they do: and indeed, were a man to write a play, he could nowhere make better remarks on the several passions, than at the *Ridotto*.

*Mille hominum species, & rerum discolor usus:  
Velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno.*

*There are a thousand sorts of men, and as much variety of fashions: Every man has his will, without complying with any one.*

As to the point of liberty, it is beyond all credibility; but no man must presume to look into the government of the commonwealth; for it is of the nature of the cancer, which none can handle, without faring the worse. As to other particulars, in the day-time, it is frequent to see officers beaten, and their prisoners rescu'd by brothers and sons, with extraordinary impunity and freedom. Though the nobility absolutely lord it over the common sort, yet in outward appearance, they are not very imperious or haughty towards them, but very familiarly permit them to be cover'd in their presence; which I think is very requisite in commonwealths, to preserve peace and civil unity. Besides, to avoid being thought proud, which would render them odious to their inferiors, they walk about the streets without any attendance, and sometimes with a small parcel or bundle under their upper garment; and thus laying aside all ostentation and shew of luxury, they exercise a most absolute sovereignty. They wear a long vest down to their ankles, of black cloth, with great wide sleeves; in winter, lin'd and edg'd with furs, and in

Behaviour  
and power  
of nobles.

Their  
habit.

Venice.

Inhabitants, parishes, monasteries, and bridges.

The carnival.

Ridotto, a gaming house.

GEMEL-  
LI.

summer with some slight silk. On the left shoulder hangs another piece of cloth, about four spans long, and two in breadth, to keep them from the rain. To deal ingenuously with you, I am of opinion it is the same as the *toga* among the ancient Romans; as the aforefaid vest, or upper garment, though long, may be used instead of the senators *tunica clavata*, or *laticlarium*; for it plainly appears by a certain place in *Athenæus*, that the *toga* was once square. Besides that, though this sort of garment be also common to lawyers and physicians, however, the nobles do not wear it before they are twenty-five years of age; and whereas the Romans, less discreetly, allow'd all men the *toga virilis*, which was the manly habit, at seventeen years of age, the Venetians do not permit it to be worn till twenty-five; excepting those thirty-five youths which are yearly chosen by lot on *St. Barbara's* day, that they may wear it at eighteen. On their heads they wear a little woollen cap, with a thicker fur about it than the rest. The girdle is of leather, with a buckle, and other ornaments of silver.

I am now well enter'd upon the matter, and have so far play'd the republican and politician, that methinks I have a whole Roman senate in my head, with all the families of the *Porcii*, *Frabricii*, *Sulpicii*, *Culturnii*, and *Cecilii*, but not the *Cornificii* and *Cornelii*. It is not at all agreeable to the carnival, especially for one that is at *Venice*, to enter upon politicks: and I question not but that you think with yourself, where is the diversion I promis'd myself in reading the beginning of this letter? and when will this good man give over his tediousness, and writing long letters? If so, I have done; for I can grow weary of writing; but then you will want the best, that is, what relates to theatres, and is the third part of my description. Then let my importunity prevail upon your patience. There are several theatres in *Venice*. That of *St. Luke*, mention'd in my last, contains an

Theatres  
at Venice.

hundred and fifty boxes. *St. Angelo*, where I saw *Jugurtha* king of *Numidia* excellently acted, has an hundred and thity-six. In that of *Zane*, or *John of St. Moses*, if I mistake not, I counted an hundred and fifteen, (small enough) when I was there on *Saturday*, to see *Clearchus* of *Negropont*. The following night I saw *Dido* raving in that of *St. John and Paul*; and I assure you, it was nothing inferior to any of those we so much applauded there, either for excellent singing, or curious scenes: it contains an hundred and fifty-four boxes. I have not yet seen the theatre of *Grimani*, but am told it is finer than all the rest, and has an hundred and sixty-two boxes, richly gilt; but there they pay four *Italian* livres, which is better than three shillings entrance, and thirty-two pence for a seat; whereas in the others they give but thirty-two pence entrance, and twenty for a seat, or little more. *St. Samuel* and *St. Cassanus* are two other noble theatres, but not for opera's in musick. And, to conclude; the square of *St. Mark* may be also call'd a theatre; for there are abundance of diversions, vaulting, dancing on the ropes, and puppet-shews, but, above all, variety of pleasant fights and conversation.

It remains to speak something to the third point, that is, the government; but what shall I do now? my paper will hold no more, and it is too late to scribble another sheet. D'ye think I shall not write to you again the next week? I refer that account till then, when perhaps I may be able to do it better, and upon more solid information than at present. We have here a mighty report of the magnificence of your viceroy, both as to masks and opera's; it would grieve me to be so far from him, were there not so much pleasure in travelling; however, I beg you will give me some account of it, as fully as your important affairs will permit: thus, with my commendations to yourself and friends, I remain, &c.

### L E T T E R III.

*Of the government of Venice, the great council-chamber, the armory, the Doge's attendance to church, and a notable story.*

Venice, February 1686.

IN pursuance of my promise, and at the same time to satisfy you, I have these days applied myself, with all possible care, to get some solid information concerning the government of this city; but am of opinion, I have wasted my breath and my time; for their methods are kept wonderful secret, and we can only conjecture at them by the effects: and in short, all, I believe,

I have been able to discover, is, that it is this same concert the Venetians are beholden to for the preservation of their state. There is no question to be made but that *Amelot de la Houffaye's* relation is very fine and curious, and the contents of it not only likely, but almost palpable demonstration of what he proposes to lay open; yet am I of opinion, that the greatest part of it is rather the

Secrecy of  
Venetians.

the product of his own brain, than any information receiv'd from others; the men of quality here being always very reserv'd, and upon their guard, though others be never so ingenious in diving into them. To confirm the last point relating to the description in my former letter, I must again declare to you, that since we see this republick support itself with so much honour and reputation for so many ages, it must of necessity be allow'd this commendation, of being govern'd by the rules of the most refin'd policy. This is the way men judge, deducing the causes from the effects. And though experience shews us, that all things which are excellently contriv'd, do not equally succeed, yet for the most part we find, that fortune is the consequence of prudence, and that those which are best order'd have generally the most prosperous event.

Now as for the magistrates who govern, I will not pretend to give you any particular or general account of them, because I remember to have often seen the books of *Contarini* and *Giannotti* in your hands; so that I might better be inform'd by you in that point, than otherwise. But as to the place where they assemble, I must acquaint you, that the chamber of the great council is all over masterly painted, and will easily hold a thousand men. There are rows of benches about, so order'd, that though there are seats on both sides, no man turns his back upon another, but they are all face to face. At one end of this hall, where the floor is somewhat rais'd, is the *Doge's* seat, fix'd in the wall, with benches on both sides. On that which is on his right sit three counsellors, and one of the heads of the *Quarantie*, or council of forty; and on his left, a like number of counsellors, and the other two heads of the *Quarantie*. Opposite to the *Doge*, that is, at the other end of the hall, sits one of the heads of the council of ten, and at a small distance, one of the advocates of the commons. In the middle are two *Censors*, some steps above the floor of the hall: and to conclude, in the angles are the old and new auditors.

I have taken great pleasure these days in hearing some trials before the council of twelve, and the *Quarantie*; for the advocates did not talk, but roar; not argue, but scold; and that their way of pleading would make a statue burst with laughing. On the other hand, they have this very commendable custom, that they only endeavour to gain the judges by proper words and arguments drawn from natural reason, and well digested, according to the rules of rhetorick, without perplexing themselves with quotations and precedents: the reason whereof perhaps is, because those judges are not always very well read in the civil,

and much less in the canon law; and therefore no proofs are at first offer'd, but only a plain bill of what is requir'd. Besides, the most famous advocate, in any affair of the greatest consequence, is not allow'd to speak above an hour and an half; a custom, as I take it, observ'd by the ancients, who measur'd the time allotted for that purpose by a water hour-glass; whence they said *dare aquam*, and *dicere ad horam*; that is, to allow water, which was the measure of the time, and to speak by the hour: as I think I have read in *Quintilian*; and once observ'd a curious place of *Philostratus*, in the life of *Apollonius Thyaneus*. Those who spoke by this rule, *dicebant ad clepsydram*, talk'd by the water hour-glass; and therefore *Martial*, scoffing at one *Cæcilianus*, said,

*Septem clepsydras magna tibi voce petenti,  
Arbiter invitus, Cæciliane, dedit.  
At tu multa diu dicis: vitreisque tepentem  
Ampullis potas semisupinus aquam.  
Ut tandem saties vocemque, sitimq;, rogamus,  
Jam de clepsydra, Cæciliane, bibas.*

Which is to this effect. *Cæcilianus*, the judge, much against his will, allows you to plead whilst seven glasses are running, which you demand with much clamour. You talk much a long while together, and to refresh you, take off several glasses of warm water. That you may at length satiate your voice and your thirst, we intreat you, *Cæcilianus*, to drink out of the hour-glass.

But methinks, to repeat such things to you, who are so well acquainted with them, by continual reading of good authors, is like carrying of flowers to *Flora*, and fruit to *Alcinous*. However it is, the judges give their opinions after this manner: To denote the affirmative judgment, they put a white ball, made of linen, into a vessel of the same colour; for the negatives, a green ball into a green vessel; and in a doubtful case, a reddish one, which neither affirms nor denies, into a red vessel; all this in open court, and before the parties themselves. The best custom, in my mind, is, that every one may be there present with his cap or hat on his head, perhaps in token of liberty, or even mask'd, as every one pleases. But what a heinous crime this would be in *Naples*!

Adjoining to the grand council is the armory, not furnish'd with any great store of arms, but with the curiousest and rarest armour in *Europe*; for, besides what the republick itself has bought at several times, and upon sundry occasions, a great quantity has been presented them by the most potent monarchs, very wonderful both for workmanship and value. Among the rest

GEMEL-  
LI.Philost. in  
vita Apoll.  
lib. 8.Martial,  
lib. 6.  
epist. 35.Great  
council-  
chamber.

Pleadings.

The ar-  
mory.

**GEMEL-** is remarkable, an engine, which at once fires four thousand muskets, and might be of good use upon any mutiny of the people, or such other sudden accident. There are innumerable *Turkish* colours, though there must be more of the *Venetians* at *Constantinople*. Among the greatest rarities is a crystal fountain, and *St. Mark's* head drawn with a pen, in which the strokes are not plain lines, but contain the whole gospel of our Saviour's passion, almost invisible to the eye, so that it cannot be read without a very convex magnifying glass. The provost marshal of *Venice*, call'd the great captain, has charge of this place, and when I was there I had like to have taken him for a bishop, for he had on a long purple robe, lin'd with crimson damask, and edg'd with furs, and a cap on his head like those the noblemen wear. This post is worth three thousand ducats a year.

Rarities.

Notable custom of marriages.

On *Candlemas-day* in the evening I went to *Santa Maria Formosa*, because the *Doge* was to be there, according to ancient custom. Touching the original of this practice, it is to be observ'd, that in former ages, the most beautiful maids in *Venice*, and the adjacent parts on the continent, were given in marriage to those who offer'd most money for them; and then that money was distributed among the ugliest, for them to get husbands by their portions. This good custom having multiply'd the people, another yet better was introduc'd, which was, that after the betrothing, all the maidens were conducted back to *St. Pietro a Castello*, call'd *Olivole*, carrying their portion with them, and there they stay'd all *Candlemas-night*. The bridegrooms coming in the morning, with all their kindred, they heard the high mass together, and then the nuptial ceremonies being perform'd, they return'd home joyfully with their beloved brides. The *Istrians*, who were then enemies to the city, knowing this custom, laid hold of the opportunity, and coming over privately by night, in well rigg'd vessels, carry'd off both the maids and their portions, before any could rescue them. This accident causing a mighty uproar in *Venice*, abundance of vessels were fitted out in an hour; but particularly by the inhabitants of *Santa Maria Formosa's* ward, who overtaking the ravishers at *Caorle*, where they were dividing the booty, made a most bloody slaughter of them, and brought home again the afflicted ladies, with all the rest that had been taken away. These people being order'd by the nobility boldly to ask any reward for their bravery, answer'd, We desire nothing but that you be oblig'd, in memory of this action, to come once a year, with your prince, to our church. The *Doge* reply'd, And what if it should happen to rain on that

day? Then, said they, we will send you hoods to keep you dry, and if you are thirsty we will also make you drink. In pursuance of which promise, the joiners and fruiterers send the prince two hoods on *Candlemas-day*, with two bottles, the one of white the other of red wine, stopp'd with oranges, which are afterwards plac'd on two stands by the high altar in the said church. Such a sort of ceremony is perform'd by the fathers of *Mount Olivet* towards the patriarch on *Ascension-day*, presenting him with a bason full of pick'd chestnuts.

Being come into the church, I saw in the first place, a canopy of crimson damask set up for the *Doge*, on the right side of the altar, all the wall being hung with the same.

When it was time to begin the even-song, he sat down under it, and the *French* ambassador at a small distance from him. On both sides sat several senators and counsellors, some more some less rais'd up from the ground, according to their degree and quality. When the *Magnificat* was begun, he took a lighted candle into his hand, and the solemnity being over, went away to his boat.

The attendance was as follows, first went the clergy of the church, with their crosses; then follow'd the senators and counsellors, according to their rank, clad in crimson damask, and such of them as had been ambassadors, by way of distinction had an edging of gold-colour cloth embroider'd. Next came two of the *Doge's* courtiers, he on the right carrying a cushion for him to kneel on, and the other a little folding stool, like those the bishops use upon some occasions. Then the *Doge* himself had an under garment, or tunick, of a rich white silk, and the upper, or vest, crimson lin'd with ermin; his cap was also of white silk, with the usual ducal point or horn. He is of stature low, but of a good constitution, though seventy years of age, very pleasant, well spoken, good and gracious. After him, besides the person carrying the train, came a nobleman with a naked tuck in his hand, and another courtier carrying the umbrella. The two *Gondolas*, or boats, which he and all the company went in, were curiously glaz'd, and adorn'd with a beautiful covering of crimson damask, on which were his arms and those of *St. Mark*. Each of them was row'd by four men clad in red. The great captain also appear'd that day in his robes, his very upper garment being of crimson damask, edg'd with furs of the same colour. In short, he looks like something more than a mean provost, in his habit and behaviour.

The next day the *Doge* went to *St. Mark's*, with the same attendance, but clad in white brocade, the upper garment of gold, and the

the under of silver. At his entering into the church he had holy water brought him by a canon; and then he went into the choir and sat down before the high altar, on a seat made in the wall like a pulpit, without a canopy. Close by, on a low seat, was the *French* ambassador, and the emperor's, the *Spanish*, never being present, on account of some controversy about precedence; but they had a desk to kneel at without cushions. After the *Doge* had kiss'd the gospel, and been thrice incens'd, the ambassadors kiss'd it, and each was twice incens'd: after the consecration, the same was repeated, every senator was once incens'd, that is, the censor once wav'd to him, and kiss'd the image of *St. Mark*, as the others had done before. Four canons came twice and bow'd to the *Doge*, and he at the offertory gave them a piece of gold. When out of the church,

he stopp'd before the giants; and having dismiss'd all those great men, retir'd to his apartment.

I cannot at present acquaint you with any thing else that is curious, except that yesterday the council of ten sat, on account of a barbarous murder, committed on a design of robbing, by one *Andino Furno* of *Torino*; on the body of his master, who was a good priest; and this very day he was beheaded between the columns of the *Brojo*, or the publick place for voting, and his body quarter'd, a great multitude looking on; for no man has been executed these four years. I am sorry this letter should end with a doleful relation; but I ought to be much more concern'd for troubling you so long with my simple tales, so wishing you all happiness, &c.

## LETTER IV.

*Of the arsenal, mint, Jews quarter, churches, &c.*

Venice, Feb. 12. 1686.

I Have been above this hour puzzling my brains, to begin to write handsomely; and whether it be my misfortune, or my dullness that occasions it, I do not see any likelihood of succeeding; so that this bout, instead of patience, you must afford me your compassion, looking on me as a man quite beside myself, among so many operas, plays, masks, sports, entertainments and delights; but now give me leave to acquaint you, in short, with what I have seen this week.

The famous arsenal of this city is a place wall'd in, about three miles in compass. Here about two thousand men are continually at work upon all things necessary for ships, either of war or merchants. Here are great numbers of galleys, galleasses, transports, and other great ships; some of them newly begun, others further advanc'd, and others finished, under very large and spacious arches; besides those taken from the *Turks*, which lie about in several places, as monuments of the *Venetian* valour. In one place you may see a numerous train of artillery, with all things belonging to it; in another match, ball, bombs, grenadoes, and all such sorts of inventions. Here are breast-plates, belly-pieces, helmets and bucklers; there pikes, swords, scimitars, spears, bows and guns; there sails, rudders, anchors, cables, each of them in a several storehouse. In short, this looks like the palace of *Mars*, furnish'd both with armour for defence, and weapons for slaughter; so that they can in an hour fit out fifty galleys and twenty galleasses.

The mint is under the court of the procurators in *St. Mark's* square, where they coin gold, silver and brass, not with a mill, but the hammer; and in some rooms there are chests of money, belonging to private citizens, who leave it there for more security; as we use to put it into the banks.

The *Jews* quarter is a spacious place, and has something in it worth a curious man's observation; as the school where they teach *Hebrew*, and several synagogues. I went into one call'd the *Spanish*, because those of that nation meet in it, and saw those wretches sitting on long benches, saying their fruitless prayers, with hoods on their heads, and a white clout on their shoulders, with tassels at the four corners. Their *Rabbi* sat at one end of the room on a chair, somewhat raised from the ground, who cry'd out like a mad-man, the other *Jews* answering at times. I was full of admiration when I saw five books taken from under the altar, written on vellum, being kept between two tables cover'd with silk and silver plates. They were carried to the *Rabbi* for him to read a while, according to their superstitious rites. I was told they were the books of *Moses*, and that when they were to be copy'd, the transcriber must be a month in purifying himself for that work, not eat any thing on the days he writes, and make fresh ink in a very clean vessel; adding, that in case one single point were amiss, the whole copy would be look'd upon as erroneous. Next I went up to the galleries where the women meet, where I found a bride, who told me, she had been

GEMEL- a month upon her purification, before she  
LI. could be admitted to that place.

Churches. As for the churches I have hitherto seen, the finest in my opinion are, that of the bare-foot *Carmelites*, remarkable for its famous marble frontispiece, and the sixteen statues within it; *La salute*, which is oval, and adorn'd both within and without, with incomparable marble statues; that of *St. John and Paul*, which is spacious enough, and has many chapels, embellish'd with many marble statues, especially that of our lady. In this church-yard, on a large pedestal, stands a brass statue a horseback, representing *Bartholomew Coglione of Bergamo*, a renowned soldier in his time, and as such remarkable at the famous battle of *Lepanto* against the *Turks*. That of *St. George*, of the fathers of *Cassino*, is also rich in statues, both brass and marble, and valuable for its magnificent choir. The library of this place must be allow'd to be one of the best in the city, as well for the number as the variety and choice of books, not to mention the curious binding, the fine cases, all shut up with the clearest glasses, and the noble statues and pictures; for in my opinion, the true ornament of libraries consists in the books themselves, and all the rest is the contrivance of idle persons, who do not much apply themselves to reading. The garden also deserves to be taken notice of for its stately walks, most artfully adorn'd with tall and thick cypress trees, and odoriferous myrtles, and cover'd over with several choice vines.

Great diversions of the carnival.

I shall not say any thing of *S. Mark* at this time, for fear of growing too tedious; but shall reserve it for the next week. I shall now only add, that the cloaths here are every where excessive costly, and the masks wonderful extravagant, thanks to the vast multitude of strangers resorting hither this year; and many things would have been

done, had not the senate forbid all persons wearing gold or silver, much less jewels; as also sitting to talk together under the arches of *St. Mark*. However, no man forbears diverting himself as he best likes. There is continual revelling and dancing; gaming in all parts; every where comedies and serenades; and to say all in a word, *Venice* at these times is the habitation of the graces, and of all sorts of delight. Yet amidst these universal pleasures, some things happen which provoke tears, or at least compassion. Yesterday in the afternoon a new-marry'd man carry'd his wife mask'd into the aforesaid place of *St. Mark*, where he stepping a little aside upon some occasion, she was taken away by two masks, who having feasted with her at an inn, vanish'd, and the poor wretch being left by herself, was fain to pawn her bracelets to the host, for the mischievous entertainment. Is not this as pleasant an adventure as any you have heard at home? But if I should tell you that I am myself become a knight-errant, would it not make you laugh? On *Saturday*, as soon as I got into the street, a mask took me by the hand, having a scarlet coat on his back, with gold lace, a garment much used here, and invited me to go drink some muskadine wine. This he did after such a manner, and as familiarly, as if he had been very long well acquainted with me; so that suspecting nothing, I freely went along with him; but when I came to unmask to see who it was, alas! I found a woman. God knows what art I used to get off clear from her, being well satisfy'd to pay the reckoning and go about my business. Observe how warily a man must walk to avoid being insnar'd. Methinks I have writ enough, or at least laziness persuades me so; and therefore with commendations to my friends, &c.

## LETTER V.

### Of *St. Mark's church and square.*

Venice, Feb. 19. 1686.

St. Mark's church and place.

TO come directly to the point, I do not question but that the mighty fame spread abroad throughout the world of *St. Mark's church*, has rais'd in you an earnest desire to hear something of it, as I once had myself; and therefore I believe my time will not be ill spent in giving you such a general idea of it as if you were to see it drawn in perspective. To begin with the place or square, represent to yourself before the said church, a space five hundred foot long, and one hundred and thirty in breadth, all inclosed with stately uniform buildings, and extraordinary beautiful, being adorned with

curious portico's. They all belong to the publick, which reserves those on the left for the dwellings of the procurators, and lets out all the rest. The *Brojo*, being the place where the noblemen walk, is another space four hundred foot in length, and one hundred and thirty in breadth, which might be call'd a part of the aforesaid square, beginning at the steeple and terminating by the shore; and here stand two columns of an extraordinary magnitude, the one bearing the statue of *St. Theodorus*, the other the lion of *St. Mark*, and between these two, criminals are executed: *St. Theodorus* is on the

the right, because he was patron of *Venice*, before *St. Mark's* body was brought from *Alexandria* in 827. The *Doge's* palace stands not in the aforesaid square, but behind the church; and there, as I think I have writ to you before, all the magistrates meet, in several apartments. Before the gate of it are two columns, erected as a memorial, that there a *Doge's* head was chopp'd off, which was *Mario Falerio*, in the year of our Lord 1355, for having conspir'd against his country. The church is said to have been built in 828, and perhaps not as it is at present; however it was, it seems to be a piece of *Greek* architecture, having five isles, with as many cupola's on them, the outsides of them cover'd with lead, and within adorn'd with exquisite *Mosaic* work. Within the church are thirty-six columns of most curious marble, two foot diameter; besides the four, on which the most remarkable passages of the old and new Testament are excellently carv'd, and which support the beautiful arch over the high altar; and four others of the brightest transparent alabaster, adorning the tabernacle where the blessed sacrament is kept. All the floor of the church is also adorn'd with *Mosaic* work, of a great value, by reason of the surprizing contexture of many hieroglyphicks, contriv'd, as is reported, by *Gioacchino Abase*. Every man assigns those figures the interpretation he pleases; either as denoting future revolutions in *Italy*, or to the succession of popes; just as the *Ælia*, *Lælia*, *Crispis* of *Bologna*, which every one will have to denote something of his own profession, and even the chymists find their own mysteries in it. For my part, I do not regard these deceitful enigmatical oracles, which may be expounded as accidents happen. For instance, among other things, there are some lions lying on the ground, very lean, and others very fat, opposite to them in the midst of the water; importing, that the *Venetians* shall be great and potent, as long as they shall only apply themselves to maritime affairs. On the walls hang the gilded arms of former *Doges*; and in one particular place they shew'd me three figures, cut on a piece of marble, fix'd in the wall; being those of our Saviour, the blessed Virgin, and *St. John Baptist*, which a holy artist carv'd instead of *Jupiter*, *Juno* and *Mercury*, and therefore was put to death by the emperor *Dioclesian*, as the story tells us. They also shew another stone, and say, it is the same on which *Christ* stood when he preach'd between *Tyre* and *Sidon*; on which *Abraham* would have sacrific'd his son, and *Moses* receiv'd the tables of the law from the hand of God. Besides, another stone stain'd with blood, on which *St. John Baptist* was beheaded,

whose ashes they will have to be preserv'd under the altar, being brought with the aforesaid stones, by the *Doge Vitalis Michele*, about the year 1095, when he was captain general for the republick, in the general league for recovery of the holy land; and perhaps these worthy persons will say, certain twisted columns brought from *Jerusalem*, and taken out of the temple of *Solomon*, as is reported, were then also transported from *Jerusalem* to *St. Mark's*. I could here make you a long dissertation upon this sort of things, were it not for fear of being tedious to my own self; therefore to proceed, I must inform you, that the greatest ornament belonging to the majestick portico, before the great gate, consists in two mares as big as the life, and most masterly cast in *Corinthian* brass. Those who have little or no knowledge in antient history, invent a thousand tales and fables concerning them. Some affirm, they were made by the people of *Rome*, in honour of *Nero*, when he triumph'd over the *Parthians*; remov'd thence by *Constantine* to his *New Rome*, and plac'd in the *Hippodrome*; and lastly, when *Constantinople* was taken by the *Venetians* and *French*, sent to *Venice* by *Marino Zen*, the first podesta, and there long kept in the arsenal, but their beauty and value being afterwards better known, they were plac'd where they now stand. All this sounds well enough, except *Nero's* triumphing over the *Parthians*; and that *Zen*, who understood such things perfectly well, should neglect assigning them a proper place. Not far from hence they shew'd me a statue, holding its finger on its mouth, as injoining silence, and it represents the architect of this noble structure; as if by that dumb language he denoted, that detraction itself could object nothing against the perfection of his work. The church here has five brass gates, two whereof are constantly open'd, two others upon certain festivals, and the fifth is always shut, I know not for what mystery conceal'd from us mortals.

It is farther to be observ'd, that this church is serv'd by twenty-six canons, twelve of which daily perform the divine service in it; the others being curates in several parts of the city, are not oblig'd to be there, unless upon some solemn festivals. The choice of them is in the *Doge*, who takes them from among the petty canons belonging to the same church. They are subordinate to a chief, or dean, who is independent of the patriarch; and besides that he uses all the episcopal vestments, and blesses the people, he, in his own church, confers the four lesser orders.

There is no question to be made, but *St. Mark's* that the body of the holy evangelist was brought from *Alexandria* to *Venice*; yet can

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it not be positively affirm'd in what place it lies; tho' most men believe it to be plac'd in the high altar, where still is to be seen the rich gold and silver furniture, taken from the altar of St. *Sophia* at *Constantinople*.

The trea-  
sury.

From the church they lead to the treasury, over the gate whereof are the images of St. *Dominick* and St. *Francis* in *Mosaic* work, and said to be contriv'd by the aforesaid abbot *Gioacchino*, several years before those saints were born into the world. However that is, I am very well pleas'd, that I us'd so many words and intreaties to prevail with the procurator, whose business it is, to shew me such wonderful wealth; the like whereof perhaps is not to be seen together in all *Europe*. Should I go about to enumerate all the curiosities and rarities I saw here, I should certainly tire myself, and wear out your patience, and therefore it will be proper to take notice only of the most remarkable. In the first place, I saw twelve regal crowns, and the same number of compleat suits of armour, all of pure gold, and set with precious stones, as rubies, emeralds, topazes, chrysolites, and particularly pearls of an extraordinary magnitude. Then they shew'd me some vessels made of agats and emeralds, a plate of one intire turquois stone, a bucket of one single garnet artificially carv'd, a saphir weighing ten ounces, two great unicorns horns, the one whiter, the other inclining to red, set in gold, a diamond of an immense value, presented by *Henry III.* of *France*, as he pass'd that way to his kingdom in the year 1574; the ducal cap or crown, wonderful rich in gold and jewels, but particularly for an inestimable carbuncle on the top of it. To pass by all other things, in a cup-board there are several vessels adorn'd with extraordinary precious stones, formerly belonging to the *Grecian* emperors; and among the rest, one of immense value, sent the republick, as a present, by *Ussun Cassan* king of *Persia*.

Relicks.

The relicks are shewn in a little chappel opposite to the treasury. The chief of them are, a phial with some blood, which, they say, is our Saviour's; a piece of the pillar to which he was bound and scourged; one nail of the cross, and a thorn of his crown: besides, a piece of St. *John Baptist's* skull, kept in a cup made of agat; two crosses, the one of gold, us'd to be worn by the emperor *Constantine*; the other of crystal, with some *Greek* characters cut on it; both which were sent as a present to *Venice* in the year 1240, by *Baldwin II.* emperor of *Constantinople*, in return for the assistance given him by the *Venetian* fleet. Here is also a small piece of the reed put by way of derision into our Saviour's hand, with some part of his garment, his girdle

of the sindon or winding sheet, and of the cloth wherewith he wip'd the apostles feet at the last supper; a phial with some of the blessed virgin's milk, and a piece of her girdle; a finger of St. *John Baptist*, one of St. *Mark's* teeth, and many more. I am resolv'd you shall not laugh at me for having nam'd the crosses among the relicks; for whilst I was writing, my thoughts were altogether bent upon those things I saw in that place where the relicks are, without reflecting any further. I fancy some *French* writer would make a long critical dissertation on all the rest I have mention'd; but I have made a solemn vow, to leave all such things as I find them, and let those it belongs to take care of them.

It remains to say something of the steeple, <sup>The</sup> which is generally reported to have its foundation as deep under ground as it rises above, tho' it is forty feet square every way, and two hundred and thirty feet high. The ascent is easy enough, up a winding pair of stairs, to the very top; whence is a noble prospect of all the city, and a great part of the sea to the eastward and southward. He who went up with me, took abundance of pains, at every turn, to shew me, that *Venice* is in the shape of a boot; but I who have no eyes to see things that have no being, after much study and gazing, could only perceive, that it is longish and broader at one end than at the other. It is nothing strange, that the other should not be convinc'd, but persist fix'd in his first opinion, because notions conceiv'd from our infancy are seldom or never to be remov'd. Besides, I remember, that sometimes betwixt sleeping and waking I have taken a linen cloth for a dog, an apple for a head cut off; and such like metamorphoses, occasioned by the rays not striking the eye according to the natural order and position. So children fancy they see clouds like ships, or horses or cows, or the like. It plainly appears, that ancient astrologers were not free from such or grosser follies; when, of the beautiful fix'd stars, they, according to their wild ideas, form'd such a confus'd multitude of hideous monsters, without the least similitude or proportion; in somuch, that if any humourist were but sure to find followers, and would invert the ancient order, placing other figures in the firmament, it would be a very worthy undertaking, and very easy in our days. I am acquainted with an able painter, who, without any difficulty, from three points assigned, provided they be not in a strait line, forms any figure he pleases: do but consider what curious inventions this man might make on a new globe, where there are so many stars instead of points.

And

And to say the truth, what better title to it had those ancient *Arabs* and *Chaldeans*, which the modern *Europeans* might not as well pretend to? Have not they already given names to several stars newly observed in our hemisphere, or lately discover'd by the help of navigation in the southern parts? How pleasant it would be, to have the stars hitherto reckoned *martial* or *jovial*, either from their situation, or some resemblance of names, by some other figure or name given them to become *saturnine*, or *lunar*! Were *Berenice's* hair, now reckoned *lunar*, or *venereal*, turn'd into a lion's tail, every man would call it *saturnine*, and if into a bear's tail, *martial*. Were *spica virginis*, now reckoned *venereal*, chang'd into a crow's wing, who could deny it to be *saturnine* or *martial*? Who could hinder me making a dragon's head of that they now call of *Hercules*? and then it would become *saturnine* instead of *martial*: and thus, by degrees, all judiciary astrology, or the art of divination, would go to the devil, and our ears would not be pester'd, for some years, with so many almanacks and predictions.

Farewel *Venice*, say you; to what purpose was all this pindarick digression? Is *St. Mark* so soon forgot? I own the charge; you are in the right; I am a thoughtless fellow, and, like *Petrarch*, am run out of one conceit into another, and skip from this point to that. Besides that, I had omitted the very best thing in *St. Mark*, which is, that in the sacristy or vestry, is

preserv'd the gospel written with that saint's own hand; and in another volume, are all the four gospels transcrib'd by *St. John Chrysestome*. Both of them are very carefully secur'd, and sealed with the seal of the republick; for which reason the criticks will never have the least cause to suspect them. Had manuscripts been so dealt with in all libraries, I am very sure, that many of them would not have lost their reputation; and a certain learned religious man of this age, would not have presum'd to assert, that, excepting a very few ancient ones, all the rest, and particularly those that have been publish'd in our days, are the work of some monks of the tenth and eleventh centuries; and this, because they contain some doctrine that is not pleasing to their party.

I shall stay but a few days longer in this city; my design being to be gone the second or third day of lent, at farthest; yet I believe I shall first have leisure to write to you again, with some further information. But, in case of failure, why may not I write to you concerning *Venice*, from *Milan*, or any other place? I am only concern'd, that in case you would make use of me here, either on account of those books you told me of, or any other business, your letters will not come time enough for me to serve you. Perhaps I may do it better in *France* or *Holland*, if you please to command me; subscribing myself, as ever, &c.

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## L E T T E R VI.

*Of the Rialto, sports, government, and dominion of the Venetians over the Adriatick.*

*Venice, February 26. 1689.*

THE *Carnival* is now at the last gasp, and is believed will expire this night at farthest. We shall have a great loss, but are bound to bear it; for the greatest vexation in the world will not bring it again. For my part, I have no heart to stay here, after the loss of such a dear friend; but am fully resolv'd to go away in despair, to the world's end, and, for ought I know, to the wars; but all complaints aside. A few nights since, I was carry'd to an entertainment at *Sign. Francesco Duodo's*, who was marry'd with great pomp to *Signora Loredana Trona*. You may imagine what a croud there was, by the number of *Gondolas*, or boats, that waited in the adjacent great canal, which were no fewer than seven hundred. Among the persons of greatest note were the princes and princesses of *Brunswick* and *Hanover*, with their

marshals. The dance was call'd *Cappello*, and consisted in gentlemen and ladies walking hand in hand thro' all the lodgings; for no other of better contrivance can succeed, where many are to be pleas'd. This evening I hope to be present at the ball *Signior Grimani* will give, according to custom, at his theatre; where he uses to invite all the nobility, to treat and divert them nobly.

My curiosity led me, on *Saturday*, to *Moran*, a place at a small distance from the city, where they make those curiosities in crystal, or rather fine glasses, which are sold throughout all *Europe*. To this purpose there are about fifty glass-houses, most wonderful fine to behold. The matter they work on is the ashes of a certain herb growing at *Alicant*, and in *Cyprus*; and the lye is made by the mixture of certain small

**GEMEL-** stones ground fine; and this being refined  
**L.I.** by boiling in four coppers, that sort of salt  
which clings together, is called crystal,  
and put into the furnace.

**Rialto**  
**bridge.**

Returning to my inn, I took a more exact view than I had done before, of the bridge of *Rialto*, and indeed it appear'd to me the finest structure I had ever seen. It stands over the greatest canal, which is full forty paces wide; and it requir'd no less than three years to lay it over, as it now is; because great ships being to pass under it, there was a necessity of raising one great arch to reach from side to side, without stopping up the channel with columns in the middle. The breadth and magnificent ornaments are answerable to its greatness; and instead of a parapet, it is wonderfully embellish'd by twelve shops on each side. It was formerly of wood, but since made of stone, by order of the senate, in 1588. And this is all the account I can hitherto give of it.

After dinner I went down to *Lido*, or the shore, where the soldiers quarters are, and found there thirteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse, that were to be soon sent over into the *Morea*, variously employ'd. Beyond that, on the same slip of land, is a small monastery of *Benedictines*; and at a small distance, I saw they were still making the canal to carry out two ships which had been launch'd some days before, the one of seventy, the other of fifty guns.

**Bull-bait-**  
**ing.**

As for publick sports, you must understand, that the most acceptable to the *Venetians*, is the bull-feast, but not after the *Spanish* fashion; for they are not so silly, as to set the dexterity of men in competition with the fierceness of beasts. All they do, is to drag some oxen tied, about the city, and so kill them leisurely with cudgels, and dogs set at them. Don't you think this is a mighty piece of valour, or at least a curious diversion? But on *Saturday* there was something pleasant enough done at the *Brojo*; it was a shew of the *Herculean* strength of the men of *Castello*, who really shew'd much valour and activity. One of these, at one stroke, cut off the heads of two bulls: another bull, made fast to some timbers, was mounted from the sea to the top of the steeple, with two men on his back; and on the other hand a man flew from the top of the same steeple down to the sea. Many scaffolds were erected to see this sight; and the *Doge* himself, with the senate, and the ambassadors of princes, were spectators, being nobly seated in the galleries of the palace.

**Masks.**

As to other particulars, among the finest masks I have seen during my stay, the first place, in my opinion, is due to the prince of *Parma's*, consisting of twelve of his cour-

tiers, very handsomly dress'd after the *Moorish* fashion, and every now and then dancing after the manner of those people, as naturally as ever *Moor* did.

It will not be proper to amuse you any longer with such trifles; and therefore it may be better to find some other impertinence that may be more grateful to your ears. The situation of this city is well known to you, as is all that belongs to its little low islands. You may have also learned by books of that nature, and maps, that the dominion of this republick does not extend above eighty miles in length on the continent, with the same breadth where most, and thirty miles where narrowest. The confines of it are, on the east, the *Adriatick* sea, and county of *Tirol*; on the north, part of the same county, and of the country of the *Grisons*; on the west, the duchy of *Milan*; and on the south, part of the said *Milanesse*, of the patrimony of the church, and of the *Mantuan*. It is no easy matter to find in authors what sort of republick this is, as it was formerly with that of *Sparta*; for *Contarini* will have it to be compos'd of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; *Bodin*, lib. 2. de repub. barely calls it an aristocracy; and others speak otherwise of it. To deal ingenuously, I find no shadow of monarchy in the *Doge*; for tho', in exterior ornaments, and point of respect, he differ little or nothing from a king, and that all laws are promulg'd in his name, yet there is no sort of affair whatsoever that can be resolv'd on by him, without the council: and we read, that tho' the *Doge Vital Falerio* built the castle of *Loretto* at his own expence, yet he could not, on any account, grant leave to some few persons to live in it, without the consent of the great council; and what is still more, the *Doge Otho Orseolo* could not, without their consent, take a stranger to wife, that is, the sister to *Stephen* king of *Hungary*. What authority the people of *Venice* have, neither I nor any other man will be ever able to find out. Is not the grand council intirely compos'd of noblemen? Are not all posts and employments whatsoever, relating to the government, bestow'd upon noblemen? excepting the secretaries places, which have some sort of servitude. Where then is the democracy? That a commonwealth may be said to be compos'd of several states, it is requisite those states have an equal share in the government of it, or at least that the disparity be not great, either in relation to civil or martial affairs; and therefore those of *Sparta*, *Rome*, &c. were call'd mix'd. Now, if that inconsiderable precarious power the *Doge* has in the senate, and some empty shadow left to the people, be enough to make a mixt commonwealth,

I will

I will call it so as well as another : But I think myself fully convinc'd of the contrary ; for in every state whatsoever, there is some such temperament, and yet it is not reckoned mix'd, only that being taken notice of which is uppermost, and carries the greatest force. For example, *Spain* cannot be call'd a mixture of monarchy and aristocracy, because the *grandees* have so much authority ; nor is *England* to be reckoned a composition of three estates, because of the two houses of parliament, the king being possess'd of all regal prerogative ? Thus the bare outward resemblance of a king in the *Doge*, is not sufficient to attribute any thing monarchical to *Venice* : and tho' his power did extend further, yet that being deriv'd to him from the senate, it would appear, that all the power was in the said senate. If the acclamations given by the people to the *Doge* newly elected by the senate, may be said to denote democracy, there will be a democracy in every monarchy, because the same is usual at the coronation of every prince. This I say in relation to the present state ; for I have no mind to enter upon controversies of what is past. I am apt to believe, there was a mixture before the present form was establish'd, and have good reasons for it ; but there must have been some other before the mix'd, and there lies the question, whether it was democratical, monarchical, or other ? There is no meddling with that point, whether the present liberty is to be call'd a grant of the emperor's, or by any other less odious name : and doubtless those very franchises they themselves shew obtain'd from emperors, make it plain enough. As for their dominions on the continent, it has been questioned since the time of *Maximilian* the first, by what title they hold them, to the detriment of the empire. These gentlemen will, with good reason, ridicule this notion, as well knowing, that the ancient notification, *Rem populi Romani redde, finibus egredere* ; that is, *Restore what belongs to the people of Rome, and depart their territories*, may be made to all the princes of *Europe*, not to them alone.

But I find more difficulty as to the dominion of the *Adriatick* sea ; forasmuch as those who oppose it, assert, that there can be no dominion over a thing which cannot be possess'd, occupy'd, and held, such as the sea is, and therefore the same is, by the laws of nature and nations, common to mankind ; even as the air, as has been declar'd by many ancient civilians, as *Ulpian*, *Celsus*, *Marcian*, and the emperor *Justinian*, and had, before them, been observed by *Ovid*, *Metamor.* 6.

*Quid prohibetis aquas ? usus communis aquarum est :*

*Nec solem proprium natura, nec aera fecit, Nec tenues undas, in publica munera veni.*

GEMELLI.

That is, *Why do you refuse us water ? the use of it is common to all ; neither the light of the sun, nor the air, nor water, were by nature made peculiar to any man : I come for what is common.*

And so *Virgil*,

— *litusque rogamus  
Innocuum, & cunctis undamque, auramque  
patentem.*

Thus in *Mr. Dryden*,

To beg what you, without your want,  
may spare,  
The common water, and the common air.

Therefore they say, the grant of pope *Alexander III.* is not a sufficient title ; for how could he abrogate the law of nations ? But if they will alledge, that there may be a dominion over the sea so far, that every prince may have a right to it, as far as his lands extend, or an hundred miles before them, as some others have maintain'd, then who is there so blind, as not to see, that a great part of the *Adriatick* will belong to those who are masters of the kingdom of *Naples*, of the *Marca di Ancona*, and other parts ? How then could pope *Alexander* grant that to the *Venicians*, which belonged to another, and that which perhaps he could not have been master of himself ? They add, That even to pretend to it by prescription, is a folly ; because that cannot take place of the law of nations, as *Papinian* informs us, *lib. 45. D. de Usucop.* and tho' such a thing might be, it has been sufficiently opposed by the *Genoeses* and others. On the contrary, *John Selden*, a most judicious and accurate writer, whom I have accidentally lighted on, endeavours to maintain the opposite opinion, upon no less plausible reasons, especially those he urges in the last chapters of the first book of his *Mare clausum*, which I shall not here give you any taste of, being well satisfied you have read him before me, and div'd deeper into him. But we ought not to omit taking notice, with how little reason that most learned man scoffs at those who too strictly adhere to *Ulpian's* opinions, as if, in such cases, we had any other guides to follow, but the most famous civilians. Besides, it is to be observ'd, not only that all his arguments are not concluding, but that many of them are not for the purpose he designs them.

For

Vid. Lim-  
neo, lib. 8.  
de jure  
publ. cap.  
9. Goldast.  
politic. im-  
perial.  
Con. de fi-  
nib. imper.

Dominion  
over the  
Adriatick.

GEMEL-  
LI.

For example, when the authors he quotes, say, the *Tyrians* and *Alexandrians* were masters of the *Phœnician* and *Egyptian* seas, and that other nations successively had the sovereignty of the sea, as *Eusebius* and other *Greek* historians discourse; that is not to be understood of the dominion he means, but of a certain power at sea, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs; the number of their ships of war, which their neighbours stood in awe of, and of their merchants, that spread abroad their name into remote parts; and this is the true meaning of the verb *Thalassocratein*, to bear the command at sea. The same may be suppos'd of the laws of *Antoninus Pius*, where he order'd, that the judgment of shipwrecks should be according to the laws of the *Rhodians*, then famous for navigation; and yet no man will on this account say, the emperor thought himself lord of the land, and the *Rhodians* of the sea. So when they say, the *Romans* gave *Pompey* the command at sea, it implies, they made him admiral of a great fleet, to suppress the pirates, who, against the law of nations, infested all the seas, and obstructed the liberty of navigation; as *Florus* tells us, *Cilices invaserant maria, sublatisque commerciis, rupto fœdere generis humani, sic maria bello, quasi tempestate præcluserant*. That is, *The Cilicians had invaded the seas, and obstructing commerce, to the breaking of the bonds of human race, had shut up the sea with war, as it were with a storm*. And yet *Selden* quotes this place, seeming to take no notice that it is positively against him. In the same manner, when *Florus*, or other *Roman* historians, say, *Mare nostrum*, *Our sea*, they mean the *Mediterranean*, which was inclosed by the *Roman* dominions, to distinguish it from the ocean. As for the articles of peace between the *Persians* and *Athenians*, and between these and the *Lacedæmonians*, it may perhaps be answer'd, That they might well be so far masters as to agree, and contract together, that they should not sail in such and such bays, without being masters of the sea; since, under the support of the conquering nation, they might, at pleasure, rob one another of that, which, by the law

Selden cap.  
11.

of nations, was free and common to all. For my part, I cannot but admire, that so great a man, finding, in the *Notitia utriusque imperii*, the ensigns of the proconsul of *Asia*, and among them the figure of a woman, representing the *Hellespont*, with a crown of battlements on her head, could take her for the sea so call'd, and not rather for the ports belonging to it, where the customs were paid, as *Gallipoli* and others; for it is not likely that the sea should be represented with battlements of towers on it; whereas weeds, shells, and the broken beaks of ships are more suitable to it. To conclude; private mens making wears, or other inclosures for fishing on the shore, is no good argument to prove any particular dominion over the sea; for, in my opinion, that implies only a dominion over the shore that is possess'd; and the same law of nations, by which the sea is common, gives every man a right to make use of its water, either by drawing it into fish-ponds, or filling vessels, or as he pleases; because the sea is not therefore the less in common, or more unfit for navigation; otherwise even this might not be done, as is observ'd, in relation to building on the shore. In short, all the instances by him alledg'd, if there be any one convincing among them, will never prove, that any nation did ever rightfully assume to itself such a dominion over the weaker; for, if it has been said of kingdoms, which are according to the law of nations, that they were only great usurpations, or robberies, do you consider what may not be said in relation to the matter we treat of? If you would know my opinion in this case, I tell you plainly, that *Venice* has a rightful and lawful dominion over the *Adriatick* sea, and ten spans beyond it; but yet they do not defend it all against the barbarians; and this is well known to the inhabitants of the coasts of *Otranto* and *Apulia*.

Let us leave these matters to those who have nothing else to do, and talk of something else. I shall, to-morrow evening without fail, set out in the *Padua* boat for *Milan*. If you direct your letters hither, I have friends that will send them after me, and am, &c.

## LETTER VII.

Of Padua and Vicenza, under which are some curious observations.

Verona, March 1. 1686.

HAVING the opportunity of a *Spanish* gentleman, who was going to the court of the catholick king's ambassador at *Venice*, I could not omit paying you my respects in this letter; and the more because he has very obligingly promis'd to do me so much service, as to send it you imme-

diately. To follow my usual method, I kiss your hands a million of times, and declare I am better in health than I expected. I embark'd on *Wednesday* night, and having done nothing but sleep all the night, to the best of my remembrance, I found myself at *Padua* in the morning, by break of day. Padua.  
This

This city is seated in a pleasant and fruitful plain, water'd by the two rivers, *Brenta* and *Bacchilione*, and over-topp'd on the west-side by the famous mountains *Euganei*, now call'd of *Padua*. Opinions vary about the original of its name; but no man questions its having been built after the *Trojan* war, by *Antenor*, kinsman to king *Priam*, and *Virgil* speaks of him thus, *Aeneid* I.

*Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,  
Illyricos penetrare sinus, atq; intima tutus  
Regna Liburnorum, & fontem superare  
Timavi:*

*Unde per ora novem, vasto cum murmure  
montis,*

*It mare proruptum, & Pelago premit arva  
sonanti.*

*Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi, sedesq; locavit,  
Teucrorum, & genti nomen dedit, armaque  
fixit*

*Troia: nunc placidâ compôstus pace quiescit.*

Thus translated by Mr. Dryden.

*Antenor* from the midst of *Grecian* hosts,  
Could pass secure, and pierce th' *Illyrian*  
coasts;

Where rolling down the steep, *Timavus*  
raves,

And through nine channels disembogues  
his waves.

At length he founded *Padua's* happy seat,  
And gave his *Trojans* a secure retreat.

There fix'd their arms, and there renew'd  
their name,

And there in quiet rules, and crown'd  
with fame.

This was imitated by *Petrarch*, *Lib.* 1.  
*Ep.* 11. when he said,

*Jam Patavum Antenor, flammâ emensus  
& undas,  
Ediderat* ———

That is, *Antenor* having escap'd the flames  
and waves, had now built *Padua*.

And *Livy* himself, the greatest ornament of *Padua*, affirms the same. For this reason the following verses of *Lupato* were cut upon *Antenor's* tomb, which is here shewn, without the church of *St. Laurence*.

*Inclutus Antenor, patriam vox nisa quietem,  
Transtulit huc Henetum, Dardanidum-  
que fugas.*

*Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit  
urbem,*

*Quem tenet heic humili marmore cæsa  
domus.*

That is, *The* renowned *Antenor*, labouring  
for the peace of his country, brought to this  
place the remains of the flying *Trojans* and  
*Heneti*. He expell'd the *Euganeans*, founded

N<sup>o</sup>. 169. VOL. IV.

the city *Padua*, and is contain'd in this small GEMEL-  
LI. marble tomb.

From the aforefaid words of *Virgil*, *placida compôstus pace quiescit*, he rests in peace, some good simple people would infer, that the bones of that great man are certainly in this place; but this methinks no man of sense will imagine. Besides, the city being remov'd from its ancient situation since the days of *Attila*, and the very manner of the building, which now shews nothing of great antiquity, are evident demonstrations that the tomb, the inscription, and the contrivers themselves are not of above six hundred years standing.

No man makes any question, but that *Livy's* bones were found in the year of our Lord 1413, near the church of *St. Justina*, with the following inscription.

V. F.  
T. LIVIVS  
LIVIAE T. F.  
QUARTAE L.  
HALYS  
CONCORDIALIS  
PATAVI  
SIBI ET SVIS  
OMNIBUS.

I think it was afterwards well done of the *Paduans*, to erect a half statue of brass in the square of their courts of justice, to the honour of their countryman, who might well deserve one of gold. Yet, to deal plainly with you, according to my usual incredulity, I do not think the aforefaid inscription is a positive argument, that those were the historian's bones; but rather his daughter's, or of *Quarta Liberta*, to whom the inscription is directed; and who knows, whether our wise king of *Aragon*, *Alphonso*, had not an arm us'd to the distaff and spindle from the *Paduans*, instead of one so famous for handling the pen? And what assurance have we, that the said T. LIVIVS was the historian, and not rather some other of the *Livian* family, which was certainly of *Padua*? What great reason then is there to believe, that the said inscription belongs to that renowned historian, and not rather the other, which is also at *Padua*?

T. LIVIVS. C. F. SIBI  
ET SVIS  
T. LIVIO. T. F. PRISCO. ET  
T. LIVIO T. F. LONGO. ET  
CASSIAE. SEX. F. PRIMAE  
VXORI.

But supposing it to be that which they say, yet the words SIBI ET SVIS, on it, do not prove his bones that erected it, to lie in it; there being more likelihood that

GEMEL-  
LI.

he dy'd, and was honourably interr'd at Rome. However, if it should be urg'd, that his bones were carry'd back to his own country, in that case he would not have wanted some relation, or friend, to put a more honourable inscription on his tomb. There is still another more substantial reason to doubt, and is, that in the fourth year of *Cæsar*, when *Livy* is said to have dy'd, the ancient custom of burying bodies intire was not yet restor'd; but they were all burnt, unless it were some person so miserably poor, as not to leave enough to buy wood. What stupidity then is it to believe, that *Livy's* bones should be found so whole and found as to make a present to king *Alphonso* of his arm? I am not ignorant that the bodies were never thoroughly burnt, and therefore, when the fire was spent, the bones were gather'd, the ashes put into the urn, and the fragments of the bones laid up in another place; both which our *Pontanus* judiciously mentions in these verses.

*Ossa quoque in patriam miseræ transmittite  
parenti,  
Accipiat cineres testa paterna meos.*

That is, *Send my bones into my country to my disconsolate mother; but let my ashes be laid up in my father's urn.*

And if nothing else will do, we have the laws of the twelve tables, in *Cicero*, which enjoins HOMINI MORTUO NE OSSA LEGITO, QUO POST FUNUS FACIAT. *You shall not gather the bones of a dead man, to make a burial afterwards.* Yet all this does not prove, that an arm can remain so intire after burning, as to know whether it was the right or left. Hence we must conclude, that some other made use of that stone, howsoever it was found some ages after, to make the sepulchre of any other person the more lasting. But how could this be, say you? Here is a king impos'd upon, and so many able men of his university never thought of these reasons you alledge. Sir, we easily believe what we desire; and therefore how could plain truth make its way into the heads of *Alphonso's* learned men, before fill'd with vanity and flattery? We live in an age, when, God be prais'd, all the mistakes and oversights of the antients are discovering by degrees; and it will be too much for us, at once, to retrieve all the errors they have been guilty of.

To return to the city, it was formerly inclos'd by three walls, and at present by two; the outward six miles about, the inward three; but the number of inhabitants is not suitable to its extent; and did not the wise republick it is subject to, support the university, erected there by *Charlemaign*, it would have been quite unpeopled by this

time, and fallen from all its former glory. The schools are built uniform and magnificent, and, what is much more considerable, furnish'd with very able professors.

As for the territory, it extends many miles, every where abounding in all that is requisite for the support of human life; besides excellent mineral waters in the neighbourhood of *Albano*. The inhabitants, tho' not numerous, are very well educated from their very infancy; the common sort, for the most part, being employ'd in cloathing; and the gentry may deservedly value themselves on all noble virtues. Concerning the buildings, both publick and private, there are, in the first place, no contemptible fortifications about it; then the city is all handsomely pav'd with pebbles, and adorn'd with thirty-eight bridges, over the river *Brenta*, and five most beautiful and spacious squares. In short, there are every where stately palaces, and extraordinary magnificent churches, especially that of the religious of *Cassino*, that of *St. Antony*, and the cathedral, founded by *Henry* the emperor, whose palace is still to be seen, having been formerly leaded at the top. There are many monasteries of both sexes, as also hospitals. Here is, as well as at *Naples*, a *Monte de pieta* (that is, a charitable lumber) where the poor have money lent them upon pawns, without interest, to such a certain sum. The bishop's revenue is about eleven thousand crowns, if I am rightly inform'd. I could not see, or learn much in the few hours stay I made; but I think I have read before, that *Valerius Flaccus*, who writ the *Argonautica*, *Julius Paulus* the civilian, so highly favour'd by *Alexander Severus*, and many other men of less note, were born here. If we would talk of the state of the city, *Padua* has had the same fate with several other cities of *Italy*; for it was reduc'd to ashes by *Attila*, restored by *Narses*, and again burnt down by the *Longobards*. Being rebuilt and enlarged by *Charlemaign*, through the generosity of the emperor *Otho*, it was govern'd as a commonwealth, till the days of *Frederick* the 2d; after which time it was reduc'd into a deplorable condition, by the bloody tyranny of *Ezzelino da Romano*, and rent by the factions of the *Scaligeri*, or *Della Scala*, or *Visconti* and *Carraresi*, till it fell into the power of the *Venetians*, who having once recover'd it from the emperor *Maximilian*, made it almost impregnable, with the fortifications still to be seen.

Notwithstanding all the inquiry I could make, no living creature could give me any account of the famous inscription set up by *Maximus Olibius*, which I remember I had read in the commentaries of *Pietro Losichio*, on *Petronius's* satire. They tell us, that in the year 1500, an urn was found under ground,

The uni-  
versity.

ground, with some verses carv'd on it, which, if I mistake not, were as follow.

*Plutoni sacrum munus ne attingite, fures;  
Ignotum est vobis hac quod in urna latet.  
Namque elementa gravi clausit digesta labore  
Vase sub hoc modico MAXIMUS OLIBIUS.  
Adsit fecundo custos sibi copia cornu,  
Ne pretium tanti depereat laticis.*

Within it is another smaller urn, with these words on it.

*Abite hinc, pessimi fures.  
Vos quid voltis, cum vestris oculis emissititiis?  
Abite hinc, nostro cum Mercurio petasato,  
caduceatoque:  
MAXIMUS hoc maximo Plutoni sacrum facit.*

The *English* of the first verses in prose is thus, *Touch not, O ye thieves, this offering, which is dedicated to Pluto; you are unacquainted with what lies in this urn. For Maximus Olibius, with much labour shut up the digested elements in this small vessel. May it find a faithful guardian, to whom it will prove the horn of plenty, lest the cost of so precious a liquor be lost.*

The inner inscription above-mention'd, imports, *Be gone hence, ye wicked thieves. What is it you look for with your gogling eyes? Be gone, with Mercury, that wears a hat and wand; for Maximus has dedicated this to mighty Pluto.*

This dedication to *Pluto*, the god of riches, confirms the chymists in the conceit of their philosopher's stone, to such a degree, that several of them fell to spending all they had, to find out a thing that never was, or ever will be in the world; it being impossible, for all the art of man, to gather that pure substance, which being diffused in the air, fertilizes the earth, and preserves all living creatures by breathing. As I told you, no man could give me any tidings of this urn, and therefore continuing in my former opinion, I leave it among the Impositions of the first rank, like the *Tuscan antiquities* of *Curtio Inghirami*, concerning *Pilate's* judgment, said to have been found in *Abruzzo*, and such like fables.

That I may not waste my time and paper upon idle tales, I will continue my journal. I left *Padua* after dinner, and riding hard came at night to *Vicenza*, that is, I rode eighteen miles. This city was handsomely built, at the foot of the mountains of *Padua*, call'd *Euganei*, perhaps by the people of that name. The outward compass of its wall is full four miles, almost in the shape of a scorpion, with eight gates in it, and two navigable rivers running by, being the *Brenta* and the *Bacchilione*, producing excellent eels. The buildings are beautiful

enough, especially the monastery of *St. GEMEL-Cosmo*, at present belonging to the *Domini-*  
*cans*, and formerly possess'd by the *Arians*.

The theatre of the *Olympick* academy is also very noble and magnificent, being capable of containing three thousand persons; as is the bishop's palace, and others. All its territory extending seventy miles in length, and twenty-five in breadth, is wonderful fertile and pleasant, being water'd by fourteen rivers, some great, some small, besides the mineral waters for bathing; but above all, there is a vast number of white mulberry trees. I tell you the truth, after mature deliberation, that all places, where there are such mineral waters, have generally an extraordinary fertility, provided they be in a moderate quantity, and of an indifferent heat. This perhaps may proceed from the wonderful fertilizing quality of nitre, which I sometimes use to call the true universal spirit; for we find by experience, that when once taken from the earth it remains for many years as barren as sand, till it has recover'd some from the air and rain. And this is the reason why dung is used to fatten land, and the herbs growing on such ground are better tasted, and pleasanter than in other places. Now, as I was saying, abundance of nitre is convey'd in some sorts of mineral waters, so that the adjacent fields have more plenty of it than others, and consequently they produce better grass, and fruit; as you may have found by experience, in those about us at *Pozzuolo*, the island of *Ischia* and mount *Somma*. This last has none of those mineral waters we speak of; but its soil cannot be deny'd to be very full of several salts, which rise up, being refin'd or subtiliz'd by the subterranean fire, or else fall on it from time to time, with those showers of bituminous and nitrous ashes, that gush out at the top. Now those places which have too much sulphur and alum on the superficies, generally produce a deep, harsh, and unpleasant wine, which is long before it fines; and such is that of *Ischia*, and that which grows about *Pozzuoli* worse; and forasmuch as I know you drink no sort at all, you may take my word; for it is as I tell you.

To return to *Vicenza*; it was subject to the *Roman* empire till the days of *Attila*; and having suffer'd much from him, submitted to all the barbarians that destroy'd *Italy*. They being expell'd by *Charlemain*, it continu'd free under the protection of the empire, till the days of *Frederick II.* who cruelly plunder'd and burnt it. Then it had princes of several races, as those of *Carraresi*, of *Scala*, and *Visconti*. Lastly, in 1404, it submitted to the *Venetians*; and being taken from them by the emperor *Maximilian*, was not long after recover'd from him.

The

Apologio  
di Camillo  
Borelli,  
stampat. in  
Nap.  
1588.

Vicenza.

GEMEL-  
LI.

The citizens are handy and ingenious, living very polite and modestly. They are govern'd by a council of feventy men of try'd wifdom. Publick affairs are manag'd by ten patricians, or fenators; and all judicial matters, whether civil or criminal, are foon decided by twelve confuls; not to mention other inferior judges, who take cognizance of things of lefs weight.

I came thefe thirty miles this morning in a calafh, for fifteen livres, and defign to ftay in *Verona* till to-morrow. In my next, which I hope to write from *Milan*, you fhall have a faithful account of all I fhall fee here to day, or be inform'd by a very learned prieft, well vers'd in the affairs of his country, with whom I have made myfelf acquainted. Your humble fervant, &c.

## L E T T E R VIII.

Of Verona, Pefchiera, Brefcia and Bergamo, on the road to Milan.

Milan, March 4. 1686.

I Muft declare, that, to me, *Milan* is the fineft and moft agreeable city in the world, fince I had the fortune in it to receive your letters, and, by them, to be inform'd of your health, &c.

Verona.

As foon as I came to *Verona*, and had left my baggage at the inn, I went away to *Castel Vecchio*, the old caftle or citadel, to fee the antient amphitheatre, to this day call'd *l' Arena*, as it was formerly; becaufe the ground was ftrew'd with fand, for the conveniency of the gladiators. This ftructure is ftill to be feen; and none can imagine how it comes to be ftill ftanding, after fo many barbarous nations have ruin'd *Italy*. The compafs of it is about a thoufand fpan, and perhaps more; for on the outside there are feventy-two arches of fuch a competent bignefs, as to fustain three other rows of arches, and windows in the nature of the *Coliseum* at *Rome*; fo that in one part of it, which is ftill intire, the four orders of architecture are ftill to be feen, *viz.* the *Dorick*, the *Ionick*, the *Corinthian*, and the *Compoftite*. Within there are no lefs than forty-three degrees of feats quite round it; by which you mafs guefs what a number of people it will contain. At prefent the gentry make ufe of it to tilt, run at the ring, and to perform fuch other generous exercifes.

Amphi-  
theatre.Mafcar-  
do's cabi-  
net of ra-  
rities.

Next I went to vifit count *Francis Mafcardo's* *Mufeum*, or cabinet, adorn'd with moft excellent pieces of antiquity and rarities. About a marble oval vefel are thefe *Greek* words, ΑΝΤΑΓΧΑΤΕ ΤΟ ΥΔΩΡΜΕΤΑ ΕΥΦΡΟΥΣΥΝΗC, ΟΤΙ ΦΩΝΗ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ; that is, *Reach the water with joy, for the voice of the Lord is on the water*. I thought at firft it had been a font, but confidering the narrownefs of the mouth, foon alter'd my opinion; and the more, for that formerly both infants and perfons of age were baptiz'd after another manner than they are at prefent. Befides, I took notice of two *i's*, in a fmall infcription, inftead of an *e*, as *Valijrius*, for *Vale-*

*rius*. This different way of writing or fpelling is frequently found on marble ftones, which were carv'd where the pure *Roman* language was not vulgarly fpoken.

The city was anciently call'd *Brennona*, becaufe built by *Brennus* the general of the *Gauls*; tho' others affign its foundation to the *Tufcans*. The fituation, the climate, the delightful adjacent country, and the river *Adige*, all contribute to render it beautiful, and abounding in all provifions; nor does it want fifh from the faid *Adige*, from other rivers, as alfo from the neighbouring lake of *Garda*, by the ancients call'd *Benacus*. The city walls are ftrong; the buildings fumptuous and beautiful, by reafon of the marble found in its territory; the ftreets wide, ftreight, and well pav'd; the four bridges of the river, magnificent; nor is there any thing in it but what is fine and curious. Befides the old caftle before-mentioned, there are two other forts on a high ground, call'd *St. Peter* and *St. Felix*, built by *M. Cane della Scala* Lord of *Verona*. I had not time to fee the churches, but was told there are many, and very ftately, particularly the cathedral and that of *St. Athanafius*.

Situation,  
buildings,  
&c.

As to other particulars, the inhabitants are about forty thoufand, all of them ready witted, and well behav'd. It formerly underwent the fame fate with *Padua*, *Vicenza*, and other neighbouring cities, till fubject to the *Venetians*, who now fend a *Podelta*, or governor thither. I muft here tell you a very ftrange particular, which is, that when the faid *Podelta* enters upon his charge, it looks more like the coming of a bifhop than a governor; for all the bells ring, and he goes directly to vifit the church of *St. Zeno*, and the cathedral. Then coming into the fquare, or market-place, and being feated in the chair of the affembly, he makes a fhort fpeech to the people, and receives the enfigns of his command. Upon matters of moment, he has power to affemble the general council of feventy-

Inhabi-  
tants.Reception  
of the go-  
vernor.

two

two citizens, or deputies of the commonalty; in other cases he makes use of twelve of the same body, who serve by months successively. He has also under him a vicar, who is a doctor, a judge for criminal affairs, two for the civil, and a chancellor, all of them at the publick charge.

The next day I hir'd a calash to *Brescia*, for twenty *Italian* livres, and set out immediately. Having rode fourteen miles, I came to *Peschiera*, a fortress standing between two rivers flowing from the above-mentioned lake of *Garda*, and generally kept by a garrison of a thousand *Venetians*. It is about two miles in compass, and a quarter over, if I mistook not when I cross'd it. Thirty miles from thence to the inn call'd *Osteria delle Bertole*, is thirty miles, where I was as conveniently lodg'd as I could with the worst of my enemies. Good God, what a villainous host, and what a wretched inn! I thought that night I had not fallen into the hands of *Circe*, but of the *Cyclops*, and of the robber *Sciron*, and therefore I got up before break of day into the calash. There being but seven miles of good way to *Brescia*, I got thither betimes in the morning, where I stay'd so long as to buy a case of pistols to ride with, and some other small things.

All I can tell you concerning this city, is, that it is seated in a plain between the two rivers *Mela* and *Navilione*; the first on the west, the other on the east, and water'd by another rivulet call'd *Il Garzo*. The castle stands on a hill, and has a garrison of four hundred men. The territory is of a great extent, but would not be fruitful without the help of the two afore said rivers, whence the water is deriv'd in trenches throughout all the fields, and, by that means, it produces plenty of all things necessary for the support of human life, and for delight.

The compass of the city is said to be five miles, well fortified. The citizens houses make no great shew, though they are rich enough, and affect greatness. The most remarkable structures in my opinion, are the bishop's and *Podesta's* palaces, and the cathedral. The gentry are not so numerous here as at *Verona*, but on the other hand it is more populous, the inhabitants being about fifty thousand, the greater part whereof are gunsmiths, or work in steel.

The government is not in the citizens, but in two prefects, and therefore justice is better administr'd, because there is no partiality; which is very requisite, especially in such cities where there are many bullies and turbulent fellows. The sovereignty of it was by themselves conferr'd on the *Venetians* in the year 1426, when they shook off the heavy yoke of *Philip*

*Maria Visconti* duke of *Milan*; but in 1502 it was taken from them by *Lewis XII.* king of *Fraunce*; then transferr'd to the emperor *Maximilian*, to *Charles V.* and to king *Francis I.* till at last, with much difficulty, they recover'd it in 1512. Our historians have inform'd you, that since then it has suffer'd other calamities, and still continues subject to that commonwealth. If we look back to ancienter times, it first felt the fury of the *Goths*, for it could not expect to fare better than the rest, and after them, of the *Huns*; and then rebuilt by the emperor *Marcian*. When the *Lombards* invaded *Italy*, it continu'd under their dominion from *Alboinus* to king *Desiderius*, who was overthrown by *Charlemagn*. After his death it had several sovereigns, and, in the days of *Otho*, was reckon'd among the free cities, till *Henry VI.* who depriv'd it of liberty and walls. Next it labour'd under the factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins*, names fatal to *Italy*. *M. Mastino della Scala* found means to possess himself of it; but his sovereignty lasted not long, being gain'd by fraud; for *Azzo Visconti* expell'd him by force, and then his posterity held it till *Philip Maria* afore said.

Having concluded my small affairs, I mounted on horseback for *Bergamo*. At the mid-way I saw *Palazzuolo*, a place not inconsiderable; and after thirty miles riding, arriv'd at that city before night; finding the proverb true, that a good road is never long. I say it is good to the bottom of the hill on which *Bergamo* stands, whence I ascended with much trouble for a mile, which, for the reason afore said, is as bad as three.

The city, in shape, is longish, and for good reasons incompass'd with a strong wall, as being on the frontiers; yet including all the suburbs, it is but three miles in compass. The number of the inhabitants is not above twenty-seven thousand; and this perhaps because the people of *Bergamo* love wandring, and soon growing rich by their ingenuity, they settle in those places where they have found fortune favourable. The women are beautiful and witty, but it is not pleasant to hear them talk, their language is so barbarous. That maid, who made choice of death, boldly stabbing herself with a knife rather than to be debauch'd by the emperor *Frederick*, will be an everlasting monument of their bravery. I know not whether the ladies of *Bergamo* would at this time cut their throats to acquire such renown; or whether that maid did it only to preserve her chastity. It often happens that a woman, who is not unkind to another, will prove coy to a prince, for fear of being a whore upon record, as was said by a certain lady. The castle is gar-

Peschiera.

Brescia.

Structures  
and inha-  
bitants.Govern-  
ment and  
revolu-  
tions.

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LI.  
Structures. rison'd by five hundred foot, as I was told; for I had not time to see it.

There are good buildings both publick and private. Among the most considerable is the church of our lady, where is a curious tomb of *Bartholomew Cuglione*, the cathedral of the *Dominicans*, famous for its pulpit of most curious wood. In the monastery is a noble library, founded by *Alexander Martinenghi*. This city has been subject to as many vicissitudes as the others beforementioned, and therefore it is needless to trouble you any more with the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, *Lombards*, *Charlemain*, *Otho*, *Henry*, the *Scalaps*, *Visconti*, *Maximilian*, and I know not who.

Yesterday having hir'd two horses to *Canonica*, for six *Italian* livres, I bid adieu to *Bergamo*. The guards stopt me at going out, because, being a stranger, I had not taken the usual pass; which great oversight was rectify'd by paying twenty-four *Soldi*. Having rode twelve miles, I came about eleven to *Canonica*, a small journey, and stay'd there till night. About the dusk of the evening I took boat, which brought me eighteen miles to this city, paying ten *Soldi*, or pence, for my passage, and thus enter'd *Milan* this morning at six of the clock. I design to stay here six days, but shall not fail to write to you before I depart. In the mean while I hope you will not fail to love me as hitherto, and am, &c.

## LETTER IX.

### A short account of Milan.

Milan, March 6. 1686.

I Wrote to you the day before yesterday, that I should stay here six days, because I really thought I might see mighty matters; but since things fall out otherwise; and I have an earnest desire to be in *Hungary* before the campaign is over, I am positively resolv'd to be gone to-morrow to *Turin*: It is therefore requisite, in pursuance of my duty and promise, be it well or ill done, to give you an account of what I could see in *Milan* during so short a stay.

The governor's palace is very large, but not so magnificent and lofty as that of *Naples*. On the ground floor, even with the court, are the apartments of two ordinary magistrates; and on the left, above those, of the twelve, with their president; and there also is the court, or hall for trials. On the right are the governor's lodgings, indifferently adorned; nor is there any thing else remarkable.

The castle is well contriv'd according to the manner of fortification in use an hundred years ago. There are in it about an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and the water is let into the ditch upon occasion.

As for the *Domo*, or cathedral, I own it is as magnificent, and better adorn'd than fame reports; yet it does not please me; because neither the *Gothick* architecture nor ornaments suit with my humour. Those very sharp little pyramids and foliages, without any symmetry; those figures hanging in the air; those arches of so extravagant a height; those many ranks of cornices upon cornices; those little columns of no particular order, as slender as poles; those windows so long and intricate; those figures so lame, with their arms clinging

to the body; are things I can have no relish for. I cannot imagine that those barbarians were ignorant of the beauty and perfection of ancient structures; but am rather inclin'd to believe, they politickly contriv'd to introduce their own customs, and blot out the very memory of the *Roman* civility and politeness. However it is, the church has five isles, with fifty-two large pillars that support the roof and arches. The high altar is adorned with curious marble, as is the chapel of the physicians; but the two pulpits are adorned with most exquisite brass-work. Not far from that on the left side, I saw a wonderful statue of *St. Bartholomew* stay'd, in which the ingenious workman has curiously carv'd all the muscles and the smallest veins that can be seen in the body of man. This alone would not make it an extraordinary statue, for, as *Horace* says, *Epist. ad Pisones*,

*Æmilium circa ludum faber imus & unguis  
Exprimet, & molles imitabitur ære capillos.*

That is, *The statuary will represent the nails and fine hair in brass* (meaning the minutest parts of the body) *in the statues about Æmilius's theatre*: But it is also commendable for good draught, good imitation and proportion, a likely representation of motion, and all that is requisite to render such a piece perfect. After viewing that great number of statues there is about the top of the arch of the church, I took a view of all the city, and judged it half as big as *Naples*, notwithstanding some writers reckon it eight miles about, not including the suburbs, which look like so many little cities. I have nothing

Milan.

The palace.

The castle.

The cathedral.

thing to say of any other buildings, for they do not deserve it. The profess'd house, I was about to say monastery, of the *Jesuits*, is something tolerable, and the church of *St. Anthony*, belonging to the *Theatins*, is better.

Ambrosian library. This morning I have diverted myself in the *Ambrosian* library founded by *Frederick Borromeo*, nephew to *St. Charles*; for I had not seen so many books in many days. The most valuable among them are the manuscripts, especially those of the holy fathers; those who have charge of it taking little care to enrich it with those good books, which are daily printed, and all new editions of the best authors. I turn'd over a bible, to see that text in the first epistle of *St. John*, *Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in caelo, &c.* For there are three that bear record in heaven, &c. so much talk'd of by the criticks; and there was no such thing in it. I find this defect is in all the copies, that are in places formerly infected with *Arius's* heresy. But in two other copies I have seen there, in the library of the *Dominicans*, tho' they seem not of above four hundred years standing, I very well remember the said words are to be read.

Museum of Settala. From the *Ambrosian* library I went to the *Museum*, or closet of rarities of signor *Canonico Settala*. The curiosities in it were collected by *Lewis Settala*, a famous physician of the last century, and author of the commentaries on *Aristotle's* problems. Among the most remarkable things there, they shew'd me some concave steel plates, which set fire to wood at fifteen yards distance, and melt metals at two. I did not think fit to argue the matter in that place; but, on the other hand, am very well satisfy'd, in the first place, that such plates set fire in the precise place where their reflected rays meet; that is, at a less distance than the fourth part of their diameter, as the catoptricks demonstrate; besides that, where they light fire, there they have power to melt; but that beyond that point the lucid rays are separated from one another; how then is it possible, that the same plate should melt metal at one distance, and kindle fire at another. Moreover, supposing that the concave plate be a segment of thirty degrees, and the fire take within the fourth part of the diameter, it plainly appears, that allowing it to set fire at fifteen yards distance, the plate must be at least thirteen yards diameter, or little above; and this must be expos'd to the rays of the sun, which, by reason of their great distance, are suppos'd to fall parallel on it; otherwise, if the light be near, and fall on the plate obliquely, the fire will take not only in the fourth part of the diameter of that sphere, whereof the aforesaid plate is a part, but in the sixth or eighth, more or

less, in proportion to the angle receiving it. Now *Settala's* plates are small, that is, portions of a small sphere; then do you judge, how I could give credit to that wonderful fire they told me of. Hence also you may infer, by what art was it possible for *Archimedes* to make such vast steel plates at *Syracusa*, as to burn the *Roman* ships under *Marcellus*, since some authors affirm, that those ships were three furlongs distant, which is three hundred and seventy-five geometrical paces; others say three *Italian* miles, and others a bow's shot. *F. Kirker*, who had taken an oath to give out all his dreams for certain truths, tells us he was at *Syracusa*, and that after serious and mature deliberation he found the *Roman* ships were one hundred and fifty paces from the walls of the besieged city; as if that had happen'd but the other day, and people remembered the place where the ships lay, and thence he concludes, that *Archimedes* might very well burn them. There is no question but that the ships must ride where they could not be reach'd by the arrows or stones thrown by the engines call'd *Catapultæ*, *Scorpiones*, *Balistæ*, and the like; since the chief care of a good commander, is wisely to provide for the safety of his men. Now it is evident, that the arrows would do execution at as great if not greater distance than our muskets at present, and therefore *Marcellus* must needs be at least one hundred and fifty geometrical paces from the walls of *Syracusa*, which shews that the diameter of *Archimedes's* plates must be about one hundred and thirty paces to set fire at that distance. Who knows but he might send to the other angle of *Sicily*, where mount *Ætna* stands, to have them made by *Vulcan* and all his *Cyclops*? According to these principles it is plain, that *Kirker* is as good a logician in deducing such a consequence, as he shews himself elsewhere a philosopher and a philologist; and yet I dare not affirm that historian's falsity; the authority of our most learned *Galileo Galilei*, who I think does not look upon the fact as impossible, being of great force with me. Perhaps he supposes this might be done by means of some parabolical plate.

Signior *Settala* has also a half statue of a man, who, by the help of some wheels, seems to move of itself; a monstrous child with two heads, four arms and four legs, born alive of a *Milanese* woman, and several things petrify'd in a river; perhaps it may be our

— *Clanius non equus Acerris.* Virg.

Besides abundance of precious stones and rarities of the *East* and *West Indies*; as a sort of garments worn by the *Chinese* priests made of the feathers of parrots, and other such

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LI.

such colour'd birds; *Chinese* books; unicorn's horns; whales pizzles; and in short, several stones of wonderful natures; and among them one found in *Corfica*, which they say is spun and wove like flax or hemp, and cleansed by the fire instead of being burnt; and this, if I mistake not, is call'd *Amianto*. I have not seen the experiment made, and am of opinion, there is no danger of being damn'd for not believing it.

Others call  
it Asbestus  
Lapis.

What remains is, that this city is thought to have been built by the *Gauls*, call'd *Senones*, who gave this country the name of

*Cisalpine Gaul*. At present it contains about one hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants, well behav'd; and they have above sixty *per cent.* of the *Swiss* spirit and wit. No place can be more plentiful; for I have spent but seven *Italian* livres in two days, for my own and servant's diet and lodging, and yet I eat the very best the country affords.

Inhabi-  
tants of  
Milan.

The man that is to carry me to-morrow to *Novara*, is just come in to agree for the hire of horses: I cannot detain him from his business, nor will he stay; and therefore I forbear troubling you any longer with my insipidness, &c.

## LETTER X.

Of Novara, Vercelli and Turin, and duke of Savoy's dominions, with some learned reflections.

Turin, March 13. 1686.

YOUR letters were always most acceptable to me; but they have at this time particularly given me much greater satisfaction, than I shall expect to meet with a long time in this world. Perhaps the distance may occasion this pleasure; or else it is because removing by degrees towards the *Alps*, and finding most men to partake of their savageness, I find in your words a sort of *je ne scay quoy* of that genteel behaviour, and that learned way of discoursing, nature has peculiarly bestow'd on the better sort of our country-men. I could find in my heart to panegyryze on the beautiful city of *Naples*; but no man would take my word, for I should be look'd upon as too partial. However; I find one thing very commendable in these parts; which is, that the subject of common discourse is not upon the lives and actions of others, as with us, where you hear nothing from morning till night, especially among those that would be thought learned; but, I cannot imagine what heads such a one and such a one have! What has such another learn'd by so many years study, but a few scraps of several sorts? What does he mean by his pedantry? What have we to do with those medals and inscriptions he talks of? He pretends to understand what is beneficial to the publick and to the pocket. This is the discourse of those gulls you well know. Another gang has a different note; for if the talk be of philosophy, they presently fall a railing at the *Peripateticks*, without any distinction; of the *Gassendists*, because they follow the senses; of the *Cartesians*, because they blindly follow their master; and then they scoff at, undervalue, and conclude all those to be dull persons, who do not assent to all they say; but if the solid discussing of any truth be seriously undertaken, one has a pain in his stomach, ano-

Men pre-  
tending to  
learning  
by finding  
faults in  
others.

ther in his head; one has not read for some time and forgets, another must visit a friend; and every one takes his leave a several way. Every book is talk'd of, and censur'd in the gross; but you will seldom find them descend to particulars that prove the reading of it. The same happens as to divines; the one, they say, does not understand ecclesiastical history; another argues upon nothing; such a one takes too much liberty, and such a one is too precise. In the *Belles Lettres*, or more gentleman-like studies, one thinks himself to be well learned, and will preside, because he has got many fag-ends of *Boccace*, *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and some other of the fages; and will swear by the soul of *Erasmus*, that if he knew what subject to write on, he would not be out-done by the best of them. Another, should *Plato*, *Chryssippus*, *Socrates*, and who you please besides, come to life again, would tell you they did nothing to the purpose, unless they writ to their mind; and should *Homer* rise again to compose an heroic poem in our tongue, in other terms than those of *Dante*, or *El Casa*, he would not be worth a doit. They will tell you it is needless labour to regard any other noble language, because all good authors are translated into our own. Others endeavour to shine, and be thought wits by running down the best of the ancients. One finds the *Patavinity* in *Livy*; another the *Asiatickness* in *Cicero*; another blemishes in *Horace's* odes; another meanness in *Ovid*; another insolence in *Lucan*; and another is cloy'd with reading of *Claudian* and *Statius*: so I was told of one, that maintain'd he had found three improprieties in language, in the first verse of *Homer*. Do you now apply the golden rule, which we call of three, and say, if the antient masters are thus branded, tho' death has remov'd them beyond envy, what must

must we expect? Nor does their rage stop here, for our learned commonwealth is divided in itself into parties; and being a friend to one, is sufficient cause to be scorn'd and contemn'd by another, even tho' a man should do wonders; and on the other hand, a student in logick, for conversing one year with that party, and learning some terms in fashion, is cry'd up as one that has attain'd the highest pitch of honour and glory. My comfort is, that they being men who will never write a sheet of paper in a thousand years, perhaps my poor capacity will be more renowned in future ages, than all their great wisdom, and consequently that poor wretch, who makes a jest of my scribbling, will leave no other memory behind him, but the mention made of him in this letter.

*At mihi, quod vivo detraxerit invida turba,  
Post obitum duplici sænore reddet honos.*  
Propert. eleg. 1. lib. 3.

That is, *How much soever I am lessen'd,  
whilst living by the envious croud, I shall after  
death receive double honour.*

And this may suffice at present.

Before I come to the particulars of my journey, and forget what I am about to say, be pleas'd to add this to the other conjectures I writ to you some days since against *John Selden*; which is, that tho' *Florus* says, the pirates of *Cilicia* were overthrown by *Pompey*; yet he does not say, the sovereign command was given him. But other historians inform us, that he had the command of the navy, not of the sea, with proconsular power extending fifty miles up the land, in all maritime provinces; whence some medals of his have been seen, with this inscription, *MAGNUS PIUS IMP. ITER.* and on the reverse, *PR. CLAS. ET ORÆ MARIT. EX. S. C.* As concerning the *Hellespont*, and that the proconsul of *Asia* had jurisdiction over the cities, as I said before, and not over the waters; add to that the words of the emperor *Justinien's* 12th edict, thus translated into *Latin* by *Henry Agileus*. *Edocta nostra est potentia, quomodo Johannes Scrinarius, per Hellespontum, ut cui nomine ratiociniorum civilium, sive (ut vocantur) solemnium proventuum, commissæ formæ essent, cum in REGIONEM illam venisset, a nulla re, quæ ad summam deprædationem spectaret, abstinuerit; CIVITATES populatus sit; & reversus in almam hanc urbem ipse quidem auro abundaverit, Hellepontiorum vero REGIONI omnem, summamque paupertatem reliquerit, &c.* Importing thus much in short, *We have been inform'd that John, our comptroller throughout Hellespont, being come into that Region, abstain'd from no manner of rapine; plunder'd the cities, and returning into this city with abundance of gold, left utter and extreme poverty*

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to the Region of *Hellespont*, &c. I am content that *Selden's* dearest friend should be judge, whether the names of *Region* and *City* may be apply'd to the sea. But he is none of the first, that being misled by partiality has made such mistakes: Nor shall I be the last, for relying too much on my memory: When I mention'd *Bartholomew de Bergamo* to you from *Venice*, I said he had gain'd honour at the battle of *Lepanto*, against the *Turks*; this was no small mistake, but an extraordinary blunder; for tho' one of the family of *Coglione*, if I be not out again, had the command of a galley there, yet *Bartholomew* was dead several years before, that is, in 1475. Thus it is proper that I recant myself before another hits the blot.

To come to what is my proper business. I departed *Milan* on *Wednesday* last, paying ten-pence for going out, and travelling fourteen miles, dined at the monastery of *Via Gras*; then passing by some villages and *Falcone's* ferry in a boat, I arrived at *Novara* Novara. about four in the afternoon, eighteen miles from *Milan*. This place being on the frontiers, is garrison'd by thirty companies, and troops of horse and foot. It has a good castle, and is all encompass'd with strong walls; but it is no larger than our *Capua*. There are abundance of noble families in it, very well to pass, so that there may be about sixty coaches kept in it. The best churches, for I had not leisure to see any thing else, are the *Domo*, or cathedral, *St. Gaudentius*, and *St. Mark* of the *Barnabites*.

On *Thursday* morning about nine o' clock, bidding adieu to *Novara*, I enter'd into *Piedmont*, and after riding twelve miles came to *Vercelli*, so call'd, as some think, *tanquam* Vercelli. *Veneris Cellam*; because said to be built before the wars of *Troy*, by one *Venere* and his son *Eletio*. However, *Pliny* believes it was founded by the *Libici*, people of that same territory; and others differ. Its compass is but small, the inhabitants thin, and the houses mean. *Victorius Emanuel*, duke of *Savoy*, inclos'd it with good modern fortifications, and added a considerable castle, so that it may be reckon'd one of the strongest places in *Italy*. Pope *Leo* the 9th held a council there. In 1310 intestine broils brought it under the marquis of *Montferrat*; next under the dukes of *Milan*, and lastly it fell to those of *Savoy*, who' tho' they have several times lost and recover'd it, yet they have held it peaceably ever since the *Pyrenean* treaty.

About noon I set out again, and travell'd 18 miles to *Seon*, in sight of those mountains, of which *Ennius*, with good reason said,

*Jupiter hybernos cana nive conspuit Alpes.*

*Jove covers the winter Alps with hoary snow.*

7 N

And

GEMEL-  
II.

And got thither at night, having left the famous fortrefs of *Cazal* on the left hand, in the plain.

The next morning, having but eighteen miles more to this city, I fet out at break of day, and had not rode far before I was to pafs the ferry at *Dora Baltica*; where the paffage cofts three-pence. Five miles beyond it I faw the town of *Sciras*, and to conclude, enter'd *Turin* about fix in the evening.

Turin.

I fould have enough to do, if, according to the cuftom of geographers, I went about to trace its firft foundation and original; and perhaps you might be fo tir'd, as never to care to read any more of my letters, if they exceeded ten lines. Therefore without going any further to fearch out whether it was built by *Eridanus* or one of *Noah's* grandfons, it is fufficient for you to call to mind, that the *Romans* call'd it *Augusta Taurinorum*, after *Augustus* having fubdu'd the neighbouring *Salaffians*, made it a colony, together with *Augusta Prætoria Salafforum*, now call'd *Villafranca*, on the maritime borders of *Provence*. The compafs of it is now greater than formerly; forafmuch as duke *Victorius Amadeus* finish'd the new walls and royal baffions, begun by his father *Charles Emanuel*; fo that, adding to it the beautiful and ftrong citadel, *Turin* may be reckon'd one of the fineft places in all *Italy*. Its fituation is plain and delightful, twenty miles diftant from the foot of the *Alps*; whence a fmall river call'd *Doretta*, runs into the city, and paffing under a ftately and well-built tower there is in the middle of it, glides on to fall into the *Po*.

The fineft fquare, in my opinion, is that of *St. Charles*; and if my word may be taken, you may reckon it next to that of *St. Mark* at *Venice*; either in regard of its fpacioufnefs, or of the ftately portico's and palaces that inclofe it. On the contrary, there is no ornament worth naming, in that which leads to his royal highnefs's palace, the front whereof is of a plain, tho' magnificent ftructure. The gate of it is defended by two culverins ftanding in the court; and had there been fuch to guard the garden of the *Hesperides*, or the golden fleece, inftead of the dragon and the *Minotaur*, neither the *Argonauts* nor *Hercules* had fucceeded in their enterprizes. The ftairs to go up are extraordinary eafy, fpacious, and curioufly adorn'd with ftatues; among which is that of *Victorius Amadeus*, in bras, on a marble horfe; in fhort, they are anfwerable to the majeftick and coftly apartments they lead to. It would be a difficult tafk, and tedious, to fet down all the rich furniture here is to be feen; but no wonder, confidering the grandeur of fuch a prince. But we muft not pafs by the gallery, as well in regard

of the choice pictures of the beft *Italian* and *French* mafters, the excellent ftatues, valuable armour, and other fuch things, as on account of fome extraordinary rare manucripts. Among the reft, there are twenty-fix volumes of our *Pirro Ligorio*, by fome wrongfully believ'd to be a *Roman*, wherein he very learnedly and judiciously explains abundance of valuable ftatues, medals and infcriptions. Would to God, that as duke *Charles Emanuel* gave eighteen thoufand ducats for them, fome other prince of the fame houfe would be pleas'd to lay out as much, or little more, to publifh them, as they deferve, to the infinite benefit of thofe who delight in fuch ftudies, before fome difmal accident befalls them. I remember to have feen a cut of this author at the end of a certain learned ftranger's works, but cannot now call to mind either the works or the treatife; and that among the other faults he found in *Pirro*, he faid, that author had pretended to underftand *Greek*, but in reality knew little or nothing of it. Here is alfo the *Ifaac* table, which, whilft at *Mantua*, was fo worthily and learnedly explain'd by *Lorenzo Pignoria*; with other things of great value, which at prefent I have no mind to treat of.

Yefterday I went to fee the moft noble Citadel, citadel, to which they are now adding fome and well very regular fortifications. Strangers go in it. thither, not fo much to obferve the ftrength, as to fee the wonderful well, into which feveral horfes can go down an eafy defcent, and come up again loaded another way as good, without hindering one another in the leaft.

I went thence to fee the place where the Lawyers courts meet, and took notice, that the law-plead cover'd, as I ver'd. yers, tho' ftanding, plead cover'd, as I writ to you from *Venice*. I muft own our cuftom to the contrary would be fomething reasonable, were they always to fpeak in the prefence of the viceroy, at the collateral council, or of the prefident in the king's council, who there represents his majesty; but in the other courts, for what reafon fhould a man of worth for his learning, or honourable for his age, ftand bare in fight of all the people, as if he were fome clerk or fervant? But I ftay too far, and fhall not fall much fhort of railing. Let us then leave thofe matters, and fhut our eyes to be thought good.

The *Jefuits* have undertook to raife a mighty ftructure, for a feminary of gentlemen, and it is fuch, that I queftion whether they can do it with their own money. Near by it is the prince of *Carignan's* palace, which is alfo a magnificent pile, not yet finished. To fay the truth, all the new city, call'd of the *Po*, is embellifh'd with ftately palaces, and beautiful uniform ftreets.

About

About half a mile from this city, on the left hand of the *Po*, is the *Valentino*, a pleasure house, built by *Madame Royale*, sister to king *Louis* the 13th, as appears by the following inscription over the gate.

*Hic, ubi fluviorum Rex, ferocitate deposita, placide quiescit; Christiana a Francia, Sabaudie Ducissa, Cypri Regina, tranquillum hoc suum delictum Regalibus filiorum oculis dedicavit, M.DC.LX.*

That is, *Here, where the king of rivers, laying aside his fierceness, gently reposes, Christian of France, duchess of Savoy, and queen of Cyprus, has dedicated this her peaceful pleasure-house to the diversion of her royal sons, 1660.*

This palace is not yet finish'd, but adorn'd with curious and costly furniture. There is a spot of ground inclosed with high walls, containing abundance of stags, fallow deer, hares, and such like creatures. On the opposite bank of the river stands another stately palace, belonging to the duchess now living; but there is nothing in it worth mentioning. They go in coaches from the city to *Valentino* in summer, to take the air, all the way being shaded by tall poplars on both sides.

The park is three miles from the city; but for a quarter of a mile short of it, I saw so many, and such curious pleasure-houses, with two churches to them, that it look'd to me more like another small city, than a place for game. It is worth your observing, that tho' a thousand dragoons are now quarter'd there, most of those houses are empty; yet they do not all belong to *Madame*, but many of them to private persons of quality. Over the gate of the palace, which gives its name to the territory, is a brass stag, a masterly piece, denoting the employment that delightful place was design'd for. About the first court, which you would take for the temple of *Diana*, are abundance of heads of wild beasts, with each an inscription, containing the name of the person by whom slain, and the place where he found that prey. In the midst of the second court is a beautiful brass hind, encompass'd by a number of greyhounds and beagles, very pleasant to behold; nor are four slaves in marble, at the foot of the stairs, less remarkable in other respects, as well as the principal apartments for their highnesses, as the others for gentlemen belonging to the court are nobly furnish'd, according to the quality of the persons.

The garden.

As for the garden, tho' it has curious works in myrtle, spacious walks, flower plats, and other such embellishments, yet I do not think it better than what you have seen, unless we look upon certain arches forming a semicircle in the first square, and

adorn'd with noble statues, and several mouldings becoming such structures. From the middlemost, two stately stair-cases lead up to a curious fountain, in which is the statue of *Hercules* killing the *Hydra*, and about it agreeable works of shells and other out-casts of the sea. On the side of the said arches are two small houses, delicately adorn'd with locking glasses, statues, and all other furniture, to divert the eyes and thoughts of a prince from the heavy cares of government.

They talk of nothing here but the *Barbettes*, or *Waldensian* hereticks, inhabiting the valley of *Lucerne* and other uncouth places of these dominions. His royal highness will not allow of any other religion in his territories, but that he professes himself; and tho' he has formerly granted some sort of toleration, yet at present he will admit of no peace or truce with them; but offers them two conditions, either to return into the bosom of the holy church, or else to sell what they have in *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, and be gone elsewhere; adding, that in case they cannot find purchasers, he will pay down the money. This is done at the instigation of his most christian majesty, who being resolv'd, for the full compleating of his glory, utterly to banish that they call the reform'd religion, out of his kingdom, is afraid lest his infected subjects should retire into those valleys, and continually feed that small fire of *Calvinism* that is still kindled in *France*. According to these methods *Geneva* ought to be eraz'd out of the world; but he has wisely resolv'd to take this other course, and set fire to the serpents den in the woods, before they multiply, and come out to strike a terror in the open country. In short, there are now at least six hundred *Hugonots* in only the vale of *Lucern*, and they being withdrawn, with two thousand *Barbettes*, farther up the *Alps*, his royal highness will send thither six thousand foot, under an able commander, and five thousand more are to go by the way of *France*, to extirpate them wholly. Were I duke of *Savoy*, I would not admit so great a supply from powerful strangers, into my dominions, who under colour of friendship, might become acquainted with the country, and learn the best ways that lead to strong places. and then prescribe laws to me in my own house; especially being in a condition to do the work myself. On *Saturday* a party of dragoons took two of those *Barbettes*, coming from *Pignerol* with powder, ball and other warlike ammunition, so that the deputies of the protestant *Swissers*, who came hither to divert his royal highness from his design, are like to return home without any success.

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Cathedral.

To say something of the city, the holy *Sindon*, or sheet, in which our Saviour's body was wrapp'd in the sepulchre, is kept, with several other notable relicks, in the cathedral, which is dedicated to St. *John*, and joins to the duke's palace. Being there one of these days at a sermon, I saw his royal highness in a closet, opposite to the pulpit, to which he has a passage out of his own apartment. I had seen him before in several places; for he frequently goes privately where he thinks fit; but at this time he was with *Madame Royale*, his mother, and having often heard her spoken of before, I was glad to have a sight of her now. She appears to me rather young than advanc'd in years, hale, and of a beautiful presence; yet of a lower stature than becomes a princess; for you cannot deny but that tallness adds much to that grace we call majesty, and that it gains men a respect, especially among the vulgar sort. She was deliver'd of this present duke *Victorius Amadeus*, on the fourteenth of *May* 1666. His duchess is fifteen years of age, beautiful and witty, but extraordinary tender. In other galleries close by, there were abundance of ladies and gentlemen, finely clad. Under his royal highness stood some *Swissers*, arm'd with carbines, and opposite to them twenty-two halbardiers; for the duke enjoys all the prerogatives belonging to crown'd heads.

Govern-  
ment.

The government is absolutely in the duke; who has a council, consisting of a lord chancellor and several privy counsellors, chosen from among the three estates of clergy, nobility and commons, or the magistrates; besides the secretaries, who manage the affairs of greatest weight. The administration of justice is wholly in the senate of each province; that is, the senate of *Piedmont* resides at *Turin*; that of *Savoy* at *Chambery*, the metropolis of that province; and the third is at *Nizza*, for that county; all three independent of one another. Appeals lie to these courts from the judgments of the judges in every city, and those appointed by lords in their own lands. Besides there are two chambers of accounts, or exchequer courts; the one in *Piedmont*, the other in *Savoy*, with presidents, whose judgments are definitive in all that relates to the duke's revenues. It is also to be observ'd, that all governors of provinces and towns hold their posts for three years, unless his royal highness renew their commissions. The forces are under a general of the foot, one of the native horse, another of the foreigners, and two of the artillery; that is, for *Savoy* and *Piedmont*.

Orders of  
knight-  
hood.

There are two orders of knighthood; the first of the Annunciation, wearing a collar of roses and knots, and in the middle

the picture of our lady; the other of St. *Mauritius* and *Lazarus*, the two formerly call'd by those names being reduc'd into one by duke *Emanuel Philibert*; and this now grows of no value, because indifferently granted without distinction.

All the country produces such plenty of all sorts of provisions, that the most tedious wars with *France*, and their numerous armies could never make any want. For this reason the natives of these countries are never very industrious, except only those of *Nizza*, especially at mechanick arts; though they might have the greatest conveniency of selling their ware at *Milan* and *Venice* by the *Po*. The mountainiers are rude in behaviour and language; but this is no wonder, for the air and the soil, heat and cold, and other accidents, have much influence over the manners of men. The mountains of course make them fit for fatigue, and hardy to endure weather; but take notice, on the other hand, that where there is great strength of body, that of the mind always fails, because the organs of the understanding are dull and the spirits heavy; as also, because there is no leisure allow'd for sedate contemplation, which is the poets wish'd-for spare time, that the soul being taken off from sensible objects, may look into itself, become sensible of its own imperfect state, and discover the perfection of its creator; and thus by degrees come to comprehend that beautiful and incredible harmony, and wonderful connection there is between the several parts of the universe. Thus we see, that the morning, when no object distracts in the dark, and the brain is no longer oppress'd with the fumes of meat, is the properest time for study; and I have sometimes thought I had a school within myself, as seeming to myself to lie very still, and be attentive to hear a master who was discoursing philosophically on some subject. I do not reckon myself wise, but am of opinion this was the meaning of antient philosophers, when they affirm'd, that a wise man had all things within him. It seems stranger to me, that this should have befallen me asleep; but the mischief was, that when I awak'd, and some of the senses met with any of their proper objects, I forgot all the reflections I thought I had heard and made; and could remember nothing, but that I was well pleas'd, with solving of some difficulty, and then as angry with myself for not retaining what I desir'd, as when we fret, remembering something we have read, but not in what book. See what a great hindrance the burthen of the body is to the soul; and how much *Plato* was in the right, under the state of *Paganism*, as to the remembrance it has of sciences; as you have read in his books: and therefore *Tully* us'd to say, that

Piat. in  
Phædone,  
& Phædro.

the

the soul at the end of life, being let loose from the clog of the body, becomes more beautiful and divine. It is certain that Cicero had not been in that condition before he writ, and therefore he must draw his conclusion from considering, how much further it reaches, and soars higher, when it is in a manner separated by an undisturb'd meditation. Hence, it is also, that when we are attentively thinking, we take no notice of sensible things; and there are some so far from hearing when they are call'd, as not to feel a blow; and though there be infinite objects before the eyes, yet they see none. Now find it out how it comes pass, that the lucid rays continually coming in to represent the images in the visual faculty, we should not see at that time; and whence it is, and what is the action of the soul, not meditating, which makes it, as it were, look out, if we may so call it, to see what is represented in the eye. But this is no place to explain it: and to return to our purpose; it is plain that the soul being still in the body, does in a manner separate from it, as the amorous poet *Petrarch* often testifies of himself, and particularly in that sonnet which begins, *fo mi rivolgo in dietro a ciascun passo.*

*Talor massale in mezzo á tristi pianti  
Un dubbio, come posson queste membra  
Da lo spirito lor viver lontane.*

That is, *Sometimes amidst my sad complaints,  
I begin to question, how these members can be  
separated from their soul.*

And in another place,

*Largata al fin con l'amor soe chiavi,  
L'anima esse dal cor, per seguir voi;  
E con molto pensieri indi si svelle.*

In English prose, *At length my soul, let loose  
by love, breaks from my heart, to follow you;  
and is drawn from thence by much thinking.*

By what has been said, we may easily understand the occasion of the proverb; *Anima sicca sapientissima*; The dry or barren soul is wisest; and the other, *Dio ti guardi da lettore, & da romito grasso*; God preserve you from a fat reader, and anchorite; for it is evident, that in bodies, which have much more moisture than is requisite, the nerves are softer, and damper, and consequently the spirits that pass thro' them are heavier and less active. Now we plainly see, that the spirits are the principal instrument of many operations of the soul; and these being the less apt, by reason of their slowness, it follows of necessity, that many actions are not perform'd which should be done. On the other hand, tho' that which

is call'd understanding, or thinking, which is the way to understanding, be but one single action of conceiving or going about to conceive an object in the same manner as it is in itself; nevertheless there are many other smaller actions requisite to this end; especially those which help to unite, and lay before the mind all the properties of the thing, with their opposition in respect to some, and their resemblance to others. There is no question to be made, but that some of these, if I may so call them, subaltern actions, wholly depend on the animal spirits, and are perform'd with more or less perfection, according to their quality or disposition; and therefore it must be also allow'd, that when the regular and quick motion of the spirits is obstructed by the gross and moist matter, the soul is depriv'd of the best means of understanding. Thus we see, give me leave to make use of this argument *a posteriori*, as they say in the schools, that the perfection of the senses, which also in a great measure depends on the spirits, is very often a sign of the like perfection and quickness of apprehension; and we read that some men, very famous for their depth in sciences, had extraordinary bright and sparkling eyes, were very little addicted to sleep, and had other such qualities, which doubtless proceed from abundance of those same spirits. I do not say this, as believing, for instance, that the sight is caus'd by some subtil things proceeding from the apple of the eye; or that any such thing is requisite for hearing or feeling; but because I perceive that where the spirits are weakest, by reason of much watery matter, or on account that this hinders the generation of them; there all the instruments of the said senses are less apt for performing of their part, and ill-form'd, or ill-preserved; as it would be, if in the eyes the apple were too much dilated, the crystalline moisture too much depress'd, the films too thick, and not transparent enough: in the ears the hollow much obstructed by excrements, or ill-shap'd; the drum, by reason of its softness, unfit to receive a sound, unless it were an extraordinary and violent repercussion of the air; and thus reasoning from one thing to another, you will find, that I do not bate an ace in any matter; and that thus physiognomists may well guess at the inclinations and customs of men, if they are endow'd with a profound and solid judgment. However, I own this rule is not universal; and that sometimes God is pleas'd to adorn the world by other means than we would imagine, infusing some great souls into deform'd and sickly bodies, and such as are scarce fit for motion; and if it be lawful to give our

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LI.

fancies leave to pry into the operations of that most wise artificer; perhaps he lodges those souls there in such manner, that they can by meditation lift up and separate themselves, without any obstruction from the mean and vile matter.

I would willingly have concluded this letter here, but am so tormented with a scruple of conscience, that I must die unless eas'd of it. Is your conscience so squeamish, you will ask me? It is really so, Sir. I remember I made some reflections

at the beginning upon the person you know, and am therefore apt to suspect, that some will be apt to believe the *Neapolitans* are all like him, and therefore I shall be reckon'd a most notorious liar; but all men are acquainted with the extraordinary learning and parts of many of our friends too tedious to name; and therefore what has been said must only be understood of that poor animal, whose knowledge reaches no farther than the outward shell; and so I conclude, &c.

## L E T T E R XI.

*The author's journey to Lions: Account of Savoy: A story of haunting, and discourse of the Roman Lares, Larvæ, &c.*

Lions, March 19. 1686.

**T**HIS very morning, God be prais'd, I arriv'd in this city; and, to say the truth, I have hitherto well lodg'd, at the sign of the *Samaritan* woman. After dinner I walk'd about a little, only that I might give you some account, at least of its situation. From this time forward, that you may have the satisfaction of finding the principal places in the map, I will take notice of their latitude and longitude; which I have not done in *Italy*, because it may be all view'd on the maps at one careful glance of the eye. *Lions* lies in twenty-three degrees and fifteen minutes longitude; and forty-five degrees ten minutes of latitude, at the foot of a pleasant and delightful hill. The river *Saone*, by the antients call'd *Araris*, and famous for its gentleness, runs through the midst of it. The *Rhofne* also passes by the walls on the east-side, running rapidly to join the *Saone*, a little to the southward of the city. It was built in this place, and honour'd with the title of a colony by *L. Munacius Plancus*, in the days of *Julius Cæsar*; and having been consum'd by fire about a hundred years after, was re-built by the same *Romans*. In the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *Stilico* gave it to the *Burgundians*, who had assisted him against the *Goths*; and at last *Gundemarus*, king of *Burgundy*, being slain by the sons of *Clodoveus*, it fell under the dominion of the *Franks*. The compass of it seems to me to be three times as much as *Turin*, which it excels in beauty, and very much surpasses in wealth, by reason the trade here of all sorts may be compar'd to that of the most famous cities in *Europe*. In only the square, call'd *Bellecourt*, which is wonderful spacious, I have seen more goods than any where else in all my life. But of this another time; it will be proper

Lions.

at present, that I give you an account of my journey from *Turin* hither.

Having din'd, and dispatch'd my small affairs at *Turin*, I set out thence on *Wednesday* last, with a *French* messenger, call'd *M. Pierre*, not only the pleasantest fellow of that sort I ever knew, but the most notable drinker. He had the strangest news in the world; being wonderful sly and cunning at prying into the actions of other men, which was a great help to him in his calling. We happening to overtake two horse-liters on the road, with four ladies in them, were inform'd by him, that they had waited on the duchess of *Savoy*, and were sent back to *Paris*. When we came to *Avigliana*, a town ten miles from *Turin*, where we were to lie that night, my good messenger shewing me a gentleman of *Turin*, who was to lodge in the same place, said to me, *This is the wise and brave gallant of one of those ladies we left behind. Observe how constant and genteel, and how exact he is in the service of the ladies, who would come thus far to give proof of his affection.*

The next morning we mounted an hour before day, and having rode scarce two miles, came to a place call'd *S. Ambrogio*, or *St. Ambrose*. A little farther I saw a regiment of *French* dragoons, then marching against the *Barbets*, in the vale of *Lucern*, and afterwards in the plain of *Susa*, a company of foot, all chosen men.

*Susa*, now a fortress of great consequence, <sup>Susa.</sup> was by the antients call'd *Segusium*, and by *Pompey* made a *Roman* colony. It was burnt by *Constantine* the great, and, again by *Fredrick* II. and in this conflagration the dukes of *Savoy* lost their antient records. Here is still an antient triumphal arch, being rather a *Gothic* than a *Roman* structure; for which reason I cannot think their opinion right, who take it for *Augustus's* trophy,

trophy, mentioned by *Pliny*. Travelling thence leisurely, I took up at the end of fourteen miles, and stay'd at *Novalesa*, a town at the foot of *Moncenis*. Here, parting with my pleasant *M. Peter*, I hir'd, according to the custom of the country, a little mule, but strong, and us'd to mount the steep hills, notwithstanding the frozen snow. At the top of this ascent, which is full four miles, is a handsome plain, and the brook which divides

Moncenis, how they travel up and down it.

*Piedmont* from *Savoy*. I rode all the way over this plain on hard ice; but to descend the other side of the mountain, I got into a ramazza: A ramazza in that country is a chair fix'd in the midst of a quarter, or large piece of strong wood, which two peasants draw by turns: Sometimes it runs down violently of itself, and then those honest countrymen fasten an iron chain to the timber to stop it, and sit on it themselves, like coachmen, without taking any pains: Thus I came to the bottom of the vale in a moment, where is a town called *Laneburg*, and at a small distance a lake, about two miles in compass, and frozen over the greatest part of the year. It is the custom here, in order to ascend the other no less upright mountain, to get into a wooden chair, carried on the backs of countrymen, who make it their business: This mountain was cover'd with trees in some parts, a thing not to be forgot in a country that has so much of God's blessing.

Laneburg town.

Setting out from *Laneburg* on *Thursday* I pass'd over several mountains as snowy as the others, but adorn'd with thick pine trees, and here and there a wretched village, and din'd in a town call'd *Modan*; whence travelling on the same sort of road, I came in the evening to *St. Angelo*, having rode that day twenty-one *Savoy* miles, which are almost as good as thirty of ours. This country is so excessive cold, that the women wear great woollen caps. For want of fish and oil on fasting days, they here eat butter and eggs, which is practis'd all along those mountains. There the customs begin to be somewhat Frenchify'd; for women wait at table, and are saluted with a kiss.

St. Angelo town.

The next morning I travell'd six miles to *St. John de Maurien*, along a road as stony, but not so steep and frightful, by the river side. This city has a bishop, whose revenue is fifteen thousand livres a year, tho' it be all incompass'd with the *Alps*. The steeple of the cathedral is indifferently well built, and leaded at the top. Having a little refresh'd myself, I proceeded fourteen miles to *Aigue-belle*, leaving some such poor villages by the way, that I thought not to ask their names.

St. Jean de Maurien.

Leaving *Aigue-belle* on *Saturday* early, I travelled along a better road, still along the aforesaid river, and at ten miles end came to the famous fortrefs of *Montmelian*, where there is a fine stone bridge over the river. The town is seated in a vale, tho' it has another fort built on the cliffs of a rock, and is therefore commanded by the adjacent mountain, so that, though much defended from assaults by the situation, it may be very much hurt by battery. Two miles thence I came to *Chamberi*, the metropolis of *Savoy*.

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Montme-  
lian.  
Chamberi.

This city lies in the midst of a plain, left by provident nature amidst cold but fruitful mountains, not far from the river *Albena*. Tho' seated on the frontiers, it is so ill-walled, that it could never make the least resistance against invaders. The castle, which is so in name, rather than reality, is inclosed by apartments after the antient manner, and has nothing good in it but a chapel, founded by the holy duke *Amadeus VIII.* who was chosen pope at the council of *Basil*, and took the name of *Felix*. The holy *Sindon*, or our Saviour's shroud, which is now at *Turin*, was formerly kept here; and therefore the former chapter, consisting of a dean and twenty-two canons, or prebendaries, continues to this day. The compass of the city is small; the former, which was much larger, having been reduc'd, after it was consum'd by fire: However, there are two suburbs so well inhabited, that they may pass for as many cities. The chief parish bears the name of *St. Leger*; the others are *St. Peter*, *St. Laurence* and *St. Peter de Lemans*. There are stately monasteries, viz. *St. Anthony*, *St. Dominick*, *St. Francis*, of the *Shod Fryers*; *St. Mary of Egypt*, of the *Barefoot*; the *Capuchins*; the *Barefoot Augustinians*; and, to crown the work, a magnificent college of *Jesuits*, built by duke *Charles Emanuel*: Of nuns there are those of *St. Francis of Sales*, the *Carmelites* and others. As for the squares they are not very regular, except that call'd *du Reclus*, and the other *de la Croix d'Or*, from a gilt cross in it; and this, tho' smaller, is adorn'd with portico's, like that of *Bologna*.

I saw no private houses that were any thing remarkable; and even the town-house is an ordinary structure, as is the palace of the senate: Since I have mention'd the senate, thanks to *Anthony Fabri*, who has render'd it famous throughout the world; it will be proper to take notice, that it is composed of fifteen senators and four presidents. To the chamber of accounts, or exchequer court, spoken of in my last, belong fourteen judges, four presidents, some generals and treasurers.

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bitants.

You being so well acquainted with the best historians and geographers, I shall not stay to inform you, that the *Allobroges* and the *Centrones* were the first inhabitants of these parts; and that the first time we find mention of the name of *Sabaudia*, or *Saupaudia*, is in the *Notitia utriusque imperii*, without any account whence it was deriv'd. Nor shall I go about to lay down how *Geneva*, the capital of that earldom, fell off from our religion, and its subjection to the duke, entering into a league in 1536, with the Protestant *Swiss* of *Zurich*, *Basil* and *Schaffhausen*, for which reason its bishop now resides at *Annency*; for those matters are not the proper subject of letters: However, for the sake of *Chamberi*, I will acquaint you with some of the qualities of the country in general.

Qualities  
of Savoy-  
ards.

The *Savoyards* are sharp, sober, and fit to endure fatigue; the peasants rude and stupid; the citizens lovers of learning; the gentry generous and well-bred; the women ingenious and good housewives; and tho' never so handsome, disagreeable to behold, by reason of their ill dress. The wealth of the country consists in several sorts of commodities, but especially in cattle, whereof there is great plenty, because of the abundance of pasture; and in rock crystal, which is carried rough to *Milan* and into *Germany*, from the high mountain *Fuffigni*, and the valley of *Aoust*. As to other points, the plains enjoy a temperate air; some vales in summer are very uneasy to strangers, who are not used to that heat; the highest mountains are excessive cold, on account of the perpetual snows lying on them, which sometimes are frozen into solid rocks of ice: In short, the best of them furnish the natives with plenty of corn, fruit and wine, besides game. Here are two peculiar sorts of creatures, not known elsewhere; as the *Bucchetone*, and the *Marmotta*: The first is like a stag, the blood and grease whereof is used against several distempers, vulgarly reckoned cold: The other resembles a cat, excepting that it has shorter feet, rough hair, and but four very short teeth in his mouth: It sleeps all the winter, without requiring any sustenance, as our dormice do; and the grease of it is also reckon'd good for several distempers.

From *Chamberi* I rode six miles to *Luitcale*, passing thro' a mountain cut open by duke *Charles Emanuel*; and here I lodg'd very uneasily. Yesterday morning, travelling six miles farther, I came to the bridge of *Belvicino*, over the river *Lisere*, which divides *France* from *Savoy*. In these parts I saw them plough the land otherwise than is used with us, for six oxen were

yoked to the plough, which had more than one share, being easily drawn by the help of two wheels. Last night having travelled above fourteen miles, I came to *Verpigliere*, where the custom-house officers search'd my baggage very narrowly; and this morning, after riding seven *French* leagues of good way, came to this city, as you know.

You must understand, Sir, that I have been in the greatest confusion imaginable: Last night I lay very quietly and contentedly in my bed; but no sooner were my weary eyes closed to sleep, than I felt the blankets violently taken off me: There was no light in the room, to see whether any wag design'd to fright me; and on the other side I heard no footsteps, nor any body breathe. Whatsoever the matter was, whether cats or monstrous rats, or the like, or else some contrivance to make a jest of me; this morning I have heard nothing all the inn over, but complaints of several persons that have suffer'd last night as well as I: There are those who positively affirm this to be the work of some hobgoblin, or the devil, and that the place will in a short time be abandon'd on this account. Hearing this, I have call'd to mind what *Pliny*, *lib. 7.* Story of haunting. *epist. 27.* writes of *Athenodorus* the philosopher, who coming to *Athens*, and understanding that one of the noblest palaces had not been inhabited for several years, because a most dreadful noise and rattling of chains was heard in it at night, and sometimes there appear'd a melancholy lean old man, loaded with chains, walking slowly thro' the rooms; he resolv'd to make trial of it himself, and see whether it was not an invention and fearful imagination of silly women, who easily swallow such notions; or whether in reality the house was haunted by some spirit. Having hir'd the house for a small matter, he went to live in it; and the first night, having sent his servants into the inner room, he stay'd himself in the outermost, wholly intent on his study, that the apparition he had heard of might not fill his imagination: Some time after the rattling of chains began by little and little, first slow, then louder, drawing so near, that he thought fit to turn about to see the troublesome ghost; that made a sign to him to follow it, and he beckoning to it to stay, fell to his business again, and writ on more attentively than before; but perceiving it never ceased making a noise close by him, he took up the candle and follow'd it: When they came into a certain part of the court, the spirit vanish'd like a flash of lightning; and he pulling up a little grass in that place to find it again, went

Lisere  
river parts  
France  
and Savoy.

went back to his books. He next morning gave the magistrates an account of what had happen'd; and the place being dug up, the bones of a man were found rolled in chains, which being decently buried, the house was never after troubled with those apparitions. *Domus, postea rite conditis, manibus caruit*, are the words of *Pliny*, importing, *That the house, when the ghost had its funeral rites, was deliver'd from it.* Before I proceed, it is fit to observe, that some critick, after the word *manibus*, adds *demonibus*; but by his good leave, I say, they are synonymous, and the antient reading ought rather to stand, as *Gronovius* and *Barthius* declare; or else the word *ossibus* should be inserted before *manibus*; thus, *Domus, postea rite conditis ossibus, manibus caruit*; *Afterwards, when the bones were duly buried, the house was not haunted.* But even this is needless; for the *Latins* properly said, *Condere manes, condere animam*; &c.

For the better understanding of this passage in *Pliny*, it is requisite to call to mind *Apuleius's* discourse, where he speaks of *Socrates's* genius, or demon; which is, "That the antient *Romans* generally gave the name of *Lemures* to the souls separated from the body, with this distinction, that those which, having led a good life, remain'd quietly in their houses, were call'd *Lares Familiares*; whereas those which, in punishment of their wickedness, being remov'd from every place of bliss, wander'd about, frightening good men, and doing mischief to the reprobate, and ill livers, were known by the name of *Larvæ*: The third sort, of which it was questioned, whether they were *Lares*, or *Larvæ*, they nam'd *Manes*. Now as for the *Lemures*; I find in the fragments of antient calendars a peculiar festival, if I may so term it, call'd *Lemuralia*, which began on the eleventh, and lasted till the thirteenth of *May* inclusive; and then there were no weddings, and for three nights successively they drove the evil spirits out of the houses after this manner: First, the inhabitants wash'd their hands, performing certain ceremonies; then standing barefoot, they held black beans in their mouths; and, lastly, threw them back over their shoulders, making a noise with brass bells; and this they repeated three times every night. *Fest. Pomp. verb. Faba.*

The *Lares* were held in such esteem, as you well know, being look'd upon as guardians of the houses, as also of the treasure committed to their charge; wherefore *Plautus* introducing one in the prologue of his *Aulularia*, makes him say,

VOL. IV.

*Ego Lar sum familiaris ex hac familia.*

*I am a familiar Lar, or good spirit of this family.*

And lower,

*Sed mihi avus hujus obsecrans concredidit Thesaurum auri.*

*But this man's grandfather in suppliant manner entrusted me with his golden treasure.*

Thus nothing is more frequent among the poets, than *patrii Lares, & domestici, & proprii*; *Our country, our household, and our proper Lares, or good spirits*; signifying their native country or house. *Tertullian*, in his apology, chap. 13. jeering the *Romans* for selling the images of their gods, seems to make no distinction between *Penates* and *Lares*; perhaps, because all the images of false gods in private houses, by *Suetonius* call'd *Dii cubiculares*, *Chamber gods*, were plac'd in the *Lararium*, or chapel of the *Lares*. *St. Isidorus*, orig. lib. 8. writ of the *Larvæ*, *Quarum natura esse dicitur terrere parvulos, in angulis garrere tenebrosis; Whose nature is said to be to fright children, and prate in dark corners.* *Apuleius* testifies the same in one of his apologues, wishing his accuser *Emilianus* all the frights occasion'd by phantoms, or *Lares*: And hence I believe they gave the name of *Larvæ* to those masks the *Romans* us'd in their plays; because being very deform'd, they frightened children. What the *Manes* are has been lately said. To come to what *Pliny* says: The antients positively believ'd of these, that they remain'd in the houses and ways, to disturb the people, as long as their bodies lay unburied, and wanted the last rites; and more particularly those of such as were kill'd. Hence *Virgil*, who was perfectly knowing in those affairs, said, *Æn. 3. ver. 63.*

*Ergo instauramus Polydoro fumus, & ingens*

*Aggeritur tumulo tellus: Stant manibus aræ,*

*Caruleis mæstæ vittis atraq; cupresso:*

*Et circum Iliades, crinem de more solutæ,*

*Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte,*

*Sanguinis & sacri pateras: ANIMAMQ;*

SEPULCHRO

CONDIMUS —

Which *Mr. Dryden* renders thus;

But ere we sail, his funeral rites prepare,  
Then to his ghost a tomb and altars rear.

GEMEL-  
LI.

In mournful pomp the matrons walk  
the round,  
With baleful cypress and blue fillets  
crown'd ;  
With eyes dejected, and with hair un-  
bound :  
Then bowls of tepid milk and blood  
we pour,  
And thrice invoke the soul of *Polydore*.

And *Lucan* writes ;

———*Umbræ erraret Crassus inulta.*

And *Crassus*' soul would wander unre-  
veng'd.

*Plautus in Mostel. act. 2. sc. ult.* makes  
*Tranio* the slave, to impose on the old  
man *Teuropides*, repeat the complaints the  
ghost had made the night before to his son.

———*Ecce quæ ait,*

*Ego transmarinus hospes sum Diapontius :*  
*Hæc habito, hæc mihi dedita est habitatio :*  
*Nam me in Acherontem recipere orcus*  
*noluit,*

*Quia præmature vita careo. Per fidem*  
*Deceptus sum. Hospes hic me vocavit,*  
*isque me*

*Deffodit insepultum clam ibidem in hisce*  
*ædibus*

*Scelestus auri causa.*

In prose to this effect ; *The ghost said thus,*  
*I am Diapontius the foreign guest : Here*  
*I dwell, this habitation is assigned me ; for*  
*Pluto would not admit me into his dominions,*  
*because I died before my time : I was de-*  
*ceiv'd by trusting to a man's faith : This*  
*host invited me ; and he, wicked man ! for*  
*the sake of my gold, privately buried me in*  
*this house, without any funeral rites.*

The *Sibyl*, in the sixth book of *Virgil*,  
speaks more plainly to *Æneas*, by her led  
to *Charon*'s boat ;

*Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inbumataq ;*  
*turba est :*

*Portitor ille, Charon : hi, quos vekit unda,*  
*sepulti.*

*Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca*  
*fluenta*

*Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa qui-*  
*erunt.*

Thus in *Mr. Dryden* ;

The ghosts rejected, are th' unhappy crew  
Depriv'd of sepulchres and funeral due :  
The boatman, *Charon* ; those, the bury'd  
ghost  
He ferries over to the farther coast :

4

Nor dares his transport vessel cross the  
waves

With such whose bones are not com-  
pos'd in graves.

And therefore the unhappy *Palinurus*,  
who was among that croud, said to  
*Æneas* ;

*Eripe me his, invictæ, malis ; aut tu mihi*  
*terram*

*Injice*——

Which *Mr. Dryden* thus renders ;

Redeem from this reproach my wand'ring  
ghost,

And in a peaceful grave my corpse com-  
pose.

So that when the body was cover'd with  
earth, the soul was at rest, according to  
the opinion of *Virgil* ; as also of *Catullus*,  
and *Horace*, ode 28.

———*Licebit*

*Injeto ter pulvere curras.*

That is, *When you have thrice thrown*  
*earth on the dead body, you may depart.*

The same was held by the *Greeks*, as  
appears by what *Antigone* did to the body  
of *Polynices*, in *Sophocles* ; and by *Plutarch*'s  
words, when he speaks of *Isis*, it is re-  
ported, *That the hawk flying over bodies*  
*that lie unburied, throws earth on their eyes.*  
The words *Virgil* makes *Palinurus* speak,  
are like those of *Patroclus*'s ghost to  
*Achilles* in *Homer*, which I translate thus ;  
*Bury me speedily, that I may get into Pluto's*  
*empire : All those black souls and shades drive*  
*me away, and will not suffer me to bear*  
*them company beyond the river.* We also  
read, *That he who omitted this charitable*  
*duty of throwing earth on the dead, was*  
*oblig'd afterwards to purify himself, by sacri-*  
*ficing a sow to Ceres.* Fest. verb. *Præcida-*  
*nea.* But *Cicero*, speaking of this custom,  
in the second book *de Legibus*, adds, *That*  
*if any man was kill'd at sea, and thrown*  
*into it, tho' his bones did not lie above ground,*  
*yet the heir was obliged to offer the aforesaid*  
*sacrifice :* But he assigns no reason for  
either.

I could here produce more such instances  
out of poets and historians ; as, among  
others, that which *Suetonius* has of *Caligula*'s  
unburied carcase ; and *Lucian* in  
*Philops.* of a house in *Corinth*, like that  
of *Athens* above-mention'd, out of *Pliny*.  
But perhaps you, to whom none of these  
things are unknown, will laugh at me ;  
and I shall get nothing but blame for em-  
ploying



ploying myself to so little purpose on this business, unless I be thought mad, for discoursing on this subject after the most learned *Turnebus*, *advers. lib. 25. cap. 6.* However, I'll tell you a difficulty I think worth your discussing; which is, How you would reconcile this wandering of the ghost, when the body, especially if it be kill'd, is unburied, and depriv'd of fu-

neral rites, with our religion? If I should assure you, upon my word, that we find this true by experience, even in our days, so that you may put it out of doubt, that it is not barely a superstition of the antients: I confess my ignorance, and know not how to solve this, unless your learning can find the means. I have done, and am, &c.

## LETTER XII.

*The Description of Lions.*

*Lions, March 22. 1686.*

THAT I may not be oblig'd to write you an extravagant long letter from *Paris*, where I hope to be in a few days, I will now give you an account of *Lions*, as briefly as I can. To begin with the service of God; the best churches here, would be reckon'd very indifferent with us; but then they are better serv'd, and more respected than in *Italy*; such is the education of the clergy, the zeal of the prelates, and the devotion of the people. The cathedral, dedicated to *St. John* by a king of *Burgundy*, is adorn'd with some curiosities: The clock, standing on the right hand of the choir, is most remarkable; for every time the hour is to strike, a brass cock, standing on the top of it, claps his wings, and stretching out his neck, as if he were alive, crows: then four angels strike bells of several sizes, so that they make a concert, or chime the tune of the hymn of *St. John*, which begins, *Ut queant laxis resonare fibris*: In the mean while, another angel opens a little door, and comes out to salute the blessed *Virgin*; and as she turns, as it were to hear what he says, a dove, representing the Holy Ghost, descends; and another figure, signifying the *Eternal Father*, blesses her three times: which done, the same angel goes in to strike the hour. Somewhat lower is a nich, in which, every day of the week, there is a several figure of those saints, whose office is celebrated in the church, when no other solemnity occurs; as, on *Sunday* our Saviour's resurrection, on *Monday* his death, on *Tuesday* *St. John Baptist*, on *Wednesday* *St. Stephen*, on *Thursday* our Saviour holding a chalice with a host over it, on *Friday* he an infant embracing a cross, and on *Saturday* our blessed *Lady*. It has also an astrolabe, which shews all the motions of the sun on the signs of the zodiack, and the time of his rising and setting; as also the twilight both morning and evening; a division of the day into twelve equal parts; the

moon's increase and wane; so principal fix'd stars that appear in our hemisphere, and the motion of the *primum mobile*, perform'd in twenty-four hours. Below is a perpetual calendar, shewing the years of the common christian *Epocha*, the golden number of the present year, the dominical letter, the epact, the moveable feasts, the days of every month, and particularly the festivals celebrated by the church; and this lasts sixty-six years without altering. On another oval plate is a hand, as we call it, which contracts itself, and stretches out five inches in going about, to point the minutes of the hour exactly. This church is possess'd of sixty-nine manors, to which adding its other revenues within the city, it may be reckon'd worth near ten thousand crowns a year. Upon a vacancy it is govern'd by the bishop of *Autun*, call'd *Augustodunensis*; and he of *Lions* does the same by that of *Autun*. No man can be admitted to the dignity of a canon, unless he first prove his gentility for four descents. There are also many prebendaries, twelve whereof are perpetual, and seventy other priests, to attend the divine service. The habit of these canons is different from what ours wear, for under the usual square caps they have one of fur, which covers half their forehead; besides a very large capouch, or hood, which hinders the seeing any thing beyond their nose; for the rest, they wear the long cassock under, and over it a surplice, when in the church. The other clergymen and priests use the same habit, excepting the aforesaid cap.

Next to the cathedral, we must take notice of the hospital for the poor, call'd *La Charite*, or the charity; a place so large, that it looks like a small town. Here fourteen hundred persons of both sexes are maintain'd; but they are so distributed, and put to several employments and trades, that none, tho' lame, eat their bread before they have earn'd it.

The

The great hospital.

Churches in Lions.

Curious clock.

GEMEL-

L. I.

The girls have portions given them when they are marriageable. I leave it to you to guess what abundance of rooms there must be, for so many people of such different ages and conditions, to lie, work, and do all their affairs. I will only tell you that their granary is half as big as ours at *Naples*; not that so much corn is spent in the hospital, but because abundance of bread is also given to the other poor about the town. Now in the lent-time, many maidens of good quality stand in the streets, and greatest dealers shops, begging alms for this hospital; and they manage so well with fine words and good carriage, sometimes humble, and sometimes pleasantly imperious, that they gather about five hundred pistoles a year. The church is indifferently well adorn'd, and I am mightily pleas'd with some figures painted on its windows. The poor here do nothing but pray for their king's health and prosperity.

Situation.

As for the situation of the city, it is almost all incompass'd with mountains, and therefore the air is rather thick, than otherwise; yet its hills are inferior to none in the world for pleasantness, and fertility.

Bridge.

There is a stately bridge over the *Rhofne*, of twenty-six arches, and eighty paces in length, and famous for the death of the emperor *Gratian*, kill'd on it by the tyrant *Maximus*. That over the *Saone* has but nine arches, but is also noted for the cruelty of *Caligula*, who is said to have caused all those who were baffled disputing before him, to be cast headlong from it.

Forts.

There are two small hills within the inclosure of the city, call'd *St. Justus*, and *St. Sebastian*. On the latter a citadel was once erected, and since demolish'd; so that at present nothing remains but a small castle. Another still smaller stands on one of the banks of the *Saone*, and is call'd *Pierre Ancise*, opposite to the gate of *Veyze*. The fort call'd *St. Clair*, towards the *Rhofne*, is small, and of little or no consequence. Not far from the above-mention'd gate, I saw an antient tomb, on four columns. The multitude calls it, of the two lovers; and some other *Ignoramus's* have some strange notions of *Herod*, *Pilate*, and *Herodias*.

Town-house.

The town-house is a most noble structure, and such that there is a cut made of it. Not to speak of its fine square, and the fountain in the midst of it; a few steps lead up to the first floor; where there is, as it were, a cover'd court, adorn'd with some antient inscriptions; and among the rest, on two brass plates, the oration made by the emperor *Claudius*, mention'd by *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 2. in favour of the people of *Lions*, when they sued to be made citizens of *Rome*.

On the upper floor, is first a hall, which still shews the effects of the late fire; next a large room with the pictures of all the *Eschevins*, or sheriffs, and beyond it another, where justice is admittred to trading people; all three well painted. For the better understanding of what I say, you are to be inform'd, that the government of the city is in four consuls, and *Eschevins*, reduced to this number from twelve, by *Henry IV.* two whereof are yearly chosen by the citizens. Above them is the *Prevost des Marchands*, or lord mayor; who is chosen every two years, in *December*, on the day of *St. Thomas* the Apostle. These *Eschevins* have the keeping of the keys of the city, having taken an oath to king *Henry III.* in 1570. When out of their employment, they are ennobled, or become gentlemen, with all their posterity, and are not oblig'd to publick duties. They every half year appoint the counsellors and judges, who sit in the aforesaid house to decide controversies in matters of trade; tho' from them there lies an appeal to the *Seneschal* of the city. They also constitute a solicitor, and a secretary, who are also ennobled, and have each two hundred livres a year pension, for life. At trials, the provost and counsellors, or judges, sit on a place rais'd high, and the *Eschevins*, advocates and solicitors, somewhat lower, without any other distinction.

All these privileges and immunities have been very providently granted to the *Eschevins*, to advance the trade of the people of *Lions*, and raise it to the reputation it now has, to the great benefit of the king's revenue; and for this same reason, they obtain'd four free fairs in a year, kept at *Twelfth-tide*, and *Easter*, in *August*, and in *November*, on *All Saints Day*. Among the other branches of trade, that of books is none of the least; both in regard that printing is there in perfection, and because of the quantities brought from the fair at *Frankfort* and other parts of *Germany* and *Italy*. I am satisfy'd a learned man cannot see any thing that will please him better, than *Annison's* warehouses.

As for the manners and customs, I do not think my three days stay here time enough, to judge of them; but by what I could discover, the people seem to me industrious and pains-taking, coupling the *French* invention to the *Italian* oeconomy. The women are beautiful, and fond of fine cloaths; the gentry are well bred, and genteel; and the peasants more crafty and sharp than in other parts.

I have no leisure to add any more, but only two particulars. The first, that the day before yesterday, at the inn call'd the

Three

Three kings, I saw an *English* nobleman, and was assur'd for a certainty, that he is going embassador to *Rome* from king *James II.* to pay his obedience to the pope. I suspend my judgment till I hear more of it. The same day he imbark'd on the *Rhofne*, to go down to *Avignon*,

with eight servants. The other, of more consequence to me, is, that I wish you to have more kindness for me than hitherto, or at least to give me more frequent proofs of it, writing to me when your affairs will permit. And to conclude, I remain, &c.

GEMEL-  
LI.

## LETTER XIII.

The author's journey from Lions to Paris.

Paris, April 3. 1686.

YOUR most obliging letter came to my hands most conveniently, that is, when I was most eager to hear from you and my friends. This fresh obligation being added to all the rest, for which I shall ever be your debtor, that you take upon you not only to acquaint me with the ill practices of my enemies, but also to disappoint them. To deal plainly, I know not how to go about at present to return due thanks; or how I can hope to deserve it as long as I live; but who knows what may happen?

To come to my journey: I set out from *Lions* on *Friday* the 13th of *March*, having hired two horses to *Roane* for sixteen livres, and dining at *Brele*, three leagues from *Lions*, went three leagues further to *Terrara*, where I lay, with two gentlemen of *Lions*, who were travelling the same way. The next morning I advanc'd three leagues to *St. Saphorin*, and after dinner three more to *Roane*, a small town. On *Sunday* I heard mass in the *Jesuits* church, which is not so well adorn'd as those of the *Capuchins* are with us; and at one in the afternoon we imbark'd on the *Loire*, by the *Romans* call'd *Ligeris*, to go down the river to *Orleans*, paying four livres and a half each for our passage. The first night we lay at a small village call'd *St. Giran*, the second at *Gyen*, twelve leagues distant, all the way in sight of a pleasant and fruitful country; and the third at *Desize*, a large town, nine leagues from *Gyen*. The next day, having run seven leagues, we din'd at *Nevers*, a city belonging to the duke of *Mazarine*, as well as the aforesaid town of *Desize*. It is at present about three miles in compass, with a good ditch and walls; but the ancient city, then call'd *Noviodunum Hedunorum*, inclos'd within the new one, was much smaller. The bridge over the river *Loire*, in my opinion, is one of the finest and strongest that may be seen, consisting of twenty arches, standing on pillars of square stone. At both ends of it there are draw-bridges, with towers to defend them; and to conclude, under the last arch, next the city, is a battery flush with the water, to keep

Nevers  
city.

off any large boat of enemies. The treasurer of the cathedral enjoys this privilege, that he may go into, and sit in the choir, when he pleases, with his sword by his side, and with his boots and spurs on, as if he were going to battle. In other respects, the city abounds in all sorts of provisions, except oil of olives; instead of which they use nut oil and butter. They work curiously here in crystal, as well as in *Venice*, which I could not have believ'd unless I had seen it.

Imbarcking again, and running about ten leagues, we came at night to another village, call'd *Le puy de Fer*, where we spent the time pleasantly, being such a company, as if we were just come from the tower of *Babel*, one speaking *Latin*, another *Italian*, a third *French*, a fourth *English*, and a fifth *Spanish*; but sometimes every one striving to speak the other's language, they spoke none of them to the purpose; so that you may imagine how comical it was to hear the *Frenchman* italicise, the *Italian* gallicise, and so of the rest.

Le puy de  
Fer vil-  
lage.

On *Friday* morning we advanc'd three leagues, to a little city, call'd *La Charite*, where they also work in crystal; and then six further to *Cosne*, a small town. I was well pleas'd here to see a great forge, where the iron is heated by the blowing of an extravagant pair of bellows mov'd by water. The next morning we proceeded three leagues, and din'd at the village of *Briare*; then two more to lie at *Buffiere*, where the marquis of the same name has a fine palace, with a most curious and delightful garden and grove.

La Charite  
city.

Briare vil-  
lage.  
Buffiere.

On *Sunday*, instead of holding on to *Orleans* by water, I alter'd my mind, and hiring two horses for five livres, set out for *Noyan*, to go thence to *Montargis*. From *Buffiere* to *Noyan* is but three leagues, so that I came thither time enough to hear mass. It is the custom in *France* to distribute holy bread on *Sunday* to all that are present at the solemn mass. That night I lay at *Montargis*, three leagues from *Noyan*, there to expect the *Diligence*, or flying-coach, which goes and comes to

Noyan.

Montar-  
gis.

GEMEL-  
LI.

*Paris*. This city is considerably large, and full of wealthy inhabitants, being seated near a navigable river, which occasions a great trade, especially of wine sent to *Paris*; and being a place that belongs to the duke of *Orleans*, the castle is a majestic habitation; but will cost very much to be put in repair.

Jealousy.

The coach coming yesterday I took a place in it, paying two *French* crowns for myself, and one for a servant of mine to ride behind; and thus we set out about eight in the morning. Having gone about two leagues, there came into the coach a lady of quality with her husband; which I could not but a little admire, being us'd to that unpoliteness of *Italy*, call'd by the name of respect; but in reality is diffidence and jealousy. I am wont to say, that jealousy is to be call'd a reasonable vice; for it proceeds from a mind that will be solely possess'd of a thing it thinks good; and thus it is not only the lover who will possess his fair, without allowing any part to another, but the miser is of the same opinion as to his money, being no less in love with it. Besides, he who loves, and is belov'd, does not only enjoy the possession of that good, but also the satisfaction of seeing himself valu'd above all things by his mistress, as she is by him: as he thinks himself extraordinary happy, who knows he is in his prince's favour, or in great repute among his neighbours; therefore he is not much in the wrong when he frets and vexes, because his lady takes much notice of others; because he either thinks himself undervalu'd, which he looks upon with indignation as a wrong, or else fancies he is only put upon an equal lay with others, when he expected to be the first and only person in her favour. Moreover, love, which is not brutal, being indivisible, as consisting in the desire of a thing look'd upon as the ultimate good, which can be but one; it follows, that whatsoever account a woman makes of another man, is look'd upon, by the lover, as contempt, and undervaluing of him. Thus it appears, that only they are bold in condemning jealousy, who never lov'd, but have labour'd all their life-time to satiate their natural appetite, without any distinction, like the beasts; as also those women, who, tho' they seem proud, will not be subject to one man only, but to all they meet. This plainly appears among those *French* gentlemen, who look upon jealousy as more dishonourable than cuckoldom is among us. They say, I don't speak of marry'd men, that they cannot take greater revenge on their ladies, if they happen to prove kind to others, than by forsaking them and chusing others. I

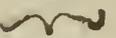
tell them they do not love then, and are mad to think, that they who have set their minds on others can any way resent being forsaken by them. The women, being acquainted with the fashion, do not regard the mens words, tho' they saw them die, and therefore it is no wonder that inconstancy does not trouble them, and that jealousy takes no place in their distracted breasts. On the contrary, to return to my purpose, those in *Italy*, who are neither husbands nor lovers, but only relations or guardians, are in reality too nice, and rather occasion more harm than good, by keeping the women so much shut up, and in such solitude. Their's is not to be call'd jealousy, but diffidence and mistrust; thus they make their own unhappiness, and cherish the vulture in their own breast, which tears their very bowels. What wonder is it if a maiden, that has never look'd a man in the face, presently falls in love with the first she sees, without considering whether he is a fit person for her, or of what condition or nation he is. Do not tell me there are some, who would never think of doing any ill thing, were they not tempted; and therefore it is requisite to keep them shut up. This is the same I say; women are all of this temper, they love to be courted, and are only chaste when they are not sought after, or when, being forward themselves, they are slighted; shall we then believe that all our vigilancy, tho' we had *Argos's* eyes, can keep them from doing what they please? Our care only serves to make them sensible of some things we would not have them know, and the best remedy perhaps in those cases is to take no notice of them. Hear a song much used here to that purpose.

*Si vous avez une femme coquette,  
Faites semblant de ne le point sçavoir;  
Car un mari, qui veut faire la guette,  
Voit bien souvant ce quil ne veut pas voir.*

That is, *If you have a jilting wife, take no notice of it; for a husband that will be upon the watch, very often sees what he would not see.*

The *French* women preserve a good reputation, because none of them are ever taken in a fault; and this by reason no man observes them. They take great care to breed them soberly, devoutly, and in all virtue; and this done, allow them such liberty that restraint may not kindle desire in them; as we covet *Indian* rarities, and breeding women four apples. Familiar conversation between men and women does not always produce immodest effects; nor does confinement at all times secure chastity.

It



It is ridiculous to say, Such a woman is more taken with such a certain man's company, than with another, therefore she must be in love with him. Such a man will quit any other diversion to discourse with such a lady, therefore he must have some design upon her. I own there is more likelihood of these persons falling in love, than those who are not acquainted; yet it does not follow that they must of necessity be enamour'd. Who is there that would not rather gaze on a beautiful than a deform'd statue? Who is the man that in company will not rather chuse to sit by a genteel, handsome and well-bred young gentleman, than by an ill-look'd peevish old fellow? Certainly none. Thus, not to speak of beauty; good personal behaviour, a virtuous deportment, and discreet pleasant discourse, will gain an ascendant over others. Why then, if one man loves another, upon such like motives, is it call'd a virtuous affection, perfect friendship, brotherly kindness, and a natural sympathy? And, on the other hand, if a lady shews more inclination to converse with a worthy youth, that is a stranger, than with her own dull kindred, must it be term'd lewdness, impudence, immodesty, and bare-fac'd whoredom? The consequence of such prepossession is, that in *Italy* another's reputation is blemish'd upon a meer notion or fancy, especially when any amorous coxcombs find themselves rejected, and grow jealous of some man of merit. The lady we took into the coach, when we went to dine at *Nemours*, caref'd me more than she did her husband. She would have me sit next to her, and carv'd for me; and this on no other account but because she took me for a stranger, and not altogether ignorant; and her husband, who was a very well-bred man, seem'd rather much pleas'd at it, than otherwise.

Here I hir'd a post horse for two livres, to be the sooner at *Fontainebleau*, four leagues distant, and thus my whole day's journey was nine leagues. In the morning I pass'd through a forest, which is worth seventeen thousand livres a year to its owner, the duke of *Orleans*.

Fontainebleau.

*Fontainebleau* is a large and populous village, seated in a plain, not over fertile, and encompass'd with steep and craggy cliffs; from which many pure and crystalline streams descending, render the village well deserving that name. It is a most proper place for sports, both for its situation, and because abounding in all sorts of game; sometimes rising in little easy hills, and then falling into pleasant, delightful and shady small vales, with some intervals or spots, not croud'd with mighty trees, but cover'd with low bushes, afford-

ing curious open hunting. Here many kings of *France* have been pleas'd to reside; so that, besides the royal castle, many of the prime nobility have here built most noble hostels or houses. To confine myself to the castle, you must understand, that tho' it be of a vast compass, that is, two leagues, including the gardens, yet it is not very sightly on the outside, because the buildings are low. The first thing they here shew'd me, was that they call the stag's gallery, where abundance of heads of wild beasts, and particularly of stags, are set up; and such as were kill'd by kings have by them inscriptions, expressing the time when and place where they fell. About it are curiously painted all the other forests and stately palaces belonging to the king throughout his dominions. There is also a billiard-table to divert the court ladies. I was then conducted up a short stair-case into another gallery, call'd the queen's, which is also painted, which leads into the antechamber of *Clorinda*, and that into another, and so into a curious closet, and the bed-chamber where the *Dauphin* was born. The place where the royal bed then stood is still rail'd in, the same being used about all the beds in the house. Here, with all possible respect, I seriously view'd a picture of that wise king *Francis I.* drawn by the life, and think myself happy that I had leisure to observe it. Farther on I saw the late queen's closet, the king's bed-chamber, the council-chamber, which looks into a court, call'd the *Louvre*; that which they call *St. Lewis's*, and then the hall, nam'd *De la belle chimené*, where the plays are acted. The greatest ornament in it is a statue of *Henry IV.* surnamed the great, which for its excellent workmanship cost no less than eighteen thousand crowns, tho' some say much more.

In king *Francis* the first's apartment they first shew'd me a gallery, in which are fourteen stately pictures, containing certain emblems, or rather devices of that king's; and adjoining to it, a room adorn'd with most excellent pieces of several masters. Hence is a prospect into the queen's garden, wonderfully set out with excellent statues in marble and brass, not to mention the curious walks; the fine boxes with orange and lemon trees; the green myrtle on the ground, or the sweet and sightly flowers, and most beautiful dwarf trees most artificially distributed in all parts. The royal chappel is also masterly painted and gilded, the floor laid with choice marble, which, for its scarcity, is much valued in those parts; and there are two magnificent tribunes for the king and queen. The other apartment, call'd the queen mother's, is suita-

ble

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ble to the dignity of the name, and here are the *Dauphin's* lodgings, and the famous gallery of most exquisite paintings of *Michael Angelo*, *Raphael*, *Titian*, *Leonardi da Vinci*, the brothers *Caraccius's*, and many others. This gallery looks into the *Dauphiness's* garden, where there are as fine statues as in any other part of the castle, and particularly those representing the four seasons of the year, are most valuable. Besides a most stately fish-pond, full of fundry sorts of fish, and so seated, that the *Dauphiness*, whensoever she pleases, can take the diversion of angling from a balcony. At a small distance from it is a curious fountain, adorn'd with statues, of whose water the king drinks when he resides there, and there are two centinels upon it day and night. From this apartment I went down a noble stair-case, into a vast court, call'd *La Cour du Cheval Blanch*, or the white horse court.

Then I went to see the outward gardens, for those above-mention'd are small, and lie between the apartments. The first thing I met with was a large lake, on which the king uses to be carry'd in a barge. There are two other basons, or ponds, remarkable enough for the many swans on them, and the statues about. Not far from one of them is an artificial water-work, consisting of three rows of spouts in a ring, being no less than two hundred; in my opinion the most delightful thing that the wit of man could invent, and hard by it are four marble mermaids, masterly carv'd by a *Spaniard*. The fountain in the midst of the garden is call'd *du Tybre*, there being in it a large brass figure, representing the river *Tyber*, with the she wolf giving suck to *Romulus* and *Remus*, a most excellent piece of work in its kind. I leave you to consider the curious ordering of the walks, the ranging of the ever-green trees, and all other particulars requisite for the perfection of a royal garden, for I cannot write more of it, and could I, we should not have done so soon. I must add, that within the inclosure of the castle there is also a palace of the prince of *Conde*; a fine house for the governor, and another for the dogs and their keepers.

This morning we set out at break of day, and gently ascending the mountain, which is all cover'd with yew-trees, on the plain saw a spot of about half a league in compass pale'd in. I am told there are in it vast numbers of pheasants and partridges, which are plentifully fed by a person appointed for that purpose, that the king may divert himself with shooting when he pleases. He does not shoot stags, and such like beasts, but has them, taken alive by his dogs.

Travelling on a very good road, we had some small rain, the first I have seen this month past. After six leagues riding we staid to dine at a village, call'd *Le Plessis*; and two leagues further on I saw *La Maison Rouge*, or the red house, with a fine garden to it, and all this way to the city is strew'd with delightful palaces, and curious rows of trees, of a vast length, having left *Corbeil* on the river *Seyne*. Then having travell'd four leagues from *Plessis*, I enter'd *Paris*, at *St. Martin's* gate, in sight of such a multitude of windmills, that I was amaz'd.

This gate is in the nature of a triumphal arch, having two other small ones on the sides, and adorn'd with several sorts of work in marble. I staid there a while to read the following inscriptions;

LUDOVICO MAGNO.  
VESONTIONE, SEQUANISQUE  
BIS CAPTIS,  
ET FRACTIS GERMANORUM,  
HISPANORUM ET BATAVORUM  
EXERCITIBUS.  
PRAEF. ET AEDIL. PONI  
C. C.  
ANNO R. S. H. M.DC.LXXIV.

That is, *The lord mayor and sheriffs erected this in honour of Lewis the Great, upon his twice subduing Besanzon and Franche Conte, and routing the armies of the Germans, Dutch and Spaniards, in the year of our redemption 1674.*

This on the inside of the gate; and on the out-side,

LUDOVICO MAGNO.  
QUOD LIMBURGO CAPTO,  
IMPOTENTES HOSTIUM MINAS  
UBIQUE REPRESSIT.  
PRAEF. ET AEDIL. PONI  
C. C.  
ANNO R. S. H. M.DC.LXXV.

That is, *The lord mayor and sheriffs erected this in honour of Lewis the Great, for that having taken Limburg, he every where disappointed the vain threats of his enemies. In the year of our redemption 1675.*

I design to stay a few days in this famous city, to view some part of it, for it would take up years to be acquainted with all of it; and therefore I must refer giving you an account of it to another time, at more leisure, and now rest me, after the fatigue of riding and writing. I should be glad to receive that catalogue of books you spoke of, because I should be sure to find them, and at a reasonable rate. I remain,  
&c.

LETTER

## LETTER. XIV.

GEMEL-  
LI.

Containing part of the description of Paris.

Paris, April 6. 1686.

IT is a very difficult undertaking to comply with my desire of giving you satisfaction in this particular, of acquainting you with all that is fine and remarkable in this city; however, tho' I know my capacity is not sufficient to perform this, I will use my utmost endeavours, not to omit any thing that may seem worth knowing, in the same order I have seen them.

Paris de-  
scrib'd.

Before we descend to particulars, it is to be observ'd, that authors differ very much about the original of its name. Some extravagant persons, who will never be satisfy'd with those things which are likeliest, will have it so call'd from *Paris*, son to king *Priam*; others not so unreasonably, from a certain *Paris*, king of the *Gauls*, who residing in this part of the country, gave the inhabitants the name of *Parisis*, or *Parisiaci*; others from the Greek word *Para* and *Isis*, because the Goddess *Isis* was here very much honour'd; and there is a tradition that there was formerly a temple dedicated to her, in the same place where now stands the abbey of *St. Germain des Prez*, near *Paris*. Nor is there less contention about the name of *Lutetia*; some attributing it to a king *Lucus*; others to the word *Lutum*, mud; from the filthiness of the streets, when it extended no farther than the island, form'd by the two arms of the river *Seyne*, now call'd *L'Isle du Palais*, the island of the palace, or *La Cité*, the city, in a stricter sense.

Situation.

As to situation, it lies in twenty-three degrees thirty minutes longitude, and forty degrees forty minutes latitude, in a delightful plain. From the hill on the south of it, flow abundance of wholesome waters. On the north are quarries of lime-stone. All that tract which lies along the river, is either cover'd with most pleasant groves, or produces plenty of all sorts of grain; the curious neighbouring little hills furnishing store of excellent wine. As for the climate, or temperature of the air, I would willingly explain myself in the very words of Cardinal *Bembo's* octave, did not that treat of some place in the east, which are to this effect, *In the bright and sweets-producing east, under the serene and temperate climate of Arabia Foelix, which never suffers under excess either of heat or cold, lives a happy and contented people, whol-*

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ly addicted to true love, as the fates decreed for them, and as pleas'd the courteous goddess, born in the sea. It is therefore nothing difficult to guess, how it should rise to such a condition and grandeur, if we do but consider it has been the residence of its kings for so many ages; and before them of the emperors *Julian* and *Gratian*; and had it not been, for good reasons, forbid to build beyond the limits assign'd, it would perhaps have been much above seven leagues in compass. Yet what wants in extent is made up by the narrowness of the streets in many places, and the height of the houses, which makes them very dear, and several families live in many of them. Do but observe the number I am going to mention; which is, that in the year 1681, if I was rightly inform'd, there were seventeen thousand four hundred and twenty-four children christen'd, and four thousand two hundred and forty-four couples marry'd.

Bigness.

To come to something more particular, it is to be taken notice of, that *Paris* is continually beautifying, by the king's command, and this is perform'd by the sheriffs so punctually, that in a short time it will be another antient *Rome*. That which was formerly call'd *Le Fauxbourg de St. Germain*, or *St. Germain's* suburb, the wall which divided it from the city being thrown down, is now incorporated in it, and the inhabitants there enjoy all the same privileges of the other citizens. I think nothing in the world can be finer than the gates newly built, or repair'd, either for regular architecture or magnificence. The next to that of *St. Martin*, mentioned in my last, is that of *St. Denis*, the finest, without all doubt, of any hitherto erected. All about it hang trophies of arms, masterly carv'd, and abundance of other ornaments; with two basso-relievo's, the one next the city, and the other on the outside, representing the passing of the *Rhine*, and the taking of *Maestricht*. The inscriptions are worth transcribing for their purity and brevity.

Gates.

EMENDATA MALE MEMORI  
BATAVORUM GENTE.PRAEF. ET AEDIL. PONI CC.  
ANN. R. S. H. M. DC. LXXII.

7 R

QUOD

GEMEL-  
LI.

QUOD TRAJECTUM AD MOSAM  
XIII. DIEBUS CEOPIT.  
PRAEF. ET AEDIL. PONI CC.  
ANN. R. S. H. M. DC. LXXIII.

QUOD DIEBUS VIX  
SEXAGINTA  
RHENUM, VAHALIM, MOSAM,  
ISOLAM SUPERAVIT.  
SUBEGIT PROVINCIAS TRES,  
CEPIT URBES MUNITAS  
QUADRAGINTA.

English'd thus: *The lord mayor and sheriffs erected this in memory of correction given to the forgetful Dutch. In the year of our redemption 1672.*

*The lord mayor and sheriffs erected this in memory of his taking Maestricht in thirteen days. In the year of our redemption 1673.*

*In memory of his crossing the Rhine, the Wael, the Maese and the Issel, in less than sixty days, subdu'd three provinces, and took forty strong towns.*

And in several places is writ in large gold letters,

LUDOVICO MAGNO.

To Lewis the Great.

*St. Antony's gate, leading to the suburb of the same name, was formerly erected in the form of a triumphal arch, in honour of Henry II. but was very much embellish'd of late years. Over it is the king's statue, between two small pyramids, with the following inscription.*

LUDOVICO MAGNO.  
PRAEF. ET AEDILES  
ANN. R. S. H.  
M. DC. LXXII.  
QUOD URBEM AUXIT,  
ORNAVIT, LOCUPLETAVIT,  
P. C.

*That is, The lord mayor and sheriffs erected this in honour of Lewis the Great, for having enlarg'd, adorn'd and enrich'd the city.*

At a small distance, near a small garden door, is the following inscription;

LUDOVICUS MAGNUS,  
PROMOTIS IMPERII FINIBUS  
ULTRA RHENUM, ALPES,  
ET PYRENÆOS,  
POMOERIUM HOC, MORE PRISCO,  
PROPAGAVIT.  
ANN. R. S. H. M. DC. LXX.

I

LUDOVICUS MAGNUS  
ET VINDICATAS CONJUGIS AUGUSTAE  
DOTALES URBES  
VALIDA MUNITIONE CINXIT  
ET HOC VALLUM CIVIUM DELICHIIS  
DESTINARI JUSSIT.  
ANN. R. S. H. M. DC. LXXI.

*That is, Lewis the Great having extended the bounds of his empire beyond the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyreneans, stretch'd out this liberty of the city, according to the custom of the antients. In the year of our redemption 1670.*

*Lewis the Great fortify'd the dower towns he recover'd, belonging to his royal consort, and caused this intrenchment to be made for the diversion of the citizens. In the year of our redemption 1671.*

Between this gate and *St. Martin's* are four long parrallel rows of trees, forming three walks or alleys; and in the midst of this space is the new gate of *St. Lewis*, on which are these words;

LUDOVICUS MAGNUS  
AVO  
DIVO LUDOVICO.  
ANN. R. S. H. M. DC. LXXIV.

*That is, Lewis the Great, to his progenitor St. Lewis. In the year of our redemption 1674.*

Next is *St. Bernard's* gate, extraordinary beautiful, and adorn'd with excellent basso-relievo's. On the city side is the king distributing plenty to his subjects, with this inscription;

LUDOVICO MAGNO  
ABUNDANTIA PARTA  
PRAEF. ET AEDIL. PONI  
CC.  
ANN. R. S. H. M. DC. LXX.

*Importing, The lord mayor and sheriffs erected this in honour of Lewis the Great, for having procur'd plenty. In the year of our redemption 1670.*

On the other side is the king steering a mighty ship, with all her sails full, and under it is carv'd,

LUDOVICI MAGNI  
PROVIDENTIAE  
PRAEF. ET AEDIL. PONI  
CC.  
ANN. R. S. H. M. DC. LXX.

*Which is, The lord mayor and sheriffs erected this to the providence of Lewis the Great. In the year of our redemption 1670.*

The



The other gates have nothing worth taking notice of, and therefore I forbear speaking of them.

Now to come to the buildings: The first I saw, after my arrival, at leisure, was the cathedral call'd *Notre Dame*, as being dedicated to our lady. The front of this church is very spacious and magnificent, and on it the statue of king *Philip Augustus*, in the last place, after twenty-four of his predecessors, he being thought to have finish'd this structure, begun by king *Robert*, the son of *Hugh Capet*; not that *Robert* was the first founder, but rather the rebuildder and enlarger. The statue in the middle, which seems to be mounted on a lion, represents *Pepin*, the son of *Charlemaign*. In the primitive ages it bore the name of *St. Dennis*, its first bishop; but was afterwards rebuilt in the reign of *Childebert*, the son of *Clodoveus*, about the year of our Lord 522, and dedicated to the blessed virgin, whose name it has ever since retain'd. On the sides of the said frontispiece are two large square towers, from whose tops, which are flat, like the roofs of the houses in *Naples*, there is a full prospect of all *Paris*. I went up that which is on the left of the gate, by a stair-case of three hundred and eighty-nine stone steps, and, among other things, saw a bell new cast, and by the king's order call'd *Emanuel*, which is full nine feet deep, and ten in the diameter; so that, with submission to a better calculation, it weighs three hundred and ten thousands pounds of *France*; however, the sound of it is none of the best. The church is all leaded over.

As to the inside, it is a *Gothic* structure, but beautiful and majestick, by reason of its largeness; for it contains one hundred and twenty mighty pillars, composing five stately isles: All its thirty-seven chappels are neatly kept and painted, but particularly that of our lady near the choir gate, is all over adorn'd, and set out with several offerings of devout christians; and among other rich lamps hanging in it, there is one very curious, made like a ship, which was presented by the city of *Paris*. Observe now something that is pleasant. This chapel was formerly call'd *Des Pareseux*, that is, of the slothful; because in this only there were masses said, contrary to the custom of the primitive church, at noon, for the conveniency of those who could not rise early. Before it is the statue of king *Philip de Valois*, arm'd, on horseback, and booted, just as he came into the church, to return thanks for the victory he had obtain'd over the *Flemings*, whose spoils he also consecrated to the blessed virgin.

Behind the high altar, on brass columns, stands the stately monument of *St. Marcellus*, one of the first bishops of *Paris*. On the left of the said altar is also the statue of king *Philip Augustus*, on a pillar. Near another column, just entering the church, on the right hand, is a figure of *St. Christopher*, of an extraordinary magnitude, made in the year 1413, by a certain lord of *Essarts*, lord chamberlain to king *Charles VI*. But I should have enough to do to reckon up all particulars, tho' I were able, and you had patience to hear them. It will suffice to add two; the first, that it is all hung with colours and standards, taken from enemies in battle, and plac'd here in thanksgiving; the other, that whosoever delights in exquisite pictures, may here please his eyes, and satisfy his curiosity; for the goldsmiths being oblig'd every year, on the first of *May*, to present one, they employ the ablest master in *France*, and he being to stand in competition with those that went before, takes all possible care to produce such a piece as may be worthy of that place: The finest are in the choir, the best whereof are two of the famous *M. Le Brun*, intendant of the royal academy; one being the crucifixion of *St. Peter*, the other the martyrdom of *St. Stephen*. The next place is due to one of *St. Paul*, causing several books to be burnt before the portico of a temple, being the work of *Le Sueur*, the next great painter to *Poussin*, in the judgment of the *French*.

The chapter consists of fifty canons, who still preserve the antient custom of repairing to the church to sing matins at midnight, which is an excellent example of piety, being all of them lodg'd in the adjoining cloyster: And hence you may conclude how well this church is serv'd in other particulars.

I cannot at present give you an account of any other sacred places except the great hospital, call'd the *Hotel Dieu*, or The great hospital. the house of God, near the cathedral. I believe it was founded by some holy bishops, because in the primitive ages of the church all prelates indifferently took upon them the care of the sick and poor, as knowing they were not masters of the revenues of their churches, but only allowing themselves necessary food and raiment, as the apostle teaches, meer stewards and distributors for the benefit of the poor, for whose sake the faithful bestow'd such mighty gifts on the church. This I speak of is the chief and greatest in all *Paris*, and yet it is scarce able to maintain the vast multitude of sick, which sometimes amount to four thousand. The *Augustinian* nuns look to the sick, and perform their duty

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duty with wonderful charity and humility.

I must further inform you, that the city being divided into three parts, by the two branches of the *Seyne* above-mention'd, there must of consequence be many stately bridges, suitable to the dignity of the place, which join those parts, call'd *la Ville, la Cité, and l'Université*, that is,

Bridges.

the town, the city, and the university. To begin with the oldest, call'd *De nostre Dame*, or our lady's: It is very beautiful, by reason of the noble statues, the marble medals, representing many of their former kings, and the fine houses on both sides of it. On one of its arches this distich is carv'd;

JUCUNDUS GEMINOS POSUIT, TIBI SEQUANA, PONTES;  
NUNC TU JURE POTES DICERE PONTIFICEM.

*Jucundus on the Seyne two bridges laid,  
For which he well may Pontifex be said.*

*Pontifex* has here a double meaning, as signifying a bridge-maker; whereas the true acceptation of it is a bishop.

The reason of it is, that it was built by a *Franciscan* friar of *Verona*, whose name was *John Jucundus*, about the year 1507; and some affirm, he was not only excellently vers'd in polite learning, but also master to the never-sufficiently commended *Julius Caesar della Scala*, or *Scaliger*. I am apt to believe he is the same we are

beholden to for the first correct printed copy of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, according to *Gerard Vossius de Histor. Latin.* About the middle of this bridge there are two machines, which draw up abundance of the river water, to convey it to fountains in several places, at a great distance. On a black marble stone are carv'd, in letters of gold, the following verses of the famous *M. Santeuil*, who, in my opinion, had the spirit of *Tibullus* in him.

SEQUANA CUM PRIMUM REGINAE ALLABITUR URBI,  
TARDAT PRAECIPITES AMBITIOSUS AQUAS.  
CAPTUS AMORE LOCI, CURSUM OBLIVISCITUR ANCEPS,  
QUO FLUAT, ET DULCES NECTIT IN URBE MORAS.  
HINC VARIOS IMPLENS, FLUCTU SUBEUNTE, CANALES,  
FONS FIERI GAUDET, QUI MODO FLUMEN ERAT.  
ANNO M. DC. LXXVI.

*As Seyne does to the queen of cities glide,  
Th' ambitious river stops his hasty tide.  
Enchanted with the place, forgets his way,  
And with the beauteous town contrives his stay.  
Into her various pipes he freely flows,  
And from a river now a fountain grows.  
An. 1676.*

The *Pont au Change*, or exchange bridge, was formerly of wood; but being unfortunately burnt in 1622, was nobly rebuilt, as it now is, with houses on it on both sides, inhabited by several sorts of trades. At one end of it is the king's statue, representing him about ten years of age, on a small pedestal, between those of his father *Lewis XIII.* and his mother *Anne of Austria.* The bridge of *St. Michel*, or *St. Michael*, is at a small distance, with houses on both sides, like the other, and that close by it call'd *Le Petit Pont*, or the little bridge. I will now pass by other small ones, and only mention the incomparable one call'd *Pont Neuf*, or the new bridge, built over that part where the two branches of the *Seyne* meeting, make the widest water: It appears to have been begun by king *Henry III.* by the inscription on the first of the arches;

HENR. III. F. ET. POL. R.  
POTENTISS. AUSP. CATH. MAT. LUD.  
CONJU. AUGUST. OB C. UTIL. PUBL.  
EUND. PON. JAC. S. ET DIVERS. URB.  
NOBILIS. PAR. MAG. VIAT. COMP. M.  
RER. OM. Q. IMP. ET EX COM. PER.  
DIV. OR. AEQ. CON. PRID. CALEND.  
JUN. 1578.

It was afterwards finish'd by *Henry IV.* call'd, *The Great*, about the year 1604; and in 1635 *Lewis XIII.* set up his statue of brass, on horseback, about the middle of the bridge, on a pedestal of white marble, having the greatest actions of king *Henry* carv'd in *basso relievo*, and at the angles four slaves in brass, representing the nations subdu'd by him: All the work seems to me very masterly; but affection makes me think the horse and the king's figure finer than all the rest, as being

being made by our *Italian Gio Bolognese*.  
On the front of it we read ;

ENRICO III.  
GALLIARUM IMPERATORI  
NAVAR. R.  
LUDOVICUS XIII. FILIUS EJUS  
OPUS INCHOATUM ET INTERMISSUM,  
PRO  
DIGNITATE PIETATIS ET IMPERII  
PLENIUS, ET AMPLIUS ABSOLVIT,  
EMIN. C. D. RICHELIVS  
COMMUNE POPULI VOTUM PROMOVIT,  
SUPER ILLUST. VIRI DE BULLION,  
BOUTILLIER P. AERARII F.  
FACIENDUM CURAVERUNT  
M. DC. XXXV.

To Henry IV.

*Emperor of France and king of Navarre.*  
Lewis XIII. his son, finish'd this work, which  
had been begun, and left imperfect, an-  
swerable to the greatness of his duty to his  
father and the extent of his empire. The  
most eminent cardinal Richelieu satisfy'd  
the general desire of the people in promoting  
this work. The most illustrious de Bullion  
and Boutillier treasurers, took care of it,  
An. 1635.

And under it ;

QUISQUIS HAEC LEGES, ITA LEGITO  
UTI OPTIMO REGI PRECABERIS  
EXERCITUM FORTEM, POPULUM FIDELIEM,  
IMPERIUM SECURUM  
ET ANNOS DE NOSTRIS.  
B. B. F.

*Whosoever thou art that readest this, so read,  
that thou mayest beg of God, for the excellent  
prince, a valiant army, a loyal people, a  
secure empire, and a long life out of ours.*  
Bullion and Boutillier made it.

For the taking of the city of *Montmelian* in *Savoy*, this inscription ;

MONS  
OMNIBUS ANTE SE DUCIBUS, REGIBUSQUE  
FRUSTRA PETITUS,  
ENRICI M. FELICITATE SUB IMPERIUM REDACTUS ;  
AD AETERNAM SECURITATEM, AC GLORIAM  
GALLICI NOMINIS.

*A mountain, in vain attack'd by all kings and generals before him, is at last reduc'd  
to obedience by the fortune of Henry the Great, to the eternal security and glory of  
France.*

For the taking of *Amiens* from the *Spaniards* :

AMBIANUM HISPANORUM FRAUDE  
INTERCEPTA,  
ENRICI M. VIRTUTE ASSERTA,  
LUDOVICUS XIII. M. P. F.  
HISDEM AB HOSTIBUS SAEPIUS FRAUDE  
AC SCELERE TENTATUS,  
SEMPER JUSTITIA, ET FORTITUDINE  
SUPERIOR FUIT.

*Amiens having been treacherously taken by  
the Spaniards, and recover'd by the valour  
of Henry the Great, Lewis XIII. set up  
this in memory of his father : Being often  
fraudulently and basely attempted by the  
same enemies, he always overcame them  
with valour and justice.*

On the side, next the college of the <sup>GEMEL-</sup>  
four nations, is this ; for the battle of <sup>LI.</sup>  
*Arques* :

GENIO GALLIARUM S. ET INVICTISSIMO R.  
QUI ARQUENSI PRÆLIO MAGNAS  
CONJURATORUM COPIAS PARVA  
MANU FUDIT.

*Sacred to the genius of France and the in-  
vincible king, who, in the battle of Arques,  
routed great forces of the conspirators with  
a handful of men.*

As also this, for the victory of *Yvry* :

VICTORI TRIUMPHATORI FERETRIO  
PERDUELLES AD EVARIACUM CAESI,  
MALIS VICINIS INDIGNANTIBUS  
ET FAVENTIBUS.  
CLEMENTISS. IMPER.  
HISPANO DUCI OPIMA RELIQUIT.

*To the triumphant conqueror over the enemy's  
general, the rebels routed at Yvry, to the  
grief of his ill neighbours, who favour'd  
them. The most merciful general left the  
prime spoils to the Spanish leader.*

On the other side,

N. M. REGIS,  
RERUM HUMANARUM OPTIMI,  
QUI SINE CAEDE URBEM INGRESSUS,  
VINDICATA REBELLIONE,  
EXTINCTIS FACTIONIBUS,  
GALLIAS OPTATA PACE COMPOSUIT.

*To the noble memory of the best of kings,  
who entering the city without slaughter,  
having punish'd the rebellion and quell'd  
factions, compos'd France with the wis'd  
for peace.*

On the iron work, inclosing all this work, is what follows ;

LUDOVICUS XIII. M. P. F.  
IMPERII, VIRTUTIS, ET FORTUNAE OBSEQUENTISS.  
HAERES I. L. D. D.  
RICHELIUS C.  
VIR SUPRA TITULOS, ET CONSILIA OMNIUM  
RETRO PRINCIPUM, OPUS ABSOLVENDUM CENSUIT.  
N. N. II. V. V. DE BULLION ET BOUTILLIER,  
S. A. P. DIGNITATI ET REGNO PARES,  
AERE, INGÉNIO, CURA,  
DIFFICILLIMIS TEMPORIBUS P. P.

*Lewis XIII. the most dutiful heir of his empire, valour and fortune, erected this to the memory of his father. The most noble cardinal Richelieu, a man above all titles, and excelling the counsellors of all former princes, order'd this work to be finish'd. The noble and illustrious persons de Bullion and Boutillier, treasurers, men that answer the honour of their places and the grandeur of the kingdom, employ'd their money, wit and care in erecting this, in very difficult times.*

Formerly there was a little house or hut under the second arch of this bridge, with a pump in it, to bring up water from the river; and a fountain hard by, call'd the Samaritan's, from that woman's statue and our Saviour standing by it, well made enough. At present there is only a copy or representation of those statues in brass; and the clock, whose wheels were moved by the water, is also gone; so that at present nothing more remarkable remains, besides the keeping up the custom of ha-

ving many lights on it, for the conveniency of the people that pass.

Among the most remarkable squares we must take notice of the *Place Royal*, in the *Fauxbourg*, or suburb of *St. Anthony*, as well on account of the stately houses and portico's, as of king *Lewis XIII's* statue on horseback, standing in the midst of it: It is of brass, and the pedestal of curious white marble, on the forepart whereof is the following inscription;

POUR LA GLORIEUSE ET IMMORTELLE MEMOIRE DU TRES-GRAND  
ET TRES-INVINCIBLE LOUIS LE JUSTE, XIII. DU NOM. ROY DE  
FRANCE, ET DE NAVARRE; ARMAND CARDINAL DUC DE RICHELIEU,  
SON PRINCIPAL MINISTRE DANS TOUS SES ILLUSTRÉS  
ET HEUREUX DESSEINS, COMBLE D'HONEURS, ET DE BIENFAITS  
D'UN SI GENEREUX MONARQUE, A FAIT ELEVER CETTE STATUE,  
POUR UNE MARQUE ETERNELLE DE SON ZELE, DE SA  
FIDELITE, ET DE SA RECONNOISANCE, 1639.

*To the glorious and immortal memory of the most great and most invincible Lewis the Just, XIIIth of that name, king of France and Navarre, Armand cardinal Richelieu, his principal minister in all his illustrious and happy designs; being loaden with honours and favours by so generous a monarch, has caused this statue to be erected, as an everlasting token of his zeal, fidelity and gratitude, 1639.*

On the opposite, or back side, is this;

LUDOVICO XIII. CHRISTIANISSIMO GALLIAE ET NAVARRAE REGI,  
JUSTO, PIO, FOELICI, VICTORI, TRIUMPHATORI,  
SEMPER AUGUSTO,  
ARMANDUS CARDINALIS DUX RICHELIUS,  
PRAECIPUORUM REGNI ONERUM ADJUTOR, ET ADMINISTRATOR,  
DOMINO OPTIME MERITO, PRINCIPIQUE MUNIFICENTISSIMO,  
FIDEI SVAE, DEVOTIONIS, ET OB INNUMERA  
BENEFICIA, IMMENSOSQUE HONORES SIBI COLLATOS, PERENNE  
GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM, HANC STATUAM EQUESTREM  
PONENDAM CURAVIT. ANNO DOMINI 1639.

This requires no englishing, being the same with the other, with only the difference of the *Latin* or *French* phrase.

On the right side is a *French sonnet*, and on the left these following hexameters, importing much the same as the said sonnet.

*Quod bellator Hydras pacem spirare rebelles,  
Deplumes tepidare Aquilas, mitescere Par-  
dos,*

*Et depressa jugo submittere colla Leones,  
Despectat Ludovicus, equo sublimis abeno;  
Non digiti, non artifices fecere camini;  
Sed Virtus, & plena Deo Fortuna peregit.  
Armandus vindex fidei, pacisque sequester,  
Augustum curavit opus; populisque verendam*

*Regali voluit statuam consurgere circo;  
Ut post civilis depulsa pericula belli,  
Et circum domitos armis civilibus hostes,  
Æternum Dominus Lodoicus in urbe triumphet.*

That *Lewis* from his brazen horse does view

The rebel *Hydra* crush'd, for pardon sue,  
Pluck'd eagles trembling, fiercer leopards meek,

And lions to the yoke submit their neck;  
Is not what art nor furnace did bestow,  
But what to's valour, and his God we owe.

*Armand*, religion's prop, on whom depend

Both peace and war, the noble work design'd,

And plac'd this statue in this royal square,

That after all the toils of civil war,  
And foreign foes subdu'd, this monarch might,

For ever peaceful and triumphant sit.

Since I have engag'd in writing such things, or transcribing of inscriptions, I will go through with it at once; tho' I am sensible it is very insipid to fill up a letter with such barren matter. Be patient, as God shall save you, and read these others, which are in the *Place de Victoire*, or the square of victory, in honour of the present *Lewis XIV.* His brass statue seems to me one of the finest the art of man could make in our days. It represents the king standing in his royal robes, all embroider'd with flower-de-luces, in the posture of trampling on *Cerberus*, whilst victory holds a crown of lawrel over his head, and just under him are these words,

VIRO IMMORTALI.

To the Immortal Man.

Underneath it are the arms of *France*, GEMEL-  
LI. and the wheel of fortune fix'd, with these verses,

*Augustus toto jam nullis hostibus orbe  
Pacem agit; armato Ludoix pacem imperat orbi.*

All wars now done, *Augustus* reigns in peace;

And *Lewis* bids the world from arms to cease.

On the angles of the pedestal are four brass statues, like slaves in chains, on sundry sorts of arms, and their hands ty'd behind them. I am told they represent *Africk*, *Germany*, *Flanders* and *Holland*; which, if it be true, I must say, there is no proportion between those figures and the victories obtain'd by that king over those nations; for tho' he has overcome, he never subdu'd them. Be it as it will, under them on both sides are the words *NEC PLURIBUS IMPAR*, denoting, he was not inferior to many join'd together against him, and then the following distichs.

*Granicum Macedo, Rhenum secat agmine Gallus,  
Quisquis facta voles conferre, & flumina conser.*

*Indocilis quondam potiori cedere Gallo  
Ponit Iber tumidos fastus, & cedere discit.*

*Impia, quæ Regum licuit componere nulli  
Prælia, voce tua, Ludoix, composta quiescunt.*

*Sequanam gemino Cæsar vix vincere gentem  
Mense valet, Ludoix ter quinta luce subegit.*

These import, That *Alexander of Macedon*, and *Lewis of France*, march'd their armies, the first over the *Granicus*; the other the *Rhine*; and therefore be that compares their actions must compare the rivers.

The *Spaniard*, formerly disdain'd to yield to the *French*, now lays down his haughtiness, and learns to submit.

At thy command, *Lewis*, those unnatural ways cease, to which no other king could put an end.

The *Franche Conté*, which *Cæsar* could scarce subdue in two months, was conquer'd by *Lewis* in a fortnight.

GEMEL-  
LI.

On the front of the pedestal is the following inscription.

LUDOVICO MAGNO, *Patri Exercituum, Conductori semper Felici; Domitis Hostibus; protectis Sociis; adjectis Imperio fortissimis Populis; extructis ad Tutelam Finium fortissimis Arcibus; Oceano & Mediterraneo inter se junctis; prædari vetitis toto Mari Piratis; emendatis Legibus, deleta Calviniana Impietate; compulsis ad Reverentiam nominis remotissimis Gentibus; causisque summa Providentia, & Virtute, domi, forisque compositis; Franciscus Vice-Comes de Aubusson Dux de la Feuillade, ex Franciæ Paribus, & Tribunus Equitum, unus in Allobrogibus Pro-Rex, & Prætorianorum Peditum Præfectus, ad Memoriam Posteritatis sempiternam. P. D. C.*

Thus literally english'd, *To Lewis the Great, the father of his armies, their ever fortunate leader, having subdu'd his enemies; protect'd his allies; added warlike nations to his dominions; rais'd mighty fortresses for the security of his frontiers; join'd the Ocean and the Mediterranean; suppress'd all pirates on the sea; amended the laws; abolish'd Calvin's impious doctrine; compell'd the remotest nations to pay respect to his name; and settled all affairs both at home and abroad, with wonderful wisdom and valour; Francis viscount de Aubusson, duke de la Feuillade, peer of France, and general of the horse, governor of Dauphine, and colonel of the foot guards, erected this as a perpetual memorial to posterity.*

Then under the medal, representing the

king and religion, in basso-relievo, are these two verses.

*Hic laudum cumulus; Ludovico vindice  
victrix  
Religio, & pulsus male pergit sedibus error.*

To Lewis justly all our praise is due,  
From whose support religion conquest  
drew,  
And from their holds expell'd its rebel  
crew.

On the opposite side is the same translated into *French*, with a basso-relievo, representing the submission made by the *Doge* of *Genoa*.

As well as I like the works in brass and marble, I am no less, or rather more displeas'd with some of these compositions; for to me the author of them does not seem to have had so good a genius, as the other of those on the gates beforementioned; nor, to say the truth, is he the greatest master of the *Latin* tongue in the world; for I cannot call to mind that I ever read in good authors, these expressions, *Agere pacem, Conductor exercitus*, instead of *Dux*, or *Imperator*; *Secare flumen agmine*; *prælia* instead of *bella*, and *Pro-Rex*, besides several more, that will make our *Grammarians* mad; but I guess they are the product of some who pretend to be masters, tho' they are not fit for the lowest form.

I can send you no news of the war, but what you must have before; nor can I as yet give any account of learning, having scarce had time to make the air of *Paris* familiar to me, I remain, &c.

## LETTER XV.

*Continues the Description of Paris.*

*Paris, April 9. 1686.*

THO' I had never receiv'd any other demonstration of your affection, and of that courtesy, which is so prevalent above all your other excellent qualities, I ought to reckon myself most happy on account of those unquestionable tokens of good will and esteem, you have been pleas'd so kindly to give me in your letter, which I receiv'd yesterday, and was dated the twelfth of last month. I return you all the thanks I am able for the learned intimations you afford me in it, and desire you will always continue to do so by me; for the more freedom you use in that particular, the greater advantage I shall reap by it. I may here, by way of excuse, put you in mind, that I then writ in *Car-*

*nival* time, when our mind, by our own consent, is most involv'd in pleasure, and becomes as it were a slave dragg'd in a chain by delight; and therefore of consequence we cannot so well observe the true rules of composition and explication, or appear so judicious, as is requisite for reasoning well. However, still allowing what is said, I must tell you, that when I spoke of the hieroglyphicks contrived by the abbot *Joachim*, I did not intend to run down all oracles, because every divine illumination of the mind, and revelation of what is to come, must not be look'd upon as unlikely; but I spoke after that manner of the abbot, seeing his commentaries on the revelation of *St. John* so far from being

See his  
letter from  
Venice.

being approv'd, as to be prohibited by the church; and on the other hand, that he, for any thing we know, never arriv'd to such perfection, as would be requisite for a prophet, after *St. John Baptist*. As for the ambiguous meaning, and various interpretations, all prophecies are liable to, it is true, according to *St. Ireneus*, and other fathers, that even the predictions of the prophets in the old testament, were understood after the mischiefs foretold were come to pass. Those were always general and figurative expressions, designedly, as I suppose, uttered by the prophets, to the end the multitude should not pry into God's hidden judgments; and that they might strike the more terror, being thus shrouded under those obscure words, which perhaps were more terrible and majestick. But the abbot's figures, if they are his, all consisting of monsters, some whole and some cut off; besides that they seem to me like those hieroglyphicks of *Orus Apollo*, mention'd by *Jamblicus Calceidius*, and others; and those superstitious representations, which some cabalists will have cut upon certain stones at appointed times; they are all down-right ridiculous and empty, and any man whatsoever might invent others more extravagant and frightful, with no less certain hope, that in time to come they might all come to be expounded to answer some accidents in the world. The instance I then gave you of lions, I may, without any offence, if I please, apply to the republick of *Genoa*, or that of *Holland*, or any other state that has a lion for its arms. Besides, why did not this *Joachim* rather leave us his prophecies in writing? If he forbore for fear of his person, then was he not directed by any heavenly or divine light, which encourag'd the ancient prophets, and made them despise death: and if he did not fear, why did he rather chuse to be a painter than a writer?

As for *Nero's* triumph, which I said never was, I have no cause to recant; for *Nero* did not overcome the *Parthians*, making war on them himself in person, but by his general *Corbulo*, and receiv'd no other honours for it, but those mention'd by *Tacitus*, *lib. 13. Ob hæc consalutatus imperator Nero, &c. S. C. supplicationes habitæ, statuæque, & arcus, & continui consalutatus principi; utque inter festos referretur dies, quo patrata victoria, quo nunciata, quo relatum de ea esset, &c.* That is, *Hereupon Nero was saluted emperor, and there was a thanksgiving appointed by decree of the senate, as also statues and triumphal arches to be erected, in honour of the prince, and that he should be perpetual consul; as also that the days on which the victory was obtain'd, on*

*which the news of it was first brought, and when declar'd to the senate, should be festivals, &c.* GEMEL-  
LI.

As for my denying *Venice* to be in the shape of a boot, I verily believe the inhabitants will rather take it well than ill; for they have a good conceit of their own wisdom, and would take it as an affront should any one put them upon the par with boots, and such like things. But the plain truth is, that I had a mind to jest, knowing it to be an ancient custom among geographers to resemble the shape of some places to some certain things; and to the many instances mention'd by you in your learned letter, might perhaps be added, that of *Jordan* bishop of *Ravenna*, who says the great island, (or rather peninsula) of *Scanzia*, or *Scandinavia*, whence the *Goths* deduce their original, is like the leaf of a lemon-tree. So *Italy* was by *Solinus* compar'd to an oaken leaf, *Similis querno folio, scilicet, proceritate amplior, quam latitudine; Like to an oaken leaf, that is, longer than it is broad.* Which words he doubtless transcrib'd out of *Pliny*, *lib. 5. cap. 5.*

Now to come to *Paris*, two days ago I went into that part of it they call *The University*, which I think I need not tell you took its name from the several schools and colleges in it; among which I think the never sufficiently extoll'd *Sorbon* shines, ——— *velut inter ignis luna minores; Like the moon among the lesser stars*; and particularly for divinity, though that is also profess'd in the college of *Navarre*. There is no occasion to say much of it in this place, other books being full of it; and in the famous library of our signor *Valetta* there are three whole volumes in folio, intitled *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, The History of the University of Paris*; where you may at your leisure learn all particulars relating to it. Common fame will have it founded by *Charlemaign*, but that opinion is refuted in a little book call'd *Des Escoles Episcopales*.

I went first into the church of the *Benedictine* nuns, call'd *Val-de-Grace*, and founded by *Anne* of *Austria*, mother to the present king. Besides the regular architecture, it is remarkable for its ornaments, the floor being laid with most curious marble, and the arches adorn'd with excellent carv'd work; the cupola is curiously painted by *Mignard*, and the high altar compos'd of six columns of black marble, full of white veins, and adorn'd with flowers and foliage of brass gilt. On the left hand of this altar is a large chappel, hung in mourning, and in the midst of it a bier cover'd with black velvet, rais'd by some steps above the floor, where is preserv'd the heart of

GEMEL-  
LI.  
Carme-  
lite nuns.

the queen, who was the foundress, and of several princesses of the blood royal.

I went hence to the *Incarnation* of the barefoot *Carmelite* nuns, where I saw a church small and ancient, but excellently adorn'd: The ascent to the high altar is of several steps of the finest marble, which is of the same stone; and the capitals of its columns, which are of the *Corinthian* order, are of brass gilt: Before the nuns choir are two marble statues of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and above them, under an arch, *St. Michael* in the air, driving down *Lucifer*; an excellent piece of workmanship. All the chappels are well adorn'd, particularly with choice pieces of *Monf. Le Brun* and other masters. The picture most valu'd by curious persons, is that in *St. Mary Magdalen's* chappel, where she is represented on a rock weeping, with her hair dishevell'd, tearing off all her vain womanish dress. They told me it was the lively portraiture of madame *La Valiere*, the king's once most belov'd mistress, who now leads a very holy life in that monastery.

St. Gene-  
vieve.

The church of *St. Genevieve* stands on the top of the hill, and no man can question its antiquity; for in the midst of the choir is the tomb of *Clodoveus*, the first Christian king of *France*, and at a small distance that of *Clotildis* his wife. Near these tombs is *St. Genevieve's*, the protectress of *Paris*, behind the high altar, extraordinary rich. That of the famous *Rene des Cartes*, the light and ornament of this age, the restorer of the true philosophy, and sent by heaven to dispel the thick cloud of ignorance which had long lain on the minds of men, is worth observing, and on it the following inscription,

#### RENATUS DES CARTES,

*Vir supra titulos omnium retro philosophorum, Nobilis generis, Armoricius gente, Turonicus origine; in Gallia Flexiæ studuit: in Pannonia miles meruit, in Batavia philosophus delituit, in Suecia vocatus, occubuit. Tanti viri pretiosas reliquias, Galliarum percelebris tum Legatus PETRUS CHAMUT, CHRISTINAE, sapientissimæ Regine, sapientum amatrici invidere non potuit, nec vindicare patriæ; sed quibus licuit cumulatus honoribus, peregrinæ terræ mandavit invitus, Anno Dom. 1650. mens. Feb. 10. ætatis 54. Tandem post septem & decem annos, in gratiam Christianissimi Regis LUDOVICI XIV. viro- rum insignium cultoris & remuneratoris, procurante Petro Daliberto, sepulchri pio & amico viatore, Patriæ redditæ sunt, & in isto urbis & artium culmine positæ: ut qui vivus apud exteros otium & famam quæserat, mortuus apud suos cum laude quiesceret; suis & exteris exemplum & documentum futurus.*

#### I NUNC, VIATOR,

*Et divinitatis, immortalitatisque animæ maximum & clarum assertorem, aut jam crede felicem, aut precibus redde.*

That is, *Rene Descartes*, a man excelling all the ancient philosophers, of a noble family, born in *Britany*, of *Tourenne* by extraction, studied at *La Fleche* in *France*, serv'd as a soldier in *Hungary*, liv'd a retir'd philosopher in *Holland*, and being invited into *Sweden*, died there. *Peter Chamut*, the then *French* ambassador, could not refuse *Christina*, the most learned queen, and lover of learned men, the precious reliëts of so great a man, or restore them to his country, but unwillingly committed them to a foreign grave, with what honour he could, in the year of our Lord 1650, February the 10th, and the 54th year of his age. At length, seventeen years after, in favour of the most Christian king *Lewis XIV.* the admirer and rewarder of famous men, by the procurement of *Peter Dalibert*, who, with piety and affection broke open his sepulchre, they were restor'd to his native country, and plac'd in this highest part of this city, and highest seat of learning; that he, who living sought leisure and fame in foreign countries, might, after death, rest honourably in his own, and remain a pattern and example to his own countrymen and strangers. Go now, traveller, and either believe this great and clear assertor of the divinity and immortality of the soul, already happy, or make him so by your prayers.

From the church I went into the cloister, and thence to the library, reckon'd one of the best in *Paris*, both for the choice of books, and the curiosity of the cases: Next I went into the *Museum*, or closet of *P. du Molinet*, an antiquary of no small note, where there are excellent medals of all the three sorts of metal us'd by the ancients. Among the greatest rarities are to be reckon'd certain small knives, of those they formerly us'd to cut the throats of the sacrifices, or victims; and a *Patera*, or small plate, in which they mix'd salt, flower, oil and wine, to anoint the said victims, which, if I forget not, were therefore said to be *Mola salsa aspersa*, Sprinkled with salt dough. Here are also ancient keys, and some of those call'd *Annuli signatorii*, Seal rings, to distinguish them from the *Honorarii*, worn only as marks of honour, and others: As also iron bodkins, us'd instead of pens, and tablets cover'd with wax, which serv'd instead of paper, formerly call'd *Pugillares*; whence, among our civilians we read, *Ima tabula*, The bottom of the tablet; *Ima cera*, The bottom of the

the wax; to express the last part of the will or testament. There is a very great number of weeping vessels, and of those brass spoons us'd by the women call'd *Præfica*, who were hir'd to weep, for gathering of their tears, so easy and indifferent it is to that sex to bedew their eyes, and betray their pleasant heart. Several other rarities I neither lik'd nor admir'd, and therefore forbear mentioning of them.

Fountains.

Yesterday I walk'd about leisurely, observing, among other publick structures, some most beautiful fountains. There is one in the quarter of *St. Honore*, near the *Capuchin* nuns, remarkable, if on no other account; for a distich made by *M. Santeuil*; which is this:

*Tot loca sacra inter pura est quæ labitur unda,  
Hanc non impuro, quisquis es, ore bibas.* 1674.

That is, *The water gliding between so many sacred places, is pure: Whosoever thou art who hast an impure mouth, drink not of it.*

That they call *Des Saints Innocents*, Of the *Holy Innocents*, in the *Rue St. Denis*, or *St. Denis's street*, is highly commendable for its carving and structure; and beyond it another newly built, over which is to be read,

*Qui fontes aperit, qui flumina dividit urbi,  
Ille est, quem domitis Rhenus adorat aquis.*

In prose, *He who opens fountains, and distributes rivers into the city, is the same to whom the conquer'd waters of the Rhine pay homage.*

Another there is in the *Rue Poisson*, seems to me nothing comparable to that in the *Rue St. Louis*, or *St. Lewis's street*, on which there are two curious marble *Tritons*, with these verses carv'd by the same author:

*Felix sorte tua Naias amabilis  
Dignum, quo flueres, nacta situm loci,  
Cui tot splendida testæ  
Fluctu lambere contigit.  
Te Triton geminus personat æmula  
Concha, te celebrat nomine regiam;  
Hac tu sorte superba  
Labi non eris immemor.*

Thus english'd,

O happy nymph! happy thy lot,  
Who hast this beauteous province got,  
Where all thy waters, as they flow,  
New lustre to the buildings owe.  
Two rival *Tritons* found thy praise,  
And high thy wat'ry empire raise;

But, nymph, take heed, thou dost not grow  
So proud, that thou forget'st to flow.

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As for other publick structures, worth mentioning, I fear I shall want ink and paper, before I can compass them, and therefore must be content to pass them by, excepting some few. It is to be observ'd, that the place where the courts sit, call'd *Le Palais*, *The Palace*, is an ancient and spacious structure, which was the residence of the kings till *Philip the Fair*. I very much admire the great vaulted hall, formerly us'd for the reception of ambassadors, and the nuptials of the princes of the blood; and now the lawyers walk in it: Between the columns there are small shops, where women, according to the custom of the country, sell many sorts of small wares; and there are such in the court, on the stairs, in the galleries, and in other rooms. All the men of the law, here call'd *Gens de Robe*, or gown-men, wear a long and wide upper garment, but the sleeves shorter than they ought to be; with a cap much like those of our priests, but that it has a tassel in the middle: Their greatest vanity consists in having a servant to carry their train; and there was one of them, who walking abroad in the night with only one servant, who carry'd a lighted flambeaux, rather than carry his own train, brought it forwards betwixt his legs, and gave it his man, causing himself to be led like a beast, as he really was, if the story be true. Not only the advocates are cover'd here, when they plead, but all the standers-by, as I have seen in the court call'd *Quatricone*.

Yesterday I went for diversion to see the fair kept in the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*, so call'd from the ancient abbey of *St. Germain des Prez*. Certainly no place in *Paris* is equal to it for stately buildings; the air is serene and clear; there are delightful gardens, many dwellings of ingenious foreigners, who here learn all gentlemen-like exercises; and in short, streight and spacious streets, well pav'd with pebbles: The fair is kept in six cover'd walks, crossing one another, and full of rich shops of several sorts of goods: Each of them is let from *Candlemas-day* till the first day of *Lent*, for fifty pistoles, and sometimes more, when the fair happens to be continu'd till *Easter*. Then, paying three-pence, I went in to see a puppet-show, which had been acted before the king, by fifty little figures, exactly clad like gentlemen, very well worth seeing. At the place call'd *Les Petites Maisons*, I found a wonderful multitude of people, walking in the court, I know not to what purpose, when they

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LI. they ought rather to have stood still; for there live those who keep monsters and strange creatures, as is usual among us before the castle.

Hotel de  
Conde. Returning to my inn, I saw the palace, or *Hotel de Conde*, nothing answerable to the grandeur of such a man, as to the structure; but as for the rich furniture it is impossible to express the least part of it. The garden, though small, has all the embellishments that can be contriv'd by art, and four good statues; yet is not well look'd after, no more than the palace itself, the prince not residing there at present.

Hotel de  
Luxem-  
burg. That is much more to be regarded where mademoiselle *De Montpensier* lives, call'd *Of Luxemburg*, built by queen *Mary of Medicis*, widow to king *Henry IV.* being the noblest and most regular piece of architecture ever built in *Paris*; and they say the model of it was made by the same man that invented the most beautiful frontispiece of the church of *St. Germaine*. I was never so much displeas'd with myself for not knowing how to draw, which you with good reason say is requisite for travellers, as now I see some things, which in my opinion vie with the noblest structures there are in *Rome*: and, on the other hand, if I upon some occasions make use of another, it will not answer to do so always, for I am not the richest man in the world. To come to the point, the greatest part of the outside is of marble, wrought after the manner we call diamond cut. Within three sides of the beautiful courts are adorn'd with regular arches, forming vaults to walk under covert: Hence we go into a curious garden, along whose walks the green and small myrtle serves instead of rich carpets, which they call *Parterre*. Then follows a little flower-garden, shut up with iron banisters: and then another of orange and lemon trees, excellently trimm'd. I have not here leisure to speak of the apartments, either as to their symmetry or the rich furniture, and especially the noble paintings, representing several actions of queen *Mary*: One, above all the rest, is wonderful, being *David* with the head of *Goliath*, which hangs in a room on the right of the first antechamber.

Hotel  
Royal des  
Invalides. In this same suburb is the most celebrated hospital call'd *L'Hotel Royal des Invalides*, for entertaining of all soldiers disabled in war. We come first into a large square, inclos'd with a dry ditch, and guards at convenient places; then a great gate leads into a spacious court, with two rows of arches about it, like the cloister of a monastery, at the end whereof is a beautiful church. On the other sides are four vast refectories, or halls to eat in, wherein are

painted the principal battles and sieges that have been honourable to *France*, that the memory of them may awake in the maimed soldiers such satisfaction as is generally occasion'd by the glorious accomplishment of difficult undertakings, unless perhaps in that condition they curse the wars, and the day they list'd themselves. They all lie in the rooms; there are about four little courts on the sides; but the sick are taken care of in some other galleries, separate from the main building. Such as have the use of their arms, are always some way employ'd to earn the bread they eat; which is convenient enough, were it only to keep them from the ill consequences of idleness. There are now two thousand five hundred of them, all clad in blue, at the king's cost.

Whilst I was in this place, I heard two gentlemen, strangers, discoursing about *Monf. Blondel's Museum*, or closet of rarities; a man very well known among the learned, for his new method of fortification, his comparison of *Pindar* and *Horace*, and many other works; so that I, who am very fond of antiquities and good books, being told he liv'd in the *Rue de l'Universite*, directed my course thither. First, I saw abundance of pictures of the best masters that have liv'd since *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo*; as also a great number of pieces in miniature, with some *Mosaic* works of curious colour'd wood: then a small quantity of good books: and lastly the antiquities. I shall not here mention them all, which would be too tedious, but only the most to be admir'd; as for instance, four ancient agats, on which are admirably cut the heads of *Julius Cæsar*, *Mark Anthony*, *Lepidus*, and *Cleopatra*: Another oval precious stone of a greenish colour, on which is carv'd a column, with an urn at the top of it, a star on the side, and at the base, or foot, a soldier seems to touch the point of a dagger: About the stone are cut these words, *MART. VL. AUX. D. JUL. LACR.* that is, *Marti ultori, Auxiliatori D. Julio lacryme*: Whence it would perhaps be no wrong notion to say, the star was the same that appear'd after the death of *Cæsar*, of which *Virgil* says,

*Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum.*

Thus render'd by Mr. *Dryden*;

See *Cæsar's* lamp is lighted in the skies.

And *Horace*, *Ode 12.*

——— *Micat inter omnes  
Julium sidus, velut inter igneis  
Luna minores.*

Since Gemelli was there it contains above

4000. Blondel's rarities.

In English, *The Julian star shines among the rest, as the moon among the smaller lights.*

As also Ovid. *Metam.* 15. *Fab.* 51.

——— *properataque gloria rerum  
In sydus vertere novum, stellamque comantem.*

That is, *And his glorious actions hasten to shine in a new constellation and blazing star.*

The column is the same that was erected in the *Forum*, or market-place, after *Cæsar's* death, according to that of *Suetonius in Julio*, cap. 85. speaking of the people of Rome. *Postea solidam columnam prope 20 pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit, scripsitque PARENTI PATRIÆ. Apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam, interposito per Cæsarem jurejurando, distrabere perseveravit.* Importing, *Afterwards he erected a pillar of Numidian stone, almost twenty foot high, in the Forum or market-place, with the inscription, To the father of his country. It was practis'd for a long time after to offer sacrifice at it, to offer up vows, and to decide some controversies, swearing by Cæsar.* The soldier might denote the oath taken by the army, to revenge his murder; and therefore, now I call it to mind, it was certainly call'd by the name of *Columna execrata*. There are besides these about one hundred and fifty other antient carv'd stones, representing a succession of emperors, from *Julius Cæsar* to *Labienus Posthumus*, with thirty-six empresses, a thing, in my opinion, of inestimable value, since antiquaries find such great difficulty in making such a collection of medals, which are yet less rare than stones; however I much question the antiquity of some of them.

Manners  
of the  
French.

I will conclude this letter, giving you a taste of the manners I have hitherto observed among the *French*. They are the most accomplished and loving people in the world, both to one another and to strangers, generous and magnificent where their honour is concern'd, industrious in the way of trade, and incredibly addicted to mechanick arts; and as for their knowledge in sciences, you may better judge than I by their works, how clear and nice their observations are, and how plain and easy their method of committing them to writing.

The gentry look upon trade as mean, in-  
somuch that the very merchants, when  
grown rich, buy some place for their sons,  
that they may in time be ennobled; which  
is the easier, because all but those in the  
army are venal, as among us they are made  
dukes and marquisses not without the in-  
dignation of the antient nobility. I do not  
think their inclination to war is so natural  
as reported, since we see all mankind love  
their ease, and endure fatigue to purchase  
rest, and do not toil for toil's sake; and on  
the other hand, that very often the desire  
of honour is an incentive to noble souls,  
and not their ultimate end; for pray who  
would leave his quiet dwelling, did not  
kings hope after war to enjoy a more last-  
ing peace, and the subjects to make their  
old age happy with their honourable re-  
wards? Thus it is here become of fashion  
to go voluntarily into the army, because  
this is the only way to preferment under a  
warlike king; and were not this a sufficient  
reason, it seems to me to be very antient  
in the world for all subjects to partake of  
the genius of the prince he is born under;  
and this more particularly in *France*, than  
which no nation in the world bears its king  
more loyal love and respect. Yet these  
virtues are counterpoised by some vices, as  
being exceeding fond of novelty; rather  
rash than daring, and more hasty than  
were convenient upon some indifferent oc-  
casions; more than men at the beginning  
of battles, and worse than women at the  
end; inconstant in friendship, as well as  
easily pacify'd; too great lovers of wine,  
I mean the meaner sort, and of female plea-  
sures; and that which makes them less  
valu'd by us *Italians*, they laugh out aloud  
upon any little occasion, this weakness be-  
ing among them reckon'd *une gayeté d'es-  
prit*, a gay temper. Their too much con-  
fiding in strangers, which however is the  
effect of sincerity, has often been the occa-  
sion of dismal tragedies among them in  
*Lombardy* and the two *Sicilies*. Add to this  
in the *Parisians* an excessive application to  
profit, tho' without fraud; and their redu-  
cing themselves sometimes into a very low  
condition through the extraordinary pro-  
fuseness of their wives. The peasants about  
the city are somewhat imperious, relying  
on the nearness of the parliament. I could  
write you many observations touching this  
point, but the letter is ended, and I have  
scarce room enough to subscribe myself, &c.

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GEMEL-  
LI.

## LETTER XVI.

*The description of Versailles, the Menagerie, and Triannon.**Versailles, April 11. 1686.*

IT would be a great happiness were one always as well able to express the ideas of sensible things in writing as one conceives them in the fancy by means of the senses. If this were so, I should not perhaps be so much puzzled as I am to begin to speak of *Versailles*, where I have been since yesterday, and might hope in this letter to give you a description, if not well colour'd with noble expressions, at least well drawn and shadow'd, so that you might thence conceive the beauty of the original. But let us now leave these useless introductions. At other times I have only describ'd some particular things, that putting them together you might conceive some idea of the whole; but it would be now in vain; for in the first place you will never thus comprehend the one half; and besides, I know it is an intolerable trouble to dispose so many and such sundry conceptions, and to represent to yourself a great extent of land full of wonderful things, all of them regularly and uniformly distributed: I shall therefore then for this time follow the method of universals, tho' retrograde, adding some few particulars, and thus we shall both of us have the less trouble. Observe then in the first place, that king *Lewis XIII.* made choice of this spot to divert himself with hunting, and after him so great a king as *Lewis XIV.* has pitch'd upon it for his residence, so that it must needs be as pleasant and of as clear and serene an air as any other in the world, convenient for hunting, and so seated as to afford several fine prospects. You may judge how much art has been used to embellish and make it a dwelling worthy of so great a king, by reflecting, that *France* never had one more magnanimous, more powerful, and a greater lover and discerner of excellency; for thro' his means not only the most lofty sciences and the liberal arts are raised to a most advantageous degree of perfection; but the very *Muses* of the fabulous *Helicon* seem to have remov'd to settle on the banks of the *Seyne*; and *France* now vies in all particulars with the most famous of the ancients, whether *Romans* or *Greeks*. Hence it follows, that the architecture of all the buildings must be incomparable, the ornaments of painting and carving most excellent, and the whole contrivance stupendous. As for moveables, both the matter and the workmanship are wonderful, because the

king very well knows the value of what he sees, and needs not another to inform him, as *Verres* did in *Sicily*; for this reason he has the best and rarest, whether ancient or modern, brought him from all parts of the world, it being well known that the reward will answer the trouble. Besides, the noble inventions of architects and carvers, and all other artists, are not left to posterity in embryo, but put to the trial without sparing labour or cost; therefore tho' the old castle was extraordinary rich in painting, yet the outward part of it was taken down, the king not thinking it answerable to his grandeur, when in the year 1676 he resolv'd to erect the building as it now is. In 1678 he added to it two wings, each terminating in two pavilions or square structures, on the road that comes from *Paris*, to lodge the prime ministers of the crown, so that the interval between them forms the first court to the royal palace; and the prime noblemen of the kingdom, excited by his example, have built abundance of curious and magnificent houses all about it. The *French* architects give the name of a pavilion to a square pile of building which is not on a line with the rest of the fabrick, and is somewhat more lofty, as that may be among us by the gate of the castle of *Capuana*. On the sides of the aforesaid road are also two stately stables, containing no less than five hundred horses of several sorts, with lodgings over them for the officers; the interval between them is closed with iron banisters, where horsemen exercise as they think fit.

You see I am come to particulars, and yet it is an undertaking for another sort of pen than mine to write the least part. Yesterday, as soon as I arriv'd here, I look'd out for *Signor Turol*, a *Roman*, his majesty's wardrobe-keeper, that by his assistance I might have the better sight of the lodgings, and was by him recommended to one of the king's pages of the bedchamber, who very courteously shew'd me all. Going up the stairs in the second court I met the duke *de Maine*, brother to the dauphin [note he is a bastard brother] by a fountain, where there is a statue representing the king. He is twelve years of age, well shap'd, but that he limps with his left leg. Being pass'd the stately hall, which terminates that part of the stair-case I went up, in the royal gallery I had a sight of *Madamoiselle*

*de Bourbon*, the duke's sister, the most beautiful creature I have beheld these many days, and then the brave *Mareschal de la Feuillade*, the dauphin's great favourite. As for the lodgings, it would be a great presumption in me to pretend to describe their curious and rich furniture, much less the noble contrivance, and imbellishments in marble, fret-work and gilding; for if all the beauty in the world be not here, where shall we find it? The great room, where the balls are kept, I mention it as being a thing singular, which perhaps you cannot fancy, has galleries round for the musick, and the floor is of wainscot, as is that of the audience-chamber. We could go no farther than the gallery, the king being within, and therefore having by the way seen the tribunes of the chappel, which is small, we return'd the same way to go to the dauphin's apartment, which is on the right side of the palace; we there found him at dinner with the dauphiness, abundance of people being present, who came out of curiosity. He is very fat, his complexion curious white and red, his eyes blue, his hair fair, himself chearful, courteous, well-behav'd, as becomes a young prince, and much addicted to hunting. The dauphiness, besides her other perfections, has a wonderful white skin and fair hair, and, which is a great rarity, black eyes. They say she loves her pleasure, but who does not? and that she is too talkative, as if all women were not so. She was set off with very stately and precious jewels.

None must go in with a cloke where these princes dine. The cup-bearer takes the essay of the wine, as was used among the *Romans*, by the person call'd *Prægestator Cæsaris*, or *Cæsar's* taster; and whilst they sit at table the master of the household stands by with a silver staff in his hand; the great dishes are of that metal, but the plates of gold.

The gardens.

Then I went to see the gardens, attended by one of the king's footmen. All the fabulous stories of the antients, at the sight of these become credible, and we scarce believe our own eyes amidst so many wonderful things as fill so great a tract of land; at least a thousand men are here daily at work, some cleansing the stately walls, some rolling the grass-plats, some trimming the high green hedges, some watering the fragrant flowers and other tender plants; some looking to the aqueducts, some to the water-works, some to the beautiful fine vessels, barges and galleys on the great canal; and some, in fine, feeding perhaps an hundred flocks of birds and strange creatures there are in the *Menagerie*. Going first into a banqueting-house of twenty-four most curious marble pillars, I found there two

fountains nothing magnificent, and two others little better, on the angles of a spot fronting that structure. This square is on three sides incompass'd by the palace, and within it I reckon'd sixty-four marble statues, of the best I ever saw, being made by the ablest sculptors of the royal academy, vying with the antients themselves. On the twelve columns of the middle front are the twelve months, with their planets and hieroglyphicks; and the like number on the other two, with as many statues, representing several fables of the antients. There are also three most noble fountains, with wonderful fine marble and painted lead figures, many pots to contain plants, and other such ornaments. The wall about is ingeniously cover'd with cypress, and a plant the *French* call *Ziffe*. The middle walk leads first to that they call *Apollo's* fountain, because there is an *Apollo* driving his chariot, drawn by four horses; and thence to the aforesaid canal, which is also adorn'd with statues about, tho' the compass be a large mile.

Before the right wing of the palace is a small flower-garden full of marble and brass statues, and most curious flower-pots. In all the three fountains there are *Tritons* and *Syrens* nobly carv'd. The middlemost leads to a sort of *Cascade*, or fall of water; beyond that the dragon's fountain, well adorn'd with statues; and lastly, a small pond.

On the left-hand is a banqueting-house with marble banisters and statues, with two spacious stair-cases leading to certain vaults, provided to preserve the orange, lemon, and such like trees in winter; also a statue of the king's on horseback, made by our Cavalier *Bernini*; a level place to play at mall, and another small pool, with two little boats in it. I have no more to say of the rest, for they are now levelling the ground, and filling up the cavities, and erecting an amphitheatre of sixty-four colour'd marble columns, which will be square, or of the *Attick* order without, and round within, so that in a short time this will be as fine, or rather finer, than the right side already mentioned.

The footman next open'd an iron gate, which shuts up the grove, and led me to the fountains of the labyrinth, or *Æsop's* fables, being forty-eight, with all the creatures mention'd in them, and thence to another, call'd the battle of the birds, consisting of a parcel of leaden birds, spouting water at one another from the tops of certain trees planted by two fountains. At a small distance from thence he shew'd me the banqueting-house, being a place built in the nature of a theatre, with marble steps about it, cover'd with the aforesaid *Ziffe*, and

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at convenient distances, most curious works in small green myrtle, little fountains and flower-pots handsomely wrought. The island of love is that mighty fountain seated between two small pools, both of them set about with fine statues and delightful spouts of water. In the sea of the oak stands an oak made of tin, with brass leaves well painted, which spout water every way, as do the little pipes conceal'd among the grass on the ground. *Apollo's* bath is also most surprising to behold, for within an inclosure of gilt iron banisters is another of marble, and in the midst of that the fountain, with exquisite statues, representing six nymphs, and *Acis*, *Galatea's* lover; by it are two little rooms to take the fresh air, all lin'd with curious marble, and very odd devices and mottos on it. There is another thing very remarkable, being a theatre made of myrtle according to all the rules of art, where the front of the stage is beautify'd with shells of fishes, and the water purls pleasantly from the tops of certain low fir and cypress trees.

But certainly I know not what I am about to pretend to speak of all the fountains in such a vast garden, and therefore it will be better to give you the names of the most remarkable, and then proceed. They are,

- La Grotte.*
- La Bassin de la Couronne.*
- Le Bassin de la Sirene.*
- La Fontaine de la Pyramide.*
- La Nappe.*
- La Cascade de l' Allee d'Eau.*
- L'Arc de Triomphe.*
- La Fontain du Dragon.*
- La Fontain du Pavillon.*
- L'Allee du Berceau d'Eau.*
- Le Bassin de Flore.*
- La Salle des Festins.*
- Le Bassin d'Apollon.*
- Le Isle, ou la grand Piece.*
- Le Bassin de Saturne.*
- Le Bosquet.*
- Le Bassin de Bacchus.*
- La Fontaine de la Renommec.*
- Le Bassin de Latone.*
- Le Laberynth, &c*
- Le Parterre d'Eau.*

In my return I observ'd the famous gallery of the statues, among which there are near forty truly antiques, and the finest that ever were seen.

The Me-  
nagerie.

This morning betimes, joining with other strangers, I went to see another pleasure house of the king's, call'd *la Menagerie*, about two miles from *Versailles*; going all the way with extraordinary satisfaction under the shade of green trees, regularly dispos'd, on which sat very tamely, a wonderful number of pheasants, par-

tridges, plovers, and other birds fit for the tables of the greatest princes. The structure is really beautiful, and adorn'd with all that is proper for royal apartments; but strangers go thither only to see the great variety of creatures severally shut up. Here are white stags and fallow deer, black foxes from *Russia*, panthers, porcupines, wild goats, by the *French* call'd *Chamois*; and among the strangest birds, not to speak of the several sorts of geese, swans, ducks, hens, pigeons and cranes, wonderfully beautiful, there are five gryphons, that is, vultures, resembling the eagle; one call'd a *Casuelle*, of a chesnut colour, with some black, and its feathers are like hair, and a long bone upon the head; seven birds as big as sheep; five whereof have black wings, tipp'd with white, as are their tails; the other two of an ash-colour; but they are all of the same shape, having very long necks, and they feed on grass. Other birds are as big as a crane, with a long beak, and a pouch under the throat, for which reason, in some parts of *Italy* they are call'd *Cofani*, some of them white, others ash-colour'd. I saw two creatures of this same colour tamely grazing by the pond, whose legs and neck were extraordinary long, and on their heads they had curious tufts of feathers.

Proceeding thence along the canal, which being of running water never has any ill scent, and having seen a fine ship on it, we came, in less than an hour, to the other pleasure-house, call'd the *Triannon*, which is all painted without, as if it were made of fine *China* ware. It is divided as it were into three little palaces, the middlemost whereof is the biggest, and the king's dwelling. Close by it are two large bird-cages; that on the right leads to a flower-garden, in which are four spacious fountains; next is a lower garden, near which are the dwellings of the gardeners; and lastly another little palace. On the left, an easy stair-case, leads up to two other flower-gardens, parted only by a beauteous and delightful hall, whence two other spacious stair-cases lead down to the lake, adorn'd in like manner with water-works and brass vessels; and all this space is shut up with gilt iron banisters. The stair-case that fronts the king's apartment, goes down into another fine flower-garden, in the midst whereof, not to speak of the artificial setting of the plants, is a fountain, nothing contemptible. On the right of the greatest walk, are two rows of steps, colour'd like *China* ware, in the nature of theatres, with very fine gilt vessels, pouring out water, and at the end four other little houses, painted without, after the same manner, with all their ornaments.

In

In fine, coming out of the grove, I saw four fountains, nothing inferior to those already mention'd, and in one of them a small boat, handsome enough.

Having seen all this, I return'd by ten in the morning to the royal palace, which, next the gardens, is certainly a most magnificent and regular structure; and without losing any time, went into madame's guard chamber to see the preparations for her washing the feet of the poor, and entertaining them. I know not whether the same be done every *Maunday Thursday*; but, after long waiting, I saw twelve poor boys clad in red, and the dauphin being clad in the same manner, wash'd all their feet; and then after dining, where they had thirteen dishes each, he gave them six pistoles apiece. The other ceremonies, perform'd this day in the royal chapel, did not appear to me extraordinary. His majesty was in his tribune; the duke *De Maine* and some ladies in another; and under them the gentlemen of the court. What would you have me say of the musick? The voices were none of the best in the world, and the composition, not only different from the *Italian*, but so void of art and of invention, as also of those flights and connexions proper to the words of this day, that our learned and judicious *Tommaso Carapella* would have laugh'd heartily at it. The body of our Saviour was laid in a most curious gilt sepulchre, in the chapel by the pulpit, the *Swiss* guards, with muskets on their shoulders, keeping the door, the halbardiers standing without. As I went to dinner, one thousand men mounted the guard, being part *Swiss* clad in red, and part *French* in blue; these lodging their arms on the right, the others on the left of the court.

About three in the afternoon, going to walk in the garden, I saw the king come in, attended by a few of his courtiers, and mareschal *Duras*, captain of his *Gardes de Corps*, who, in token of his post, is always allowed to wear a cap edged with furs. Whilst his majesty walk'd along, sometimes looking at the work of the *Orangerie*, sometimes at the fountains before the palace, and complimenting the dauphiness, who was in one of the galleries, I had all the leisure I could wish, to observe his person. He is tall and strongly made; his eyes brisk and sparkling; his nose like a hawk; and tho' his face be mark'd with the small pox, it is nevertheless amiable, and majestically terrible. It may be said,

that every prince's face appears such to those who are prepossess'd with a strong idea of his power; but should they see it, without knowing him, it would appear like the countenances of other men; even as on the contrary some persons, who being in a low condition, appear meek and humble; when afterwards rais'd to high posts, tho' they do not at all grow haughty, yet they incline such as look on them to respect; and so the souls of the departed appearing in a dream, seem more stately and great to some weak minds that are afraid of the dead. But I answer, that tho' this be true for the most part, yet there are some greater minds which are never abash'd or lose any thing of their steadiness in the presence of the mightiest men; and on the other hand, we see some men, who tho' cast down by adverse fortune, and reduc'd to a low condition, still retain such an aspect as is not to be describ'd, and almost obliges most people to respect and value them; and thence it is said, that they have a superior genius. I have no leisure to discourse concerning the attending *Genii*, and the like opinions of the *Stoicks* and *Platonicks*; but tell you in short, that such majesty derives its original from a certain harmony of the parts, consisting, to speak pythagorically, of less active numbers; for the quick incline to mirth, and the rapid to anger; or else from a certain composition of those parts, like that which uses to appear in the countenance of a person in authority, when he punishes or rewards; or of the master of a family, who advises, and lovingly rebukes; which raises in us a sort of respect that borders upon fear. Now, as I was saying, this character is so imprint-ed on the countenance of *Lewis XIV.* that tho' a mortal, he would by the antients have been reputed a god. He is of a martial inclination, as *Europe* has found to its sorrow; addicted, as much as is convenient, to hunting, without neglecting the great affairs of the government; a lover of justice, generously rewarding the good, and severely punishing the wicked; and at the same time a sharp discoverer of the secrets of other princes, and concealer of his own. I say nothing of his amours, for he is flesh and blood as well as others; and could a king's faults be as well conceal'd as those of private persons, I am satisfy'd he would be reckon'd as modest in that respect as any other man in his kingdom. I have nothing more at present to acquaint you with, and not being fond of modern compliments, remain, &c.

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## LETTER XVII.

Concludes the description of Versailles, and proceeds to that of St. Germain, the Louvre, and the Tuilleries.

Paris, April 15. 1686.

HE that is curious hath need of much patience; for my part, I have as much as serves me to see and observe things, but I know not whether yours will hold to read my frequent and rambling letters. I writ to you four days since, from *Versailles*, and being then in a sort of rapture with admiration, omitted something that deserv'd taking notice of; which is, that there are not only lodgings in the castle for all the court, and officers of the crown, but even for all the great men that resort thither. Besides, most of the battlements, pinacles, and other ornaments, which terminate the structure, are gilt, as are the iron banisters about the courts. Now I will add what I saw on *Friday*, being the machine which carries the water from the river *Seyne*, three leagues distant to the castle. It were requisite to send you a draught of it, because such things cannot well be explain'd in words; but I know not how to have it at present, and therefore desire you will be satisfy'd with being inform'd, that the very rapid stream of the river drives fourteen great wooden wheels, which move those engines that draw up the water, in the nature of a pump. Thence by means of another machine agitating the water, it rises a considerable space again, to the top of the hill, to the first pond, where are two little houses, and here many men, by the help of certain wheels, move twelve iron engines, which set the aforefaid machine at work; which is wonderful to behold, six of those engines moving forwards, and six backwards, in the nature of saws. A little higher stands another house, to which the water is drawn in the same manner from the other two. Thence it runs out through thirteen lesser pipes into seven greater, which empty themselves into a leaden basin, supported by mighty beams, on the top of a lofty strong house, about a musket-shot from the former, and call'd *Lego's* tower. From this it falls down with a mighty noise through nine pipes, conveying it into three large channels, which end in another vast pool; whence again it passes into a curious stone aqueduct to another such pond two miles distant; and thus proceeds to disburden itself into five lakes, on the level'd hill, opposite to *Versailles*. From the hill, the water runs into nine subterraneous passages,

The machine.

and being come to the *Maison de Eaux*, or water-house, on which also is a large leaden cistern supported by beams, it falls into two ponds, on the right of the castle, whence it is afterwards divided into that immense variety of fountains. One *Paul Benkin*, a *Liegeois*, is said to have been the inventor of all this work, and that it has cost the king forty millions of livres.

At a small distance from this hill is the dog-kennel, where several sorts of dogs are fed for game; as also the palace of the prince *De la Roche sur Yon*; the prince of *Conti's*, and a stable for the king's horses, with abundance of lodgings over it; between which and the stables, I told you of in my last, is the spot of ground on which the dauphin last year had the great revelling; and it is said, the same will be perform'd by a company of ladies; but here the gentry daily use several sorts of exercise.

After dinner I went to the king's chapel, to hear the divine office, which was sung in musick, much better than I expected, considering the judgment I made in the morning of the master of the musick. The dauphin and dauphiness were in a tribune, hung with crimson damask. That evening his majesty walk'd in the garden, and then I observ'd that the officers, to distinguish themselves from the soldiers, wear gilt corselets.

On *Holy Saturday*, about ten in the morning, I first saw the *Swiss* and *German* guards drawn up in the inner court, handsomely clad in red and blue, with black velvet caps and gorgets, and white feathers, after their fashion; then in the second court six companies of *French*, and two of *Swiss*, with other troops orderly extending to the parish church; and lastly, the king came from his apartment in a black coat flower'd with gold, and went in a chair of crimson velvet, embroider'd with gold, to his chapel, but the captain of the guard went in a black mourning chair. Having heard mass devoutly, he receiv'd the blessed sacrament, and then after hearing another, pray'd a quarter of an hour. In the mean while came some poor *Clares*, and other maids to beg an alms, and he gave them four pistoles. This done, he came into the aforefaid second court, where about sixteen hundred persons troubled with the

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king's evil made a lane, to be healed by him, according to ancient custom. He then touch'd them one after another, signing them with the mark of our salvation, and saying, *The king touches, God heal thee*; After which the bishop of *St. Omer*, who follow'd, gave every one half a crown if he were a stranger, and a fifteen-penny piece if a *Frenchman*. To some, who perhaps only came for the sake of the money the king smiling said, *Are you sick too?* I cannot tell whether they were certainly heal'd, or how that virtue comes to be intail'd on the crown of *France*; but remember I have read, that this is practis'd ever since the days of *St. Lewis*. If this be true, there will be no occasion to look on it as a fabulous story, which they tell us, of those who are of the race of *St. Paul*, having a virtue against the bites of venomous creatures. *Dav. de l' Europe, tom. 2. pag. 216.*

This act of charity being perform'd, the king retir'd to his apartment, and I hasted away to dinner; after which I went with some gentlemen strangers to *St. Germain en Laye*. This is a castle seated on a beautiful and pleasant hill, on the right hand of the *Seyne*, formerly the residence of kings for many years, as now *Versailles* is. In this place *Anne* of *England*, wife to king *Charles VIII.* of *France*, in the year 1496, gave *St. Francis* of *Paula*, then come out of *Italy*, a most curious farm, to found there a monastery of his order, which is still inestimably adorn'd, especially with painting, and yet it every where inspires piety and devotion.

From *St. Germain* I went to see the palace call'd *Madrid*, built in the forest of *Bologne*, by king *Francis I.* after the model of that where he was kept prisoner in *Spain*. The other house call'd *St. Denis du Camp*, is also beautiful, but not furnish'd as it should be, and only the garden is well kept, and worth seeing. It takes name from a very antient abbey, where, in the year 1260, *Elizabeth*, sister to *St. Lewis*, plac'd some *Franciscan* nuns.

Yesterday morning early I mounted at *St. Germain*, and having heard mass at the village of *Ruele*, return'd to *Versailles* before noon, where having din'd, I came these four leagues by coach, in a short time. At my entrance into *Paris* I saw twelve servants, six of them carrying the like number of great wax torches, and the other as many loaves, a present from the king to the parishioners of *St. Germain*; monsieur the duke of *Orleans* sending as much to the parish of *St. Eustachius*.

In the evening I walk'd to take a better view of the royal palace, call'd *Le Chateau du Louvre*, and that of the *Tuilleries*. The

first was founded by *Philip Augustus*, about the year of our Lord 1214, who in the midst of it built a strong tower, where he afterwards imprison'd *Ferdinand*, earl of *Flanders*, who had rebell'd, and was by him overthrown at the famous battle of *Bouvines*, together with the emperor *Otho*, and the king of *England*. The proper use of that tower was formerly to keep the king's treasure, and to receive the subjects homage, being an emblem of authority; and for this reason, all great men, who held lordships which had sovereignty over others, built a very large tower in their castles, and on that another smaller, which was call'd the *Donjon*. That I now speak of was pull'd down by king *Francis I.* because it darkened and hindred the prospect of the best apartments, and yet had been suffer'd to stand by many of his predecessors; particularly *Charles V.* who, in 1364, much improv'd the castle; when enlarging the city walls, he inclos'd it within them. *Francis* aforesaid, before his death, which happen'd in 1547, began to build the hall for the hundred *Swiss*, and the pavilion facing the south, opposite to the gate. His son *Henry II.* finish'd them both, adding the two apartments joining to the aforesaid pavilion; the ornaments are of the *Corinthian* order in that part which fronts the same court, where is often seen his device, being a crescent, with the motto, *Donec totum impleat orbem, till she be full*; and lastly, in the same hall, a gallery supported by four *Cariatides*, the cuts whereof are to be seen in Mr. *Perrault's* translation of *Vitruvius*. Architects give the name of *Cariatides* to certain figures of women, serving instead of columns; and this, because the *Greeks* having destroy'd the province of *Caria*, which had sided with the *Persians*, and carry'd away the women captives, after putting all the men to the sword; the architects in those days, to eternize the memory of that action, plac'd the effigies of those women in the publick structures, with the bands they were led captive in, to support weights, in the nature of columns. *Henry IV.* built the stately gallery, we see next the river from east to west, running to one of the pavilions of the palace of the *Tuilleries*. *Lewis XIII.* finish'd the west front, and rais'd that great pavilion over the ancient gate, whose second floor is supported by eight *Cariatides*. The arch of this gate is supported by two rows of large columns of the *Ionick* order, each of one intire piece, and standing two and two together. The present king has built most stately apartments on three sides of the spacious square court, with three ranks of columns of the *Corinthian* and *Composite* orders; and has beautify'd the east

St. Ger-  
main.

Madrid.

The Lou-  
vre palace,  
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east front, where the great gate is, with forty columns of the *Corinthian* order, detach'd from the solid wall, and making a noble appearance. This portico is very wonderful, on account of its being cover'd with only two stones, each of them fifty foot long, and the walk over the apartment over it is remarkable for affording a view of all *Paris*. Within this place is held once a week, the assembly of the members of the royal *French* academy, so call'd from their application to polish and improve their language, according to the king's directions. Among other commendable customs observ'd here, one is, that every two years, on *St. Lewis's* day, two gold medals are given, one to him that gains the preference in eloquence, and the other to the person excelling in poetry; which as *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 14. observes, is a great encouragement to virtue, which of itself effects renown. *Oratorum & vatum victorias incitamentum ingeniis allaturas; The victories of orators and poets, which will prove incentives to wits;* and the *Greeks* are highly to be commended for wisdom, who first instituted this custom. They us'd to give the poets an ox, who made the best verses at the *Delphic* games, or else a tripod, with an inscription in their commendation; though the *Spartans*, as more rigid and sparing, gave them no other reward than a single cake made of flower and honey; or, according to *Hesickius*, of fat and honey, which he calls *Syrmea*. They also added a garland; for *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero* sang his tragedy of *Niobe* for ten hours, without intermission, and that *Coronam cam, & reliquam certaminis partem, in annum sequentem distulit. He put off the giving of that garland, and the rest of the trial till the next year.* And there is no question but that *Nero* perform'd all this according to the custom of the *Greeks*, as *Suetonius* himself affirms. *Instituit & quinquennale certamen, primus omnium Romæ, more Græco, triplex; musicum, gymnicum, equestre; that is, He was the first that at Rome, after the manner of Greece, instituted three sorts of sports, or trials of skill, to be perform'd every five years, which were musick, wrestling and riding.* And again, *Deinde in orchestram, senatumque descendit, & orationis quidem, carminisque Latini coronam, de qua honestissimus quisque contenderat, ipsorum consensu concessam sibi, recepit. Then he went down to the theatre and senate, and receiv'd the garland conferr'd on him by them, as excelling in latin, poetry, and oratory, for which the best of men had contended.* *Tacitus* also seems to declare it was given him out of mere flattery. *Eloquentie primos partes nemo tulit, sed victorem esse Cæsarem pronun-*

*ciatum. No man bore away the reward of eloquence, but Cæsar was declar'd victor.* To this purpose I think we may observe a sort of contradiction in this author, for in his fourteenth book, he says, *That the Quinquennial, or sport celebrated every five years, were instituted by Nero, when he was consul the fourth time, with Cornelius Cossus; and that he bore away the prize; and then in the following book, speaking of the consulship of C. Leccanius Bassus, and M. Licinius Crassus, being at least four years later; that Nero not daring to presume to sing on the publick theatre at Rome, Neapolim quasi Græcam urbem delegit; inde initium fore, ut transgressus in Achaïam, insignesque, & antiquitus sacras coronas adeptus, majore fama studia civium eliceret. He pitch'd upon Naples as a Greek city, there to begin; whence passing into Achaïa, and having gain'd the renown'd and formerly sacred garlands, he might, by acquiring greater fame, attract the inclinations of the Romans.* Now, if he had four years before gain'd the prize on the theatre, how can it be likely he should be asham'd afterwards to appear in publick at *Rome*?

The same difficulty may perhaps be found in *Suetonius*, who says, *Et prodiit primum Neapoli, He appear'd first in publick at Naples; whereas some chapters before he had mention'd the institution of the said sports; but this author writing loosely, without much regarding the order of time, I willingly spare him.*

By what has been said, it appears to have been a most ancient custom among both the *Greeks* and *Latins*, to bestow honourable rewards on the best poets and orators, upon publick trial made of their abilities; and that among other things they had garlands given them; which were of several sorts; that is, of oak, of olive, of palm, of laurel, of ivy, of myrtle, and of smallage. In the sports instituted by *Domitian*, we read they us'd those of oak, and of laurel, both peculiar to heroic poets, and that the ivy was appropriated to the lyric; the myrtle to the amorous writers of elegies, that plant being dedicated to *Venus*: It is needless to speak of the rest.

This digression, God knows to what purpose! made on occasion of the *French* royal academy, has not made me forget I am to speak of the palace of the *Tuilleries*, but being almost at the bottom of my paper, I shall be oblig'd, notwithstanding my babbling genius, to cut off short. It was founded by *Catherine of Medicis*, and *Henry IV.* and brought to the condition it is now in by the present *Lewis XIV.* The main body of the structure terminates in two great pavillions, and there is another in the middle

The Tuilleries.

dle like a cupola. I saw nothing extraordinary within but the theatre, not very large but adorn'd with gilding; and the dauphin's apartment, remarkable for the rich and curious furniture and exquisite paintings. In that part next the river are the stables underneath, and the gallery over them; both void of what is proper to them. A bridge is here building over for conveniency of communication with the quarter of *St. Germain*. All the space between this palace and the *Louvre*, which stands on the same line, is design'd in process of time for a garden to the said *Louvre*; to which purpose they must pull down the hostels of *Longueville* and *Crequi*, and the two little churches of *St. Nicholas* and *St. Thomas*. As for the garden of the *Tuilleries*, it is as it were the *Pofilipo* of *Paris*, where all the gentry walk morning and evening. There are most curious plots of beautiful and odoriferous flowers; three large fountains; streight and spacious walks set on both sides with fir, linden, and such like trees, curiously rang'd; hedges of small myrtle,

This stately stone bridge is long since finish'd.

Pofilipo is the place where the people walk at Naples, like our park.

so green, that it almost looks black; a theatre neatly made of dwarf trees, with stone seats before it, cover'd with myrtle, most delightful to behold. Near the gate call'd *de la Conference*, I took notice of four figures masterly cut in marble, representing time, envy, truth, and a satyr, which may signify impudence, all four affording a curious theme for a moral discourse. At a small distance is a great fountain, from which two spacious walks lead up to the city wall; and thence is a prospect of the race, which is also a broad way, without the walls, with streight rows of trees thick set, to shade it.

I conclude, rather by compulsion than choice, so great is my itch of writing. I am satisfy'd that you, who are a friend after the sincere manner of former ages, will not be offended; for the rest, who like nothing, I value them not, and therefore am the less disturb'd at the knowledge of my failing. It only remains to desire you will often comfort me with your most agreeable letters, &c.

## L E T T E R XVIII.

Continues the description of Paris.

Paris, April 20. 1686.

THE day before yesterday I had the good fortune to get acquainted with a *Danish* gentleman, who was return'd out of *Italy*, and heard from you when I least expected it, for he brought with him a list of learned *Neapolitans*, and had, with good reason, plac'd your name among those of the first rank. Then falling into discourse we came to talk of the great negligence of our countrymen in relation to our antiquities. He much blam'd us for that none had attempted to write our history, and when I endeavour'd to excuse it, with the want of materials for the ancient times, charg'd us with suffering many ancient pieces of marble to be put to common uses, and to lie about in corners, whereas there are many notable inscriptions on them unregarded, and worn out with ill usage. I would gladly have answer'd him, but that truth was too prevalent on his side, and therefore was forc'd, the best I could, to change the discourse, rather than contend where I was sure to be worsted.

To return to *Paris*, and what I have seen there this last week which is remarkable: The royal garden of plants, in the quarter call'd *L'Isle nostre Dame*, or *Our Lady's Island*, is extraordinary valuable. Here some months in the year botany is taught *gratis*, and in certain rooms on the

Phyick garden.

left of the court several chymical operations are also publickly perform'd, for the instruction of physicians, that they may be taught by experience what it is they so carelessly force into the bodies of their wretched patients. In the midst of the garden is a little mount, with a small path winding about it that leads to the top, whence is a considerable prospect along the river, and over most of the *Fauxbourg*, or suburb of *St. Anthony*. In this suburb is remarkable the castle of *Vincenne*, the avenue to which is between a most beautiful row of trees, beginning at the triumphal arch. The building is square, with lofty towers about it, and a deep ditch, and the court having resided there, not long since cardinal *Mazarine* added two wings to it, with good apartments. The middle tower, call'd the *Donjon*, is strong and beautiful, but being a prison, access to it is not easily allow'd. The chappel is said to have been founded by *Charles V.* and these *French* gentlemen put a great value upon the figures on the glass windows. The garden, and grove by it, is much frequented in summer by ladies in their coaches, for the sake of the shade and coolness, and to see the many wild beasts shut up in the park.

Returning into the city, there occurs the famous place of *La Greve*, where most of the

The Greve and town-house.

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the publick shews are perform'd, and on one side of it is the *Maison de Ville*, or town-house, built by king *Francis I.* on the foundation of the ancient hospital of the Holy Ghost, and here the citizens meet for electing of the *Prevoist des Marchands* and the *Eschevins*, or the lord-mayor and sheriffs. The brass statue on horseback over the gate represents king *Henry the great*, and the horse was taken from that of *Marcus Aurelius* in the capitol at *Rome*. Every body that hears so much mention made in the modern history of the *Bastile*, will certainly conclude it is some considerable fortress, whereas it is only an antient citadel, built by *Charles VI.* in the year 1360, with eight fine towers about it, where prisoners of state are kept.

The *Hotel de Vendosme*, in the quarter of *St. Honore*, scarce deserves to be taken notice of. The *Hugonot* church is a regular structure, but not magnificent, as I expected, seeing it seated in the famous place of *Buliar*; but he who happens to be in this quarter of the city, ought to go into that close by of *La Rue St. Roch*, and see the duke of *Orleans's* palace, and near that the palace of *Brion*, where the royal academies of painting and sculpture are kept, in the court whereof stands that incomparable brass horse his majesty caus'd to be brought from *Nancy*, and certainly that alone is more worth than all the spoils brought from *Lorraine*.

King's library.

Proceeding hence to the *Rue Vivien*, we come to the king's library, in the house call'd *Le Cabinet du Roy*. Here are above fifty thousand volumes of the choicest and rarest books that can be wish'd, with a wonderful number of excellent manuscripts in several languages, which is the reason we so often read among the *French* criticks, *Ita in vet. Cod. Bibliot. Regiæ, and Codex regius habet*; that is, *So we find in an old manuscript in the king's library; and, So the king's manuscript has it*; so that *M. Baluze* will have enough to swell the number of his miscellanies. All the books formerly belonging to monsieur *Colberi's* library, are now in the king's, and therefore whosoever finds them quoted among the learned, and would produce other testimonies, must seek them here and not elsewhere. There is also an incredible quantity of antient medals, and the best that could be found out by antiquaries. *Vaillant* made several voyages into *Greece* to inquire after them, and was so successful therein as to find enough to compleat his history of the kings of the race of the *Selucidæ* very accurately, and to put *Du Fresne* in a way to publish the *Byzantine* families with so much ornament. There are many other rooms full of unbound books, because all persons whatso-

ever who publish any book throughout the dominions of *France* are oblig'd to send a copy thither.

In this same palace the royal academy <sup>The obser-</sup> of sciences meets, with very good reason; <sup>vatory.</sup> besides which there is another magnificent structure, call'd *L'Observatoire Royal*, in the bookfellers street, or *Rue de St. Jacques*, where the mathematicians of the academy reside, and have their private conferences; and the structure takes its name from the observations they take on the top of it. Of the two octangular towers on the extremities of it, that on the east is not cover'd, for the conveniency of making observations from the bottom of it, without going up to the top. I was mightily pleas'd when there, to see so many globes, spheres, astrolabes, telescopes, and innumerable other mathematical instruments, not to speak of a steel plate, the finest and largest I ever saw. Not far off is a wooden tower, with a stair-case of two hundred steps leading up to the top of it, which they say was built, I know not for what use, when the water was first convey'd to *Versailles*, and cost no less than ten thousand crowns, whence it was afterwards remov'd to this place, for the use of the royal astronomers, with three thousand crowns more expence.

There is another place worth seeing, <sup>Les Gobe-</sup> call'd *Les Gobelins*, where abundance of hand- <sup>lins.</sup>icrafts of several sorts are employ'd by the king, some about tapistry, which is there wove very rich in gold; others making a sort of casket all of most beautiful and inestimable jewels; some painting, others carving in marble and wood, every one apart, with singular order and conveniency.

Last *Tuesday* I went to *St. Denis*, a town <sup>St. Denis.</sup> two leagues from *Paris*, seated in the most fertile and delightful plain in all *France*. The great square or market-place, where they keep the fair, is call'd *Londis*, from which the two great streets proceed. The famous abbey standing at the east-end of the town, near the palace, to which the king with all the court uses to repair on some solemn days, was formerly only a chappel erected over *St. Denis's* tomb; but king *Dagobert* about the year of our Lord 641. founded there the stately church we now see, and would be bury'd in it himself, whence came the custom of interring in it almost all the bodies of the kings his successors, and of their queens; so that in the choir there are seventeen tombs; and in a chappel on the north side all those of the extinct house of *Valois*, except *Francis I.* and *Lewis XII.* who are without the aforesaid choir; and in another place are deposited the bones of *Henry IV.* and *Lewis XIII.* their costly monuments not being as yet finish'd.

finish'd. Among the bodies of private noblemen bury'd in this church; as a special favour, the most remarkable are those of *Bertrand de Gueselin*, constable of *France*, who dy'd in the year 1380, and of *Henry de la Tour*, mareschal viscount of *Turenne*; kill'd in 1675. The aforesaid *Dagobert* endowed the church with many wealthy and rich manors, the revenues whereof plentifully maintain the *Benedictine* monks who are possess'd of it. In the treasury are eight cupboards adorned with many noble and valuable jewels, and containing many royal crowns both of gold and silver, which have been presented; and what is much more, some relicks of the apostles, and one of the nails which fasten'd our Saviour to the cross. Returning to *Paris*, by the way I went into the devout little church of *Nostre Dame des Vertues*, or *Our Lady of Vertues*.

Populouf-  
ness. From this time forward, pray, Sir, do not pretend to contradict any man that maintains *Naples* is not so populous as *Paris*. The multitude of people is so very great, that, adding the violent running of the infinite number of coaches, it seems almost impossible to advance four steps without jostling several persons; as I have heard say it was there before the dreadful plague in 1647. It is true the women here walk about as much as the men, but then the compass of the wall, without magnifying, is double that of *Naples*. To avoid this trouble I usually take a chair, as is us'd here, or else a coach, which costs me twenty or twenty-five pence an hour. By reason of

this great extent of the city, it is become a GEMEL-  
LI. fashion to send about printed bills to invite people to the funerals of noted persons.

I can give you no manner of intelligence as to learning, being intirely disappointed in that particular; for being wholly imploy'd going about to see so many things, I have had no opportunity to get acquainted with men of letters, as I intended. This day I have lighted on a posthumous piece of *J. Meursius*, call'd *Themis Attica, sive de legibus Atticis*, publish'd at *Utrecht* last year, by the learned *Grevius*. The argument was worthy the author's extraordinary erudition, but if I may be allow'd to judge of it; I am of opinion that either he did not wholly apply all his talent to it, or else when he dy'd there was only a sketch drawn of what he design'd; and in short, here is no mention of very many things relating to the *Athenians*, and what there are, three times repeated, that is, in the author's words, after the manner of a summary; then in those of the *Greek* authors he quotes, and lastly in the translation of them; which is certainly the faithfullest that can be made of them. As imperfect as this his work is, I reckon it much more valuable than all the chimerical ravings of *Salmasius* and *Petit*; so that it would be a commendable task for some person of solid judgment to take the best and usefullest part of all three, and form one compleat body of the *Athenian* law; with the assistance of *Demosthenes*, *Æschines*, *Aristides*, and other *Greek* orators that are to be had. It remains, &c.

## L E T T E R. XIX.

Concludes the description of Paris.

Paris, May 1. 1686.

W<sup>O</sup>uld to God all my friends would do by me as you do; and I should reckon myself the most fortunate man in the world; besides that, I should now know more than I do; but this is rather to be wish'd than hop'd; so remote are men now from the ways of justice and honesty. How genteelly do you shew me my faults! how modestly do you reprove me! how wisely do you demonstrate the truth! I have this week receiv'd a most welcome letter of yours of the 28th of *March*, wherein, among other favours, you sweetly, learnedly, and mildly inform me that I made a great mistake, when I said *Livy* dy'd in the fourth year of *Augustus Caesar*, and in all likelihood rather at *Rome* than at *Padua*; for *Eusebius in Chron.* positively says it was at

*Padua*; and in the fourth year of *Tiberius*. If I may be believ'd; I protest my design was then to write *Tiberius Caesar*, but the name slipp'd me, as is frequent with those whose pen runs before their thoughts; and the reason of not correcting; was my ill custom of never reading the letters I write. I thought once to have stay'd a month longer in this city, but have been oblig'd on a sudden to alter my resolution, for several sufficient reasons. To-morrow, God willing, I shall set out with some *French* gentlemen for *Calais*, in order to go over into *England*. If I have been negligent in seeing all the rarities of *Paris*; and now repent my loss of time, it is no more than I deserve. However, that you may have no just cause to complain of me, I will

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not omit acquainting you with some other particulars. In the first place, the theatre for *opera's* is small, as containing only thirty-three boxes; but on the other hand the scenes and machines are commonly wonderful, as is the dancing and musick. The master of the chapel, *John Baptista Lulli*, a *Plorentine*, who composes the musick, has the charge of them; and the theatre being always full, and every place half a crown, the advantage he makes is incredible; insomuch that I reckon him worth half a million. There are two other theatres in *Paris* besides this, the one for *French*, and the other for *Italian* plays. I have been sometimes at the last gratis, thanks to *Joseph Barioletti* of *Messina*, an actor, with whom I pick'd acquaintance. He was some years since in *England*, and had a medal of one hundred and fifty crowns value given him by king *Charles II.* The prime actor in this theatre is *Dominick Bolognese*, who imitates *Harlequin*, and is in such esteem at court for his wit, that he has no less than six thousand crowns a year pension. Take notice that his comical sayings are preserv'd in order to be printed, under the title of *Arlequiniana*, after the manner of the *Scaligeriana*, *Menagiana*, and the like.

It remains that I give you some account of the government. But am I about to compose some book of *France*, when so many authors treat of that subject? It will therefore suffice to say, that at *Paris* the archbishop governs in spirituals, with much zeal, and a strict discipline, and the king with absolute authority in temporals; and, to say the truth, when a monarchy is otherwise manag'd, no good comes of it; and it soon degenerates into an *Aristocracy*; besides that the wretched subjects, instead of one sovereign, have as many as there are great men in the kingdom, or as those are who have the curbing of the prince. The *Prevosts des Marchands* and four *Eschevins*, that is, lord mayor and sheriffs, are chosen every two years, and take care of the publick buildings, the markets, and all that regards the splendor and beauty of the city; like those we among us call the deputies of fortification and building: They also keep the keys, set the price, and look to the weight and measure of all things necessary for the support of life; they license handicrafts, and have the command of the captains of the *Guet*, that is, the officers that go the rounds at night; which perhaps is in imitation of the *Præfectus Vigilum*, or *Captain of the watch*, instituted by *Augustus* at *Rome*, who commanded seven squadrons of soldiers, and

was judge in several cases. Before the time of *Augustus* were the *Triumviri incendiis arcendis*, that is, the three joint officers for preventing of fires, who had equal power to punish thieves, robbers and incendiaries. *Livy*, lib. 39. makes mention of *Quinqueviri*, thus, *Utque ab incendiis caveretur, adjutores Triumviris quinqueviri, uti cis Tyberim, suis quisque regionis ædificiis præessent.* That is, *And there were Quinqueviri, five joint officers added as helpers to the Triumviri, for preventing of fires, that each of them might take care of the buildings in his ward, on this side the Tyber.* But that I may not fly from one thing to another, these *Eschevins*, or sheriffs of *Paris*, as soon as out of their office, are ennobled, and have the title of *Chevaliers*, that is, are knighted. Their original is very obscure; and tho' there be mention of the *Scabinii* in the constitutions of *Charlemaign*; yet these were only a distinct sort of judges in criminal affairs; and if we stand by what *Marquardus Freberus* writes, in his little book *de occultis Westphaliæ Judiciis*, their authority in some places in *Germany* was extravagant and dreadful. In some small towns they are not call'd *Eschevins*, but *Maires*, and in others *Consuls*, perhaps in imitation of ancient *Roman* colonies, the *Duumvirs* whereof are in some ancient inscriptions call'd consuls, as is learnedly discours'd by *Reinesius* in his epistles, and the most ingenious *D. Carlo*, your nephew in his *Anticbitudi Grumentine*, which it is a great sin that they are not publish'd.

Differences between traders are decided by the *Juge des Marchands*, with four consuls, who are always to be citizens of *Paris*. The administration of justice is in the *Prevost of Paris*, who is a man of the short robe, as among us the *Reggente della Vicaria*, and his three deputies, or lieutenants under him, that is, the civil, the criminal, and the particular, with some counsellors, an advocate and fiscal. To the place of lieutenant of the civil affairs is annexed that of conservator of the king's privileges. From this court appeals lie to the parliament, consisting of the *Grand Chambre*, and five others; and tho' there be other parliaments of equal authority throughout the kingdom; however, in regard to the presence of the king, causes are also removed hither by appeal from the provinces. The great council, consisting of a president and twenty-four counsellors, handles the most important affairs of the crown. The king's family has its own proper judge, that is, the lieutenant, or deputy to the great provost of the household, and all these ministers above-mentioned meet in a place, not far from the palace,

palace, opposite to the parish of *St. Germain*. The rest I must pass by against my will, lest I become too tedious, and because I know you have learnt enough out of books, and perhaps know more than I; therefore it will be needless for me to trouble myself in informing you of the *Chambres des Comptes, la Cour des Aydes*, and many other courts.

The Monarchy.

As for the monarchy, I need not say much of that neither, its antiquity being well known; and how the *Franks* coming out of *Germany*, by degrees expell'd the *Romans*, and settled their kingdom there, in the reign of the emperor *Galerius*; but that it may be questioned, whether *Pharamond* was the first king, in the year 420, or his father *Marcomirus* some time before, or else *Mellobaudus*, mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 31. *Eique Mellobaudem junxit pari potestate collegam, domesticorum comitem, regemque Francorum, virum bellicosum. Et fortem*; that is, *And to him he join'd as a colleague, with equal power to Mellobaudus, the earl of the household, being master of the household, and king of France, a brave and warlike man*; though the *Franks* had not then fix'd their abode in *Gaul*. It is also doubted, whether *Pharamond* was the true author of the *Salique* law, which injoin'd, that women should not inherit the *Salique* land; and the *English*, who had long bloody wars with *France* on account of that law, affirm there was no such thing in nature, but that it ought to be looked upon as a cunning invention of *Philip de Valois*. Be it as it will, this is certain, that only three races have reign'd since the first erecting of the monarchy to this time. The first, of the successors of *Pharamond*, or *Meroveus*, call'd *Merovingians*, which ended in king *Childerick IV.* confin'd to a monastery for his cowardice, in the year of our lord 751. The second began in *Pepin*, son to *Charles Martel*, and was call'd *Carolingian*, from *Charlemaign*, his successor. It ended in *Lewis V.* in the year 987; for *Hugh Capet*, earl of *Paris*, descended from *Wittehind*, duke of *Saxony*, stripp'd of his dominions by *Charlemaign*, having got as much power as the masters of the palace had under the first race, after the death of *Lewis*, made himself king of *France*, having in a short time subdu'd the duke of *Lorraine*, who pretended to be of the *Carolingian* race, and to succeed in the throne. The *Valoises* were of the race of *Hugh Capet*, which expir'd in *Francis* the first, and so are those of *Bourbon* now reigning gloriously.

It would be reasonable for me in this place to write a panegyrick on *Lewis XIV.* but though I were capable of the perfor-

mance; perhaps it would not be well taken by all men; and particularly by those who are prejudiced by antipathy to the lording nations; it will therefore suffice to make a short compendium of his life, which will be no small commendation. He is son to *Lewis XIII.* and *Anne* of *Austria*, sister to our most glorious king *Philip IV.* born in *September* 1638, and was christen'd *Lewis Augustus Adeodatus*. He succeeded in the throne at the age of four years and eight months, his father dying on the 12th of *May* 1643; from which time till his inauguration at *Reims*, on the seventh of *July* 1654, the government was manag'd by his mother, a princess of extraordinary worth. In 1659 the famous *Pyrenean* treaty was concluded between him and *Spain*, and the next year he took to wife the most serene princess *Mary Teresa* of *Austria*, by whom he had the dauphin, born on the first of *November* 1661. In 1664 he sent the emperor a powerful succour into *Hungary*, which was of such consequence, that it gain'd the memorable victory at *Raab* over the *Turks*. Scarce three years after he went into *Flanders* in person, and having taken *Tournay* and other places of note, bent his designs against the *Franche Conté* in *Burgundy*; and about the end of *February* 1668 made himself master of it, in spite of the *Spanish* power and the severity of the winter; though he afterwards restored it upon a treaty of peace concluded at *Aix la Chapelle*. I pass by the embassy sent him by the *Grand Seignior* in 1668, and will only speak of his magnanimous enterprize upon *Holland* in the year 1672, when at the head of a most compleat army, he, in less than three months, reduc'd at least fifty of the enemies towns. It is true, a body of *Dutch* laid straight siege to *Woerden*, and the prince of *Orange* to *Charleroy*; but to what purpose? For the former immediately fled from the valour of the marshal *De Luxembourg*; and the other lost all hopes, the place being reliev'd by the count *De Montalt*. In 1673 the king took *Maastricht*, and the next year subdu'd *Franche Conté* again, whilst his generals gain'd other victories in *Germany* and the low countries; where on the tenth of *August* happened the famous battle of *Senef*. The year seventy-five was no less favourable to *France*, on account of the taking of *Limbourg*, by the duke *D'Anguien*; but none will be ever more glorious than seventy-six, when the king in person took the city of *Conde*, the duke of *Orleans*, *Bouchain*, marshal *Schomberg* reliev'd *Maastricht*, which had been six months besieg'd by the prince of *Orange*; the marshal *D'Humieres* took

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the city of *Arras* in *Artois*, and the fort of *Link* in *Flanders*; and, to conclude, the marshal duke *De Vivonne* enter'd the port of *Palermo*, after burning the *Spanish* and *Dutch* fleets. About the latter end of the ensuing *April* the king had taken *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*; and the duke of *Orleans St. Omer*, and gain'd the battle of *Montcassel* over the prince of *Orange*. The latter would have in some measure retriev'd his loss by besieging of *Charleroy*, and perhaps he might have compass'd his design, as the allies recovered *Philipsburg* and *Treves*, had not *Luxembourg* come a second time to disturb him. *Friburg* also fell into the king's hands about the end of the year; as did *Gant* the next, being 1678; nor could there have been any other stop to his success but the concluding of a peace between him, the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*; and afterwards between the emperor and him; he restoring some places, and keeping others for a strong bulwark to his dominions. To conclude, in 1680 and 1681, he possess'd himself of the earldom of *Ching* in the province of *Luxemburg*, the city of *Aremberg* and that of *Strasburg*, by us call'd *Argentina*, as historians fully inform us.

The king of *France's* arms are three flower-de-luces, or, in a field azure, being reduc'd to that number by *Charles VI.* for before there was no fix'd number. Some assign it to *Clodoveus*, the first Christian king; others affirm there was no knowledge of them before *Lewis VII.* and that all the flower-de-luces we see on ancients tombs, were added since that time: But on the other hand, some maintain they are of

mighty antiquity; because the tomb of *Childerick I.* being found in this age at *Tournay*, if I mistake not, among other ornaments there were gold flower-de-luces in it, which are now preserv'd with all the rest of the tomb, in the king's library; though most understanding persons have judg'd them to be bees, and not flower-de-luces. The shield, contrary to others, has an imperial clos'd crown on the top, which terminates in two gold flower-de-luces; and about it are the collars of the two military orders of the *Holy Ghost* and *St. Michael*.

The first of these was instituted by *Henry III.* in the year 1579, and has hitherto lost nothing of its honour, as has happened to others, but is in the greatest esteem imaginable, the king himself being great master, and the number of them is never to exceed an hundred; but the officers belonging to it also wear the badge and collar. The knights are to prove their gentility for four descents, and wear the cross of the order hanging by a blue ribbon, the said cross being of gold, and something like that of *Malta*; but in the middle of it, on the one side, is enamell'd a white dove, and *St. Michael* on the other. The habit or robe is of crimson velvet, with a yellow lining, all thick strew'd with flames of gold.

I am come to the end of my service, & sum totus in colligendis vasis, am busy packing up my awls; for I shall set out tomorrow at farthest, and have already paid the half of twenty-five livres, which is the price for a place in the coach to *Calais*. I am yours, &c.

## LETTER XX.

The author's journey from Paris to London.

London, May 15. 1686.

I SET out from *Paris*, as I told you in my last, on the second of this instant, about noon, and had the fortune to share in at least five collations, provided for an *English* lady, of three that were in our company, by a gentleman her countryman and gallant, who took the pains to attend her six leagues, to the little village of *Lusarce*, where we lay that night. Moving the next morning at sun-rising, we pass'd through the little town of *Creil*, and then through *Chantilly*, where is the much celebrated castle and garden belonging to the prince of *Conti*. There is such plenty of game in those parts, that I counted twenty

hares in a very small compass of ground, tamely feeding near a corn-field; and a flight of pigeons pass'd by so close to our coach, that I shot one with a pistol, which the *French* gentlemen very much admir'd, as not knowing that the *Italians* can shoot flying. We travell'd on seven leagues, and having din'd at *Clermont*, went on to the village of *St. Just*, where we lodg'd that night. Having travell'd seven leagues on *Saturday*, we din'd at *Berteuil*; and then riding four leagues farther, reach'd *Amiens* before night.

*Amiens*, the metropolis of *Picardy*, is *Amiens* a large city, populous, plentiful, has a city. very



very great trade, and very handsome buildings. Both the city and its suburbs enjoy an ancient privilege, never to be burden'd with taxes; which was confirm'd, after it was reduc'd by the king, in the last troubles of *France*. In 1597 it was taken by the archduke *Albertus*, and not long after recover'd by king *Henry IV.* though not without great expence of blood and treasure, whence came the proverb, *Amiens fut prise en Renard, reprise en Lyon*; that is, *Amiens was taken by fraud, and retaken by force.* Here was afterwards built a strong citadel, on the highest ground, with other not contemptible fortifications about the place. The cathedral is one of the finest in the kingdom, both in respect of the structure, and the painting that adorns it.

On *Sunday*, after travelling seven leagues we refresh'd ourselves, and rested a while at the small town of *Dourlens*; and then proceeded five leagues farther, along a very curious road to *St. Paul*. In the same manner the next day we rode seven leagues to dine at *Arras*, a city made famous by the king's victorious arms, who possess'd himself of it some years since. It stands in the province of *Artois* in the *Low Countries*, on a river, whose waters run among its outworks, and perhaps into the ditch of the adjacent fort. By *St. Peter's* church I took notice of a stately tower, built with a sort of stone that is easy to work, like that of *Lecce* in the kingdom of *Naples*. We went thence to lie at *St. Omer*, a fine and strong town, three leagues distant, whose bishop is suffragan to him of *Cambray*. It is indifferently populous, but the buildings are too low.

*Tuesday* morning we advanc'd three leagues, and din'd at a farm-house call'd *Zoaffi*, about a league from the town of *Ardres*, which though small, seem'd to me inferior to none of its bigness for good fortifications, and plenty of water surrounding it. In fine, we mov'd four leagues further, and arriv'd at *Calais*; where casting up my expences, I found I had spent twenty-eight livres and four sols, since my departure from *Paris*.

Calais.

*Calais* is a city in shape triangular, and in fifty-one degrees of latitude; extraordinary strong in its walls, and on account of two citadels at a small distance; besides the tower on the shore call'd *Bel-Banc*; and is therefore reckon'd one of the keys of the kingdom. It remain'd in the possession of the *English*, at the conclusion of the treaty which put an end to the bloody wars between king *John* of *France* and king *Edward* of *England*, in the year 1360. But in the reign of king *Charles VII.* they lost that, and all the territories about it; so

that to this day it bears the name of *The Country regain'd*. It is true, the archduke *Albertus* possess'd himself of it afterwards; but was soon expell'd by the superior genius of king *Henry IV.* Besides the garrison, there are somewhat above three thousand inhabitants; few of the buildings being considerable, besides the great church. Here is a wonderful clock, for whilst it strikes the hours, two figures on horseback fight, which is very odd, and pleasant to behold. The country women wear long mantles, woolly like rugs, which make them look uglier to strangers than they really are. Here are two harbours for ships, both of them shut up like our *Darsena*, where, upon every ebb, the vessels are left upon the dry sand; which, like a child, I spent much time in beholding, during my short stay in the place; for I took much delight in observing the water by degrees fall off above a musket-shot from the port. I could here willingly play the philosopher upon this mighty secret in nature; but should find too much to do to refute the ignorant opinions of those that have hitherto writ of it; and particularly those, who assigning the moon for the occasion, pretend she causes I know not what waters to ferment under the water; as if a fix'd and regular motion could proceed from such a fermentation; not to mention the no less senseless conceit, of the compression made by the moon on the air, and by that on the water. Nor is much account to be made, in my judgment, of the great *Des Cartes's* opinion; for then we must, in the first place, positively grant his *Vortices* or whirlpools; then the motion of the earth; and lastly, some other most uncertain hypotheses, which he presupposes as certain, for making out this matter. Were I to trace the occasion of it, I should find no other but the figure and fluidity of the waters themselves; the repercussion of the solids that incompass them, and a motion assign'd them from the beginning of the world, by the infinite providence of the Creator; for I question not but that several reasons might be assign'd for the other irregular motions.

On *Sunday* I embark'd aboard the packet-boat, a small vessel that carries over letters and passengers to *Dover*, paying five shillings for my passage; and having lain at anchor all night for want of wind, did not reach *Dover* till the next day, the passage being but seven leagues.

This town has a convenient and safe little harbour, between two high hills; on that to the right, which is inclos'd by steep craggy rocks, stands a very ancient and spacious castle, better fortified by nature than by art. Some authors pretend it was found-

Dover.

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ed by *Julius Cæsar*; howsoever that was, it is now reckon'd one of the keys of *Great Britain*, and there are between forty and fifty pieces of heavy brass cannon in it. This fort was in such esteem formerly, that *Philip Augustus*, king of *France*, who had a positive conceit he should subdue *England*, talking of his son *Lewis*, let slip these words, *May my son have no place to set his foot on in England, if he has not first made himself master of Dover.*

On the other hill appear the remains of an ancient light-house. King *Henry VIII.* design'd to have made a harbour under it, causing mighty piles fast link'd together, to be drove down into the sand, with a prodigious expence; then laying over them stones of an immense bigness, sand and trees, with all things else proper for that end; but the boisterous sea soon overthrew it; and it was afterwards reckon'd a great happiness that queen *Elizabeth* could repair it; towards which expence she for seven years exacted a duty from every merchant ship that put in there.

Here I hir'd a horse for five shillings to carry me sixteen miles to *Canterbury*; and having rode about ten miles over a well cultivated and pleasant country, came upon a hill, on which stands a beacon, to give notice of the approach of any enemy; and looking down thence on the plains below, observ'd several marshes, made by the overflowing of the sea.

Canter-  
bury.

About noon I reach'd *Canterbury*, an indifferent city as to magnitude, standing in fifty-one degrees twenty-five minutes latitude, call'd formerly by the *Romans Cantuaria*, or *Cantium*, and *Durovernum* in *Antoninus's Itinerary*. In the time of the *Saxon* heptarchy it was the metropolis of a kingdom, and the king's seat, till *Ethelbert* bestow'd it on *St. Augustin* the archbishop, who, the protestants say, was the first that brought the church of *England* under the subjection of the pope, about the year 598. For this reason the archbishop of *Canterbury* hath the title given him of primate and metropolitan of all *England*, and always resid'd there as legate of the holy see of *Rome*; but at the national false council held in 1534, it was decreed, that the title of archbishop and primate should be retain'd, without any mention of that of legate apostolick, as prejudicial to the pretended liberty of their church.

After the *Norman* conquest, *William* the conqueror confirm'd the donation made by *Ethelbert* to the bishops, by whom the city walls were afterwards repair'd and enlarg'd, and it was adorn'd with notable structures, inferior to none in the island. A sufficient testimony hereof is the cathedral, call'd

*Christ-Church*, formerly burnt down, and afterwards rebuilt by *Lanfranc* and *William Corboyl*, and their successors; though king *Henry VIII.* besides expelling the priests, sacrilegiously robb'd it of all the rich furniture, and particularly the treasure conferr'd by the devotion of the faithful on the tomb of the holy martyr and archbishop *Thomas of Becket*, otherwise call'd of *Canterbury*. There was once on the east side another famous church, dedicated to *St. Augustin*, and founded by king *Ethelbert* and the aforesaid archbishop *Augustin*, and plentifully endow'd; but it is now much gone to ruin, and fallen to the crown. Over the portico is still the following inscription.

*Hic requiescit Dominus Augustinus Doro-*  
*vernensis Archiepiscopus primus, qui olim hæc*  
*a B. Gregorio, Romanæ urbis Pontifice, di-*  
*rectus, & a Deo operatione miraculorum sus-*  
*fultus, & Ethelbertum Regem, & gentem*  
*illius ab idolorum cultu ad fidem Christi per-*  
*duxit: & completis in pace diebus officii, de-*  
*functus est septimo Kalendas Junii, eodem Re-*  
*ge Regnante.*

That is, *Here rests the lord Augustin, first archbishop of Canterbury, who being formerly sent hither by St. Gregory, pope of Rome, and assisted by God with working of miracles, converted both king Ethelbert and his nation from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ, and having ended the days of his function in peace, died on the seventh day before the kalends of June, (which is the twenty-fourth of May) in the reign of the same king.*

This city at present is, as has been said, indifferent large, well built, and has rich inhabitants; and the archbishop has eighteen suffragan bishops;

To return to my journey; I hir'd another horse at *Canterbury* for four shillings and sixpence, on which I rode sixteen miles, amidst curious fields, to the town of *Sittenburn*; and then changing horse, nine miles farther to *Rocheſter*, a small city, but noted for its famous bridge over the *Medway*, which is there salt as the sea, and look'd to me like it, by reason of the many ships, and particularly forty men of war.

Rocheſter.

At *Rocheſter* I took a fresh horse to *Graveſend*, a small town on the river of *Thames*; which has two forts. That on the top of the hill, commanding the road to *London*, seem'd to me ill provided; but the other on the opposite bank, call'd *Tilbury*, besides the good cannon, has a garrison of four hundred men. Here I took boat, and hoisting sail, we made for *London*, in sight of an infinite number of ships: We pass'd by *Woolwich* on the left, and *Black-*  
wall

wall on the right, whence all the banks on both sides are embellish'd with abundance of curious houses, as far as *London*; and not far from thence is a fine house of the king's at *Greenwich*, not of brick, as most structures in *England* are, but of solid and well hew'd stone. In fine, yesterday towards night we got to *London*, where paying four shillings for the boat, I found I had travell'd seventy-two miles in one day, from *Dover*, with the expence of thirty-four shillings, amounting to two *Spanish* pistoles. The inn I took up my lodging at, was so disagreeable to me, that I have this morning contriv'd to remove, with the assistance of signor *Francesco Brunetti*, an *Italian*, to whom I have been recommended; and I am now at my ease, because of the neighbourhood of the said *Brunetti*; besides that we are in *York-Buildings*, which is not far from the king's palace.

London.

I can say no more to you at present concerning this city, but that, as you know, it is seated on the *Thames*, in a sandy plain, about sixty miles from the sea, and in fifty-one degrees thirty minutes latitude. The figure of it is very irregular, for being about eight miles in length, the greatest breadth is not above two miles. Most of the houses are of brick, and built after the same manner, and there being much timber in them, are very subject to fire; and therefore in 1666, fifteen thousand were burnt, being the fifth part of the city, including the suburbs. To prevent the like misfortunes, they have now invented a portable engine, which throws the water

so high as to quench fire when it has hold on the tops of the houses. Few cities in *Great Britain* being wall'd, *London* has none but such as are imaginary; for bating some part on the north side, all the rest are intirely gone to ruin. However, there are seven principal gates, which are *Ludgate*, *Newgate*, *Aldersgate*, *Cripplegate*, *Moregate*, *Bishopsgate* and *Aldgate*. The number of inhabitants is said to amount to a million, and by computation there are between fifteen and sixteen thousand infants christen'd every year; yet others affirm here are not above three hundred thousand souls; but they must needs mistake. In other respects, the streets are always dirty, and pav'd with sharp stones, which are troublesome to strangers; for which, however, there is a remedy at hand, being abundance of coaches and chairs, which may be hir'd by the hour. The name of *London*, whence the *Romans* made *Londinium*, comes from the word *Longdin*, which in the *British* language, still spoken in *Wales*, signifies a city of ships; and with very good reason, considering the multitude of ships riding in safety on the *Thames*. I will not speak a word of its first founder, because I should be sure to run into fables; so that all we can affirm is, that it is very ancient, and the more for that we know not its original.

Give me leave now to conclude, that I may at another time give you a better account of *London*, and all I shall happen to see worth observing; till when I kiss your hands, &c.

## LETTER XXI.

Account of England in general, its religion, government, &c.

London, May 23. 1686.

SINCE I have undertaken in these letters, to play the historian, and even the critick; and you, instead of reproving, or correcting me, seem rather to be pleas'd than otherwise; you must make use of your patience, and read what I am about to say of *England*; for though they be things well known to you, perhaps you don't remember them all alike, and consequently may find some satisfaction among the tediousness. I must then briefly inform you, that this country was by the *Romans* call'd *Britannia*, from the word *Prydain*, deriv'd from *Pryd*, signifying in the ancient tongue, beauty; or else from *Brith*, that is, painted; because the ancient *Britons* colour'd and painted all their bodies with strange figures, as deriving their original from the *Scythians*, who super-

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stitiously observ'd that custom; for as to the opinion of one *Brute*, the son of *Ascanius*, and grandson of *Æneas*, subduing these parts, and giving his name to them, I conclude it to be an absolute fable. Why it was also call'd *Albion* is not so easy to be discover'd as some shallow brains imagine; for as to the whiteness of the cliffs, who told them that white was in the ancient *British* language call'd *album*, as it is in the *Latin*? However that was, it came afterwards to be call'd *England*, in the reign of king *Egbert*, who having, about the year 819, subdu'd the seven *Saxon* kingdoms, would have all that tract of land call'd *Angleland*, that is the country of the *Angles*, a people of the little province call'd *Angel*, bordering on *Alsace*, in the country of *Saxony*,

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who were reckon'd the principal conquerors. The reason of this was, because the inhabitants of the southern part of the island being implacable enemies to those we now call *Scots*, and not being able to subdue them by force, they in the year 428 call'd in the *Saxons* to their assistance, or rather destruction; a misfortune frequently befalling those, who to vent some private malice, make use of the more powerful, which sort of succour help'd very much to enlarge the *Roman* dominions. These *Saxons* not only repell'd the *Scots*, but erected seven kingdoms, afterwards call'd the *Saxon Heptarchy*, to the eternal shame and infamy of the *Britons*. Each of these little kingdoms is said to have been divided into several districts, and each of them into so many *Hides*, every one of these containing as much land as a yoke of oxen can plow in a year.

At present, under the denomination of *Great Britain* are comprehended two large islands, that of *England*, with *Scotland* annex'd to it, and that of *Ireland*, besides about forty smaller, lying in the northern ocean, toward *Norway*, *Denmark*, the *Low Countries*, and *France*. As to metals, it produces copper, tin, lead and iron, all of them excellent in their kind; as also some silver and gold; and abundance of pit-coal. For necessaries to life, it wants wine, which is supplied by excellent beer, of several sorts, and by importation from other countries. Most parts abound in all sorts of corn, especially wheat; but above all, its pasture is most valuable, which makes the sheep bear a very long and white wool. They say there are no wolves throughout all *England*, and that if they are brought from other parts, they soon die; as if provident nature had only allow'd man to live where he pleases; but perhaps they had never been without those creatures, were it not for the great industry always used by the *English* to destroy them, assigning rewards to those that kill'd them, and even forgiving them the offences they had committed; or else adjudging criminals to destroy such a number of them; as also the care taken, that none should come out of *Scotland*, where they say they have many still. The natives are incredibly fierce and strong, as is well known. It would be impertinent in me here to speak of the several sorts of sea and fresh-water fish; and yet perhaps, this would not be so preposterous as the story some tell us, that the pikes in this country being ripp'd open by the fishmongers, to shew how fat they are, if the gash be sew'd up again, and they laid down on a fishmonger's stall where there are tenches, recover, and live, only by virtue of that

slimy or glutinous moisture there is on the tenches, to which the pikes, by instinct of nature, cling close: This is a tale not fit to be impos'd upon the meereft *ignoramus*. Pray how is it possible that a fish should live out of the water, on the fishmongers stalls? and though they might for some time, as the eels do, how could it be after ripping open their bellies? How can that sliminess of the tench cling so close to the wound, notwithstanding the water that still runs from them?

But I think my brains are a wool-gathering, that I go about to discourse of such nonsense. Let us proceed, and observe that this great island is six hundred miles in length; but that part of it properly call'd *England* is but three hundred and twenty, that is, from *Portsmouth* to *Berwick*, on the borders of *Scotland*; the breadth is two hundred and seventy, from *Dover* to the *Land's end*; and it is so seated, between fifty and fifty-seven degrees of latitude, that the longest day, in the most northern parts is of seventeen hours and thirty minutes, and the shortest in the southern of about eight.

The *Romans* divided it into three parts, which were *Britannia prima*, *Britannia secunda*, now the principality of *Wales*, and *Maxima Caesariensis*. But these names lasted only four hundred years, that is, from the reign of *Domitian* till that of *Honorius*, who recall'd the legions from hence, to send them against the *Goths* in *Italy*. It is true, that *Julius Caesar* came into these parts, but as *Suetonius* in *Jul. cap. 25.* says, *Aggressus & Britannos, ignotos antea, superatisque, pecunias, & obsides imperavit*; that is, *Having invaded the Britons, before unknown, and defeated them, he order'd them to pay a sum of money, and deliver hostages.* So that this was rather a discovery than conquest; and *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* speaking of the same *Julius Caesar*, with good reason writes, *Potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse*; *He may seem to have discover'd, not to have deliver'd them down to posterity.* As for *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, they meddled not there; the first of them intending to assign certain bounds to the empire, and then forbear infesting of foreign nations; and the other resolv'd to make the life of the other his pattern and guide. This was certainly the worst of policy; for experience has long since demonstrated, that whensoever the motion and action of enlarging ceases, it is extraordinary difficult to keep at the same stand, without losing something of what has been gain'd; it being no safe method of securing one's self by expecting to be invaded by enemies at home; but rather

ther to keep them employ'd in the defence of their own. On the other hand, allowing of their maxim, why should *Britain* be left at liberty, which lay convenient at all times to favour the revolts of *Germany* and *Gaul*, both of them impatient enough of their yoke; and then to march against the *Parthians* and the *Armenians*, who, tho' they had been reduc'd into the form of a province, yet could not be kept under, without immense cost and industry? Under the emperor *Claudius*, as has been observ'd, a considerable part of it was conquer'd, and all the rest subdu'd by *Domitian*; but to what purpose, since the *Britains* supported by their own fierceness, and the negligence of the *Romans*, in a short time cast off their dominion, and gain'd such reputation of valour, that the emperor *Adrian*, as *Spartian*, *Dio*, and others inform us, having recover'd some part of that country, built a wall eighty-five miles in length, tho' others say but thirty-five, the better to restrain the *Barbarians* within their own bounds?

To pass by that, the *Saxons* being vanquish'd by the *Danes* in 1028, and these again in 1066, by the *Normans*, under the conduct of *William the Bastard*, as was said above; it is not now to be admir'd, that the *English* should still retain some customs of all those nations, from whom they are descended. The gentry are courteous and generous to strangers; and to say the truth, vie with the *French* in this particular, but they are not so open-hearted, nor their countenances so affable and affectionate to others; for they rather appear proud and haughty than otherwise. What I much admire is, that if a man converses with them modestly and humbly, they do not look upon it as civility and good breeding, but as meanness of spirit, and therefore they undervalue him, tho' they would have all to submit to them. They are fond of titles and other marks of honour; oblige their many servants to attend them in very servile manner; and seldom in their letters use any terms of submission. On the other hand the commonalty are rude and cruel, addicted to thieving and robbing, faithless, head-strong, inclin'd to strife and mutiny; gluttonous, and superstitiously addicted to the predictions of foolish astrologers; in short, of a very extravagant temper, delighting in the noise of guns, drums and bells, as if it were some sweet harmony. To speak without this distinction betwixt gentry and meaner sorts, there is not much truth in the great *Scaliger's* opinion, that the *English* are, *Inflati & contemptores; Proud and contempters of others; as also Immanes & inhospitales, Savage and inhospitable; however,*

without lying, they may be allow'd forty *per cent.* of those faults. They are courageous in battle, rather as men madly despising death, than out of true valour, attended by prudence; or indeed we must say, they have no good notion of the immortality of the soul, the knowledge whereof, causes a strong apprehension of death, even in the bravest souls. It is now among us become a proverb, that these people will rather burn themselves with their ships and goods, than fall into the hands of their enemies. I remember I have read an action of an *English* soldier, worthy to be ever remember'd for the rashness of it: which is, that the united provinces of the low countries having revolted against their lawful sovereign, it happened that twenty-four soldiers of the *Spanish* camp fell into their enemies hands; who thinking it hard to put them all to death, order'd that eight scrolls of paper, with death writ upon them, should be put into a helmet, among as many more white ones, as made up their number, whence every man drawing should take his lot, either to live or die, having the halters about their necks. An *Englishman* of that disconsolate gang, stepping up to the helmet, drew such a lot as he could wish, and then taking notice of a poor *Spaniard*, who stood quaking at the danger he was to run, offer'd to undergo the hazard himself for ten ducats, desiring the commanding officers to discharge the *Spaniard*. They consented, seeing the man make so little account of his life, and he escap'd again. *Non hac gemina modo, sed simplici salute indignus, quam adeo vilem fecerat. Being not only unworthy to escape twice, but even once, since he valu'd it so little.* Barclay in *Icon. animorum.*

Thus you will see, not without astonishment, a man condemn'd to be hang'd, go to the gallows, as if it were to a wedding, and his nearest kindred pull him by the heels, with the greatest indifference in the world, so that it is very strange that they should be so cautious of fighting duels. All their valour in war consisting in the first heat, as not able to endure much martial fatigue, they are fitter to conquer, than to preserve what they have gain'd; whence it is, that having formerly subdu'd a considerable part of the kingdom of *France*, insomuch that *Henry V.* was crown'd at *Paris* in 1348, they have not at present one foot of land there, to testify their actions there to posterity. How brave they are at sea plainly appears by that great *Spanish Armada*, call'd invincible, which they, with a small number of ships ruin'd in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, in the year 1588; and by the actions of Sir *Francis Drake*, *Greenville*, *Oxenham*, and many others, too tedious

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to repeat. They trade in all parts of the world, but in such a manner, that it may well be said of their ships, that they are one half furnish'd for war, and the other half for trade; for there are none of them but what will play the pirates at the *Canaries*, *Brazil*, *Cabo Verde*, and the *West-Indies*; and they are so fond of this infamous gain, that many sell all they have to purchase a ship, and set out a robbing.

As for drunkenness, they delight in it so much, that tho' they own it to be a great fault in their nation, yet they never endeavour to refrain; and as the *Tuscan* poet said of himself,

*Nostra natura vinta dal costume:*

*Custom prevails above our nature;*

The *English* might, without lying, say of themselves,

*Nostra natura se si reo costume:*

*This base custom proceeds from our nature.*

The commonest and most acceptable meat is beef, and they eat so much of it, that it is wonderful, or rather a pity; and what is worse, they reckon themselves now abstemious, because they eat but one meal a day, whereas formerly they made four at least. They kill at least seven hundred oxen, or cows, and ten thousand sheep every week, besides the daily consumption of tame and wild fowl. Then they fill themselves extravagantly with several sorts of liquors, as beer and ale, aqua-vitæ, perry, mead, cyder, mum, and usquebaugh, a violent burning drink; and it would be worse did not the use of coffee, tea, and tobacco somewhat correct it. In short, they eat more than the *Italians*, drink like the  *Germans*, and live like the *Muscovites*. Before I proceed any further it is to be observ'd, that when they drink to one, he says, I will pledge you; the original of which custom they say is, that in the time of the *Danes*, the *English* could not drink with safety, because whilst they were in that action, the others basely murder'd them; to prevent the which, every man desir'd his next neighbour, or the person he drank to, to defend and secure him during that time, against the malice of others.

From what has been said of the excessive eating and drinking, every man of sound judgment will infer, that the *English* are stupid and dull; but it is quite otherwise, for besides their being extraordinary sharp traders, they improve wonderfully in all sciences whatsoever, as also in all liberal arts, as well as mechanicks, as plainly ap-

pears by their books, reckoned extraordinary learned all over *Europe*; so that nature seems to have allow'd them this to balance all their vices. They affect a *Laconick* style, mortally hating all figurative and rhetorical discourses, tho' their own language is very copious, and enrich'd with the most significant words of all *European*, or other languages. Hence follows a defect, which is common to all great wits, which is, that thinking they have sufficiently explain'd their notions, it often happens that indifferent capacities can scarce comprehend them without much study.

The *English*, as to their persons, are extraordinary handsome, and very neat in their dress, fair of complexion, and many black ey'd. The women are very beautiful and genteel, and courteous of behaviour, being, in short, look'd upon as one of the valuable things *England* affords, which are,

*Anglia, mons, pons, fons, ecclesia, famina, lana.*

That is, *The famous things of England, are hills, bridges, fountains, churches, women and wool.*

Add to their commendation, that they do whatsoever they please; and do so generally wear the breeches, as we used to say, that it is now become a proverb, *That England is the bell of horses, and paradise of women*; and that if there were a bridge from the island to the continent, all the women in *Europe* would run thither. Here they use the salute, or kiss, not on the cheek, as in *France*, but on the mouth. For women to go abroad every where, and leave their husbands at home, is no great matter, and us'd in other countries; but what part of the world did you ever hear of, where a poor man is oblig'd to acknowledge a son got on his wife, during his absence, as his own? And yet the law of *England* obliges all husbands to it, who are not without the *English* seas, tho' they have been never so long absent.

This liberty, as well as the temper of the air, I believe, is the occasion that some young maidens, not above twelve or thirteen years of age, have such swollen breasts, as if they had two or three children; and doubtless it is the virtue of valentineship that makes them thrive so. You must understand, that, on *St. Valentine's* day, which is on the fourteenth of *February*, when the sun begins to bestow a certain warmth upon the earth, which afterwards causes animals to multiply; equal numbers of young men and women meet together, and writing their names on scrolls of paper, draw them by way of lots, and then call one another *Valentines*, the men wearing those

those papers in their hats, and the women on their breast; and thus making love, not by choice, but by chance, they present, and caress one another, and very often are drawn into matrimony; but this does not always happen.

The *French* fashion is us'd in cloathing, bating that some women of the meaner sort wear sugar-loaf hats; but the worst is, that no woman will yield to another in extravagancy, and there is no difference between a lady of quality and the meanest tradesman's wife, or between her and her maid.

As to the religion in *England*, you must understand, that our holy faith was preach'd there in the apostles days, and some will have *St. Paul* himself to have been the founder of this church, contrary to the opinion of those who ascribe it, without any good ground, to *Joseph of Arimathea*. However christianity began to flourish in the reign of *Lucius*, the first christian king, converted in the year 180, by *Eluanus* and *Edicinus*; and it is to be observ'd, against the sectaries, that this king would not receive the faith till he had heard from *Eleutherius*, the twelfth pope, if I mistake not, after *St. Peter*, that the faith of the christians in *Britain* was agreeable to that of *Rome*; and consequently he look'd upon it as certain, that the *Roman* church was to be the rule of what all others ought to believe. The heathen *Saxons* coming in afterwards, paganism prevail'd again, and continu'd till the year 596, when *St. Gregory* sent over *Augustin* the archbishop, who converted the *Saxons* and their king.

If we would speak of the present religion, you very well know upon what occasion king *Henry VIII.* withdrew himself and all his kingdom from their subjection to the pope, and how he united the ecclesiastical and regal power, confounding heaven and earth to please his humour. However, it must be own'd, that not only he, but his son *Edward*, and afterwards queen *Elizabeth*, who again set up the reformation after the death of queen *Mary*, who had abolish'd it, us'd another sort of moderation in this particular than the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* have done; for notwithstanding all their hatred to the *Roman* church, they still retain'd some outward ceremonies, according to the gospel and the discipline of the primitive christians. Some other protestants, less blinded by prejudice, were of this opinion at first. Now tho' there be many different sects in *England*, which daily occasion troubles in the state, yet the chief of them, call'd the church of *England*, is that of the episcopal party, that is, who admit of some sort of hierarchy, contrary to the nonconformists,

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call'd *dissenters*, and agree with other protestant churches in fundamentals, bating the way of worship, as is said above; but the latter will not hear of bishops, alledging that the primitive church was not govern'd by them, but by elders or presbyters, and therefore a considerable part of them are call'd *Presbyterians*. They exclaim against the luxury of bishops, against their great revenues, and against the authority they have ingross'd; but, as I have been told, they do this out of prejudice, because the episcopal party have been loyal to their kings, whereas they hate monarchy; besides, the *Presbyterians* observe no liturgy or form of prayer, and look upon even the Lord's prayer as indifferent; and they look upon it as a heinous sin to make the sign of the cross, to bow at the holy name of *Jesus*, and to kneel at the communion; and in short, they are said to serve God soldierly, and without ceremony; however, their hypocrisy is so great, that their numbers and power are much increased.

The next among the dissenters are the *Independents*, or assembly-men, so call'd because every one of them would make a particular congregation subject to no other laws but their will, and these by way of contempt call the churches steeple-houses. Then follow the *Anabaptists*, who are not now altogether so profane and blasphemous as formerly those of *Munster* in *Germany* under *John* of *Leyden* were, but maintain that those who come over to their sect ought to be baptiz'd again, and that laymen may preach the word of God.

The *Millenaries* are otherwise call'd *Fifth-monarchy-men*, who grounding their opinion on several literal texts of scripture, fondly believe that *JESUS CHRIST* will have a temporal reign of a thousand years upon earth.

The *Quakers* condemn all ecclesiastical ceremonies, and all ministry, reject all sacraments, laugh at study'd sermons, and will not allow the scripture itself as an infallible rule of life; and what is still worse, notwithstanding all these absurdities, pretend to live like the primitive christians. They boast of having no guide but the Holy Ghost, which, tho' a spirit of peace and tranquillity, yet they tremble expecting their inspirations, and thence have their name. Upon this belief both men and women, fill'd with a different rapture from that of the *Sibyls*, preach at their meetings after the most extravagant manner in the world, and utter all that comes next, whether good or bad. One of their maxims is, *that all men are equal*, and therefore the meanest scoundrel gives a prince no other title but *thou*, and keeps

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his hat on before the king himself. They affect an extraordinary simplicity in outward appearance, insomuch that they reckon it a heinous crime to wear ribbons, or such like ornaments; a thing commendable, did it proceed from a real contempt of worldly things, and were not attended with a counterfeit humility.

Amidst all this diversity of opinions and liberty of conscience, the catholick religion begins again to prosper, thro' the extraordinary piety and zeal of the king, who performs all the duties of a good christian openly and barefac'd; he often goes to mass to the chappel of the *Benedictine* monks in St. James's park, near which also lives Mons. Dada, the first *Nuncio* from Rome that has been seen these many years in London, and is besides building a chappel within his own palace. Some days since I saw a prelate in his coach wearing the long black robe, and am told he is a catholick bishop newly come. To say the truth, I much admire such hasty proceeding in a matter of such consequence. Such is the hatred of the commonalty, and especially the *Scots*, that the episcopal party and the *Presbyterians* will certainly unite to oppose the king's designs, as being both equally concern'd in opposing the catholicks, whatsoever their private quarrels are. There begins already to appear a disposition to mutiny, which my friends and I call the smoke of a great fire that is kindling. The envoy of *Lunenburg* has open'd a chappel in his house, which the protestants will not suffer on any account, insomuch that for three *Sundays* successively above two thousand apprentices have assembled there, throwing stones, and committing the greatest villanies in the world. The king, as I am inform'd by Signior *Riva*, the queen's ward-robe keeper, is much concern'd, and has order'd the lord mayor of London to make the envoy satisfaction, and punish the insolence of that rabble. They say there are an hundred thrown into gaol, but no man knows what will be the end. I am not of opinion that changes from one extreme to another can be brought about all at once, and king *James II.* ought to have known the extravagant genius of his subjects, and remember'd the dismal tragedy so lately acted in his kingdom. The kings of *England* were never absolute, as become kings, but more particularly since the reformation, by reason of the multiplicity of sects, proceeding from liberty of conscience, which I call *the forerunner of atheism*. The diversity of religions is much more powerful than we imagine to breed disaffection between the nearest relations; and I am of opinion it is impossi-

ble that all the members of a commonwealth should concur to act orderly, for the publick good of the state, where there is such disagreement, which disturbs the noblest and divine part of man; I mean, he can never be a real monarch whose subjects do not all agree in opinion as to spiritual affairs; and this was plainly demonstrated under king *Charles I.* by the factions of the *Presbyterians*, and other nonconformists against the bishops. It would have been proper for king *James* to declare himself a catholick, had he any hopes of being follow'd by all his subjects, for then he might expect one day to have the absolute disposal of them; but when there is no likelihood that this will succeed, what else is the consequence of publishing himself of a religion that is odious to the subjects, but purchasing at a dear rate, first their aversion, then open hatred, and lastly barefac'd contempt and disobedience? *Festina lente*, says the old proverb, *Fair and softly goes far*; and were it false in all other respects, yet ought it to be observ'd in things of this nature. Had this been done in a country where the prince's will were the sovereign law, there were no speaking against it, the zeal would be commendable, and might perhaps prove very successful; but here the blood of a king, shamefully shed by an executioner, and to the everlasting infamy of the nation, is still reeking, and cries for vengeance. Succeeding ages will be told, and perhaps will not believe, that a parliament assembled by the king's authority should have the insolence to judge that same king. If we rightly consider it, the *Turkish* government is certainly much better than this of *England*; for tho' both be faulty, yet the first is so in the unlimited power of the monarch, the other in laying too many burdens on him; yet in my opinion, that state ought always to be most preferable which is least subject to degenerate into a worse, and less expos'd to civil broils. *England*, as far as man can pretend to foresee, according to its present disposition, must of necessity fall from a monarchy into a strange mixture of aristocracy and democracy, or rather an oligarchy and anarchy, till one of the two prevail, with the utter destruction of the country. The *Turk*, as I have said, takes more upon him than belongs to a lawful monarch, and is properly a tyrant according to our laws and customs, but perhaps the *Asiatics*, having been long us'd to the absolute power of a single person, may think that heavy yoke pleasant and agreeable; however it is, I am of opinion that the diseases of that monarchy are easier to cure than the *English*. Every govern-

government ought to be perfect in its kind, but the monarchical above them all, for the same reasons which prove that government to be more perfect than any other; it was the first, according to *Justin*, that was instituted, that the person reigning might be as solicitous for the advantage of his people as masters of families are in their private houses, and this with more real liberty than is to be found in any other state; for as the greatest liberty consists in obeying no man, so ought it to be reckon'd less servitude to be obedient to one than to many. I could bring abundance of instances for what I alledge both out of the sacred and profane writers, but lest I grow tedious, shall rest satisfy'd with putting you in mind first of what *Tacitus* says, *Annal.* 1. *Eam conditionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet, quam si uni reddatur: The nature of government is such, that it cannot be consistent unless put into the power of one person.* Then of *Martial's* words, *Qui rex est regem, Maxime, non habeat: He who is a king, Maximus, must not have another to reign over him.* And *Homer, Iliad* 2. *vers.* 204. tells us, *The dominion of many is not good. There must be but one prince, one king, on whom Jove has bestow'd the scepter, and the right of reigning.* You yourself will be able to judge whether these conditions can be found in the rule of the *English* monarchs, by examining their customs and laws.

The parliament is composed of two houses, the upper and the lower, or lords and commons, only the king can call, dissolve, and prorogue it, or else the persons by him deputed in his absence, or governing in his minority. When it is to meet, circular letters, call'd writs, are sent forty days before the appointed time to all peers, both spiritual and temporal, who compose the upper house; and so to the counties, cities and boroughs, each to choose one or two representatives, according to their charter, for the lower house, that they may thus all be assembled together, to consult upon some important affair for the advantage and safety of the realm. The house of lords consists of dukes, marquisses, earls, viscounts, barons, archbishops and bishops; the lower of knights of the several shires, citizens and burgeses, and the barons of the cinque-ports. At the opening of the parliament the king goes to the house of lords in his robes, and the crown on his head, where, being seated on the

throne, he makes a short speech, declaring the occasion of their meeting, which the chancellor enlarges upon, the house of commons standing all the while bareheaded at the bar. Then they are order'd to choose a speaker, which they do when return'd to their house, and present him to the king a day or two after. Then the speaker asks three things of the king, *viz.* access to his majesty, liberty of speech, and freedom from all arrests. If any tax is to be laid, it is first debated in the house of commons, because the commonalty bearing the greatest burden, are most concern'd in it. They have also liberty of carrying up impeachments against the greatest men in the kingdom; whereupon sometimes the commons appear bareheaded, and standing at the lords bar, proceed against peers, whilst they sit upon the trial of their own brethren. Every member of parliament may offer whatsoever he thinks for the publick good to either house, and this they call a bill, which the clerk reads to them, and then the examination of it is refer'd to a certain number appointed, call'd a committee; whence twice read, committed and ingross'd, it is read a third time, and then if carry'd by the majority, the clerk writes under it in *French*, *Soit baillé aux communes, or aux seigneurs*, that is, *Let it be sent to the commons, or to the lords*, according to the house it is pass'd in. The votes are not given by balloting, but crying out confusedly *yea* or *no*; so that if there is no discerning the majority, the one part goes out, and the other stays within, and so are counted. In the house of lords it is order'd otherwise, for the last baron gives his vote first, and then the rest in course answer *content*, or *not content*. In case one house pass a bill, and the other hesitate, they appoint a conference between persons appointed by both houses, and if they agree, it passes; if not, 'tis rejected. I could write you a thousand more particulars touching this affair, but my letter swells into a book, and therefore I think fit to conclude, informing you, that when the parliament is to be prorogu'd or dissolv'd, the king sends the usher of the black rod to call up the commons to the bar of the lords house, where either the king or the chancellor declares his will. The aforesaid officer is call'd usher of the black rod, from a black rod about three spans long, tipp'd with silver, he carries in his hand. I am your, &c.

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## LETTER XXII.

Of what the author saw in London, and at Windsor.

London, May 30. 1686.

I Am upon departing to cross the sea, and might very well send you this letter from the continent; but since love thinks every inconsiderable delay an age, and the post will be there before me, I think fit to write to you now; and the rather, because my design being to acquaint you with some particulars concerning this city, I may perhaps forget something you will be glad to know. To trifle away no more time, I am of opinion that one great argument of the populousness of this place is, its containing one hundred and thirteen parishes in all its three parts, which are *London*, *Southwark*, beyond the river, and *Westminster*, tho' this last be a distinct city, independent of the other, and only subject to the king's courts.

St. Paul's church.

The magnificent cathedral, dedicated to *St. Paul*, was first founded by king *Sigebert*, in the year 610; then being consum'd by fire, was begun to be rebuilt by bishop *Maurice*, about 1083, and not finish'd till 1221. In the dreadful fire in 1666, it was again reduc'd to ashes; and king *Charles II.* in 1673, with much solemnity, laid the first stone of the structure now erecting, God knows when to be perfected, by an imposition laid on sea-coal. It will have three isles, in the nature of a cathedral, with a large cupola, all of *Portland* stone, being not much inferior to marble. The old church is said to have been one hundred and two foot high, one hundred and thirty in breadth, and six hundred and ninety in length, that is twenty foot more than *St. Peter's* at *Rome*. On the cross stood a tower two hundred and sixty foot high, instead of a cupola; and on the tower a wooden spire, cover'd with lead, two hundred and sixty foot higher; on the top whercof was a ball of gilt copper nine foot diameter, with a cross on it, four foot and half high, and on the cross a gilt eagle.

Westminster abbey.

In *Westminster* is another church and abbey, dedicated to *St. Peter*, formerly belonging to the *Benedictines*, and afterwards by queen *Elizabeth* made collegiate, and given to twelve prebends and a dean. It is a magnificent structure, with three isles, and the stone very good. In it are the tombs of most of the kings of *England*, and other great men. In the cloister is a good publick library, free to all people, open'd (in *Term-time*) morning and afternoon. Close by was formerly a royal

palace, much of which being burnt down in the reign of *Henry VIII.* was never rebuilt; but there is still a part kept up, where the parliament meets, and is not to be slightly passed by. When I was there, the parliament had been just prorogued to the twenty-second of *November*, and consequently the houses were empty. In the lower I saw many benches set about, cover'd with blue cloth, in the nature of a theatre, and the speaker's chair at the end. The upper house is much smaller; and in it is the king's throne, all of scarlet and purple brocade. The order of sitting here is as follows; none can be under the king's canopy, but his children by his side; on the upper bench, which is by the wall on the king's right hand, sit the two archbishops; a little lower the bishops of *London*, *Durham* and *Winchester*; and then the other bishops, according to their seniority. On the left are also benches for the chancellor, the treasurer, the president of the council, and lord privy seal; yet so that if they are barons, of any blood but the royal, they take place of the dukes; if not, they sit above the bench on wool-sacks, cover'd with yellow cloth. On this same side sit the dukes, marquisses and earls, according to seniority of their titles. The viscounts sit on the first of the benches that are across the house, behind wool-sacks; and the barons on the rest. On the foresaid wool-sacks sit the judges, the privy-counsellors, the king's officers, and masters of chancery, who have no vote, if they be not barons, but are admitted to give their opinion, if ask'd. The custom of sitting on wool-sacks was instituted by the ancients, as may be suppos'd, to put them in mind of the great advantage the island reaps by the trade of wool, that they may therefore endeavour to promote it. The chancellor, or keeper of the great seal, who is the usual speaker of the house of lords, stands behind the king, when he is present, or else sits on the first bench, having his gilt mace and the great seal by him. The last wool-sack is for the clerks of the crown and of the parliament. The first of them takes care of the records, and the other enters down all that is done, and therefore has two other clerks under him, who write kneeling. The usher of the black rod sits without the bar. It is farther

farther to be observ'd, that when the king is on his throne, the lords are bare; and so are even in his absence the king's officers, the masters in chancery, and the judges aforesaid; and these may not sit down till leave had of the king and the lords.

In the lower house there is not so much ceremony us'd, but they all sit as they come, without distinction, except the speaker, who is in the middle, and the clerk by him. All the members are clad as they please, whereas the lords wear long scarlet robes, like senators.

As to the other courts in the royal hall at *Westminster*, on the right hand coming in is the court of *Common Pleas*, where all suits between man and man are try'd. There are four judges belonging to it; who, with good reason, are not perpetual, but during the king's pleasure [*This is since alter'd*] as are all the other judges in *England*, and the first of them is call'd lord chief justice. Some days they wear long purple robes, others black, and others scarlet, lin'd with ermin, according to the trials they sit on, and the days; and over those robes, when they are in court, they have a purple mantle, or rochet, putting a small cap on their heads, which covers their ears, like the popes, and then a large square one, after the manner of the ancient *Swiss*. From this court appeals lie to the *King's Bench*, consisting of four other judges, who try criminal causes. The court of chancery, otherwise call'd of equity, is above them all; where they decide controversies two several ways, either according to the custom of the kingdom, and then the proceedings are in *Latin*; or else according to equity and conscience, mitigating the rigour of the law, according to the strict words whereof the other judges often pronounce sentence; and then the other proceedings are in *English*. From this same court are issu'd safe conducts; and here treaties and leagues with foreign princes are register'd. It is true, the chancellor alone is judge, but when the consequence of the matter in hand requires, he advises with the other judges, or with his twelve coadjutors, call'd masters in chancery, every one of whom is intrusted with some particular matter relating to chancery. This court is open all the year about, whereas the others sit but four times a year; at the four terms. The first is *Michaelmas* term, beginning the twenty-third of *October*, and lasts till the twenty-ninth of *November*; the second is *Hilary* term, commencing the twenty-third of *January*, and ending the thirteenth of *February*; the third, *Easter* term, begins the *Monday* after *Easter* week, and lasts

four weeks; the fourth, *Trinity* term, begins in that week, and lasts three weeks.

The *Exchequer* court attends all things relating to the king's revenue, and consists of four judges, call'd barons. It would be tedious to speak in particular of all that relates to this court; but it is worth observing, that among the records is kept an ancient book, on which every foot of land throughout *England*, is set down and valu'd, with the tax laid on the owners by king *William* the conqueror; as also the names of all the cities, towns, castles, and villages in the realm, the number of families, soldiers, peasants, servants and cattle; and the rent of every farm, and how paid. So that all suits about those affairs being then decided by the said book, it was with good reason call'd *domesday-book*, as deciding all controversies.

The affairs relating to the duchy of *Lancaster*, are manag'd in a separate court, in the same palace at *Westminster*.

In this same city is the royal palace, White-hall, where the king now resides, built by the famous cardinal *Wolsey*, on a pleasant spot of ground, between the *Thames* and the park; but the structure very irregular, and disagreeable to the *Italian* taste; so that to tell you the truth, I thought nothing handsome but a fine hall, much later built, and the place for reception of ambassadors, painted by the famous *Paul Rubens*. As for the furniture, the workmanship and the materials seem to vie with one another; and what wonder, since it is the palace of so rich and powerful a king? There are several pieces of cannon below mounted, design'd perhaps to serve in case of any mutiny, considering the nature of this people. The garden is pleasant enough, and adorn'd with several good bras and marble statues; tho' the trees and plants bear nothing but leaves, and some choice flowers, by reason of the coldness of the climate and moistness of the soil, which does not answer the labour of the gardeners. The park has a fine collection of strange creatures, but has nothing else delightful, besides a long canal, into which the *Thames* runs, and on it is a wonderful multitude of geese, ducks, and such like fowl; and as for the many thick and full-headed trees, it is hard to decide, whether their shade is more pleasing than the continu'd noise of the numerous grasshoppers is disagreeable. On one side of this canal is the palace of *St. James's*, the usual residence of the duke of *York*; and before it is the mall. I went into the protestant chapel in this palace, and saw *St. John Baptist* over the altar, with two candles never lighted, and two books on it: a minister then preaching

GEMEL- in *English*, and not understanding that lan-  
LI. guage, I went out again immediately.

Let us now say something of the so much celebrated merchant's *Exchange*. It was first built in the year 1566 by *Thomas Gresham*, a vast rich merchant in those days; but being burnt down just an hundred years after, was rebuilt by the chamber of *London* and the mercers company. The first founder was so great an encourager of learning, that he left the one half of the revenue arising from the shops to the city, and the other half to the mercers, obliging them always to maintain and repair that noble structure; and that besides, that the city should chuse four learned professors in divinity, astronomy, geometry and musick, to teach those sciences in the college founded by him. Besides that, the mercers company should appoint professors of civil law, physick, and rhetoric, to read before dinner in *Latin*, and afternoon in *English*. The present fabric is square, and of good stone. All the great court is inclos'd with arches, forming a most stately portico, for the merchants to be shelter'd from the rain, and above are two hundred shops, furnish'd with the richest commodities, with many others below. It is very wonderful, that a piece of ground which does not extend above one hundred and seventy feet from north to south, and two hundred and three from east to west, can raise four thousand pounds a year rent. Among the finest ornaments of this place, are to be reckoned the niches above the arches containing the statues of the kings of *England*; but for satisfaction, it is very pleasant to see so great a number of merchants, and to hear some newsmongers make extravagant judgments of the affairs of the world, and impose wild chimeras on the ignorant.

In the way from the *Exchange* towards *Westminster*, at *Stocks-market*, is a scurvy statue of king *Charles II.* on horseback, near a fountain; whereas that of king *Charles I.* at *Charing-Cross*, is extraordinary fine.

Guildhall. *Guildhall* is also a fine structure within. In the hall below are the pictures of the former lord-mayors; within on the right-hand is a room, where the court of conscience sits, with the king's arms, and his picture. Going up about ten steps from thence, is a small court, where the judges of the king's bench, in the afternoon, try causes between citizens; and farther on, other courts for the commonalty, which I omit for brevity. It is to be observ'd that appeals lie from the judges on the bench, which in matters of great concern are sometimes remov'd into the house of lords. The power of the city-courts does not extend to *Westminster* or *Southwark*, where

and in the parts adjacent the justices of the peace handle such matters as occur daily, and have their quarterly sessions.

The lord-mayor, tho' chosen from among shop-keepers, and even retailers, is much respected, and therefore bears the title of lordship, only given to peers, judges and great officers of the crown. The king generally knights him, if he had not that honour before, and goes to the feast of his installment. His attendance is very great, four gentlemen always following, and another carrying the sword before him, when he rides on horseback, as he often does, in a scarlet robe, richly lin'd; but in a coach the sword is held at the door of it. He has also a master of the hunt, a steward, and several other officers, who have good salaries. Upon the king's death, he is prime magistrate in the nation, and at the coronation is cup-bearer, the bowl the king has drank out of being his fee. He is chosen at *Michaelmas*, by the liverymen of the several companies, from among the twenty-six aldermen, who are as it were the senators of the city, wealthy men, and must be free of one of the twelve companies, of *Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths, Skinners, Merchant-Tailors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners* and *Clothworkers*. Upon the forfeiture of the city charter, the choice was in the king, who still took him out of the same number, and he must have serv'd seven years apprenticeship, as must every shop-keeper.

In memory of the fire in 1666, a monument or column is erected near the place where it began, two hundred and two feet high; whereof forty go to the pedestal, whose diameter is twenty-one feet, and that of the column fifteen, there being within a handsome winding black marble stair-case, of three hundred fifty steps, leading to the top, where there is an iron balcony round it, which affords a prospect of all the city.

On one side of the pedestal is the following inscription.

Anno Christi 1666, die 4. Non. Septembris, hinc in orientem pedum 202 intervallo, quæ est hujusce columnæ altitudo, erupit de media nocte incendium, quod, vento spirante, hausit etiam longinqua, & partes per omnes populabundum ferebatur cum impetu, & fragore incredibili. LXXXIX templa, portas, prætorium, ædes publicas, ptocotrophia, scholas, bibliothecas, insularum magnum numerum, Domuum 13200, vicos 400 absumpsit; de 26 regionibus 15 funditus delet; alias 8 laceras & semiustas reliquit. Urbis cadaver ad 436 jugera hinc ab arce per Tamisis ripam ad Templariorum Fanum, illinc ab Euro Aquilonali portâ secundum muros ad Fosse

*Fossæ Fletane caput porrexit: Adversus opes civium, & fortunas infestum, erga vitas innocuum; ut per omnia referret supremam illam mundi exustionem. Velox clades fuit; exiguum tempus eandem vidit civitatem florentissimam & nullam. Tertio die, cum jam plane evicerat humana consilia & subsidia omnia, cælius, ut par est credere, jussus, stetit fatalis ignis, & quaquaversum elanguit.*

The same in English.

In the year of Christ 1666, the second day of September, eastward from hence, at the distance of two hundred and two feet (the height of this column) about midnight, a terrible fire broke out, which, driven on by a high wind, wasted not only the adjacent parts, but likewise places very remote, with incredible noise and fury; it consumed eighty-nine churches, the city gates, Guildhall, many publick structures, hospitals, schools, libraries, a vast number of stately edifices, thirteen thousand and two hundred dwelling-houses, four hundred streets; of twenty-six wards it utterly destroyed fifteen; and left eight others shatter'd and half burnt; the ruins of the city were four hundred and thirty-six acres, from the tower by the Thames-side to the Temple-Church, and from the north-east gate along the city wall to Holborn-Bridge. To the estates and fortunes of the citizens it was mercilefs, but to their lives favourable, that it might in all things resemble the last conflagration of the world.

The destruction was sudden; for a small space of time saw the same city most flourishing, and reduced to nothing.

On the third day, when this fatal fire had baffled all human counsels and endeavours, in the opinion of all, by the command of heaven it stopped, and on every side languishing expired.

On the other side is this:

Carolus II. Caroli Martyris fil. Mag. Britan. Franc. & Hibern. Rex, Fid. Defensor, Princeps clementissimus, miseratus fluctuosam rerum faciem, plurima, fumantibus jam tum ruinis, in solatium civium, & urbis sue ornamentum, providit, tributum remisit; preces ordinis, & populi Londinensis retulit ad regni fenatum; qui continuo decrevit, uti publica opera pecuniâ publicâ ex vectigali carbonis fossilis oriundâ in meliorem formam restituerentur, utique ædes sacræ & D. Pauli Templum, a fundamentis, omni magnificentia extruerentur; pontes, portæ, carceres novi fierent; emundarentur alvei; vici ad regulam responderent; chivi complanarentur, aperirentur angiportus; fora & macella in areas sepositas eliminarentur. Censuit etiam uti singulæ domus muris intergerinis concluderentur; universa pari in frontem alitudine consurgerent, omnesque parietes

saxo quadrato, aut cotto latere solidarentur; GEMELL-  
LI. utique nemini liceret ultra septennium ædificando immorari. Ad hæc, lites de terminis orituras, lege latâ præscidit; adjecit quoque supplicationes annuas, & ad æternam posterorum memoriam H. C. P. C. Festinatur undique; resurgit Londinum, majeri celeritate, an splendore incertum. Unum triennium absolvit, quod sæculi opus credebatur.

The same in English.

Charles II. son of Charles the Martyr, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, a most gracious prince, commiserating the deplorable state of things, whilst the ruins were yet smoaking, provided for the comfort of his citizens, and ornament of his city, remitted their taxes, and referred the petitions of the magistrates and inhabitants to the parliament, who immediately passed an act, that publick works should be restored to greater beauty with publick money, to be raised by an imposition on coals; that churches, and the cathedral of St. Paul's should be rebuilt from their foundations with all magnificence; that bridges, gates and prisons should be new made, the shores cleansed, the streets made streight and regular, such as were steep, levell'd; and those too narrow, made wider; markets and shambles removed to separate places: They also enacted, that every house should be built with party-walls, and all in front raised of equal height, and those walls all of square stone, or brick; and that no man should delay building beyond the space of seven years. Moreover care was taken by law to prevent all suits about their bounds; also anniversary prayers were injoin'd; and to perpetuate the memory hercof to posterity, they caused this column to be erected.

— Carried on every where with haste, London rises again; but whether with greater celerity or splendor is uncertain: One three years finish'd what was supposed to be the work of an age.

Over the door, on the east-side,

INCEPTA

RICHARDO FORDE, EQU.

PRÆT. LOND.

M DC. LXXI.

PERDUCTA ALTIUS

GEORG. WATERMAN EQU. PRÆT.

ROBERTO HANSON EQU. PRÆT.

GUIL. HOOKER EQU. PRÆT.

ROB. VINER EQU. PRÆT.

JOSEPHO SHELDON EQU. PRÆT.

PERFECTA

THOMAS DAVIES EQU. PRÆT.

URB.

ANN. DOM.

M. DC. LXXVII.

This

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LI.

This pillar was begun, Sir *Richard Ford*, knight, being lord-mayor of *London*, Anno Dom. 1671.

Carried on,  
 Sir *George Waterman*, Kt. }  
 Sir *Robert Hanson*, Kt. } Lord-mayors.  
 Sir *William Hooker*, Kt. }  
 Sir *Robert Viner*, Kt. }  
 Sir *Joseph Skeldon*, Kt. }

And finished, Sir *Thomas Davies*, knight, being lord-mayor, Anno Dom. 1677.

Not far from the monument is one of the finest bridges in *Europe*, over the *Thames*, consisting of nineteen arches, twenty feet distant from one another, which make eight hundred feet in length, the breadth being thirty. In the middle is the draw-bridge, and fine shops on both sides, with the ill prospect of many traitors heads on poles to terrify offenders. This bridge leads from *London* to *Southwark*, but so vilely impertinent is the rabble about it, that a *French* gentleman and I intending to have gone over, we were obliged to turn back, and I was fain to go another time with some *Englishmen*. Here stood formerly a brothel-house, which was put down by king *Henry VIII.* and now I am much afraid the whole city is no better.

At a small distance from the bridge is the custom-house, built by king *Charles II.* with the expence of ten thousand pounds; and that leads to the tower, a fortress so call'd from a great square tower in the middle of it. Before it is an esplanade where traitors are sometimes beheaded, as the duke of *Monmouth*. The tide flows into the ditch. The castle itself is an irregular pentagon, with round towers at the angles, after the antient manner. On the walls, which are near a mile about, is abundance of good cannon; and within, many houses for the garrison, officers and mint, all the money in the kingdom being coin'd here, and is, in my opinion the finest in *Europe*. There is also a most noble armory, sufficient, as they told me, to furnish sixty thousand men, and therefore the master of the ordnance has his court here. In that part next the river, they shew'd me several wild beasts shut up in cages, as tigers, lions and the like. The square tower in the middle has a wet ditch about it, and on every angle of it is a very small turret for ornament. This fortress was formerly the residence of some kings, and now serves to confine prisoners of state, and in it the records of the crown, and ensigns of royalty are kept. The crown among the rest is reckoned one of the richest in *Europe*, by reason of the exquisite jewels set on it;

viz. on the top where it closes, two emeralds almost as big as an egg, and on the circle a ruby of the bigness of a small nut, a pearl little smaller, and many very fine diamonds.

For the rest of the city, there are few squares that deserve being taken notice of except *Leicester-fields*, *St. James's square*, *Lincoln's-inn-fields*, *Scotshampton* and *Golden squares*, and the streets leading to *Hide-Park*, a spacious place, where reviews are made.

I have seen no rarities but a *Rhinoceros*, and a beautiful *Irish* girl, all hairy from the waist upwards, like a bear; and on her shoulders she had natural bags full of a watery substance, and the like about her privities. The *Rhinoceros* is a tame creature about as big as an ox, with large hard scales on it, the eyes small, the snout long, and only two teeth in its mouth, and over the snout, a long bone like a horn, forming an acute angle with the nose, and the back bowing like a saddle.

I was at the plays in a small theatre, but understood not one word; yet I thought the players pleasant, but too full of action. The best of it is, that the intervals between dancing, conclude in eating. *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, the *Spanish* embassador, has treated me in a very obliging manner; but the truth of it is, that, laying aside his good breeding, all the rest is not to be rely'd on. Last Sunday I went in a stage-coach to *Windsor*, a small town where the king often spends the summer, twenty miles from *London*. After the first six miles I saw the village of *Richmond*, on the left-hand, seated on a hill, and continuing our journey between pleasant pasture lands, came to *Windsor*, standing on a delightful hill, whence it is hard to describe what a curious prospect there is of beautiful sinking vales, water'd by the *Thames*, and other crystal streams; and of easy rising pleasant hills, all shaded with groves. *Edward III.* was born in this castle, who having afterwards fortify'd it with a ditch and strong walls, made it a prison to secure his conquer'd kings, *John of France* and *David of Scotland*. In the outward part is the church of our lady and *St. George*, with many houses; within, passing over a bridge, is the king's palace. In the midst of the court here is a noble brass statue, representing king *Charles II.* with several apartments about it, and some handsome towers, in the greatest of which is a fine armory, sufficient to furnish a thousand men, and thence they go to the duke of *York's* lodgings. In the king's apartment is another armory for about two thousand soldiers; whence on the left follows an antechamber, with a canopy of crimson

crimson velvet and gold fringes; the next has a blue canopy, with the same garniture, and then other rooms all hung with rich tapestry, and other ornaments becoming a royal palace. On the right-hand of the armory [that is the guard-chamber] is a large hall [St. George's] where the chapter of the order of the garter meets, and then the chapel built by king Charles II. and painted, as is all the palace, by Signor Antonio Vario, our Neapolitan. The same hall leads to prince George of Denmark's apartment.

I have no more to add, but that I expect a summons from the count *De Salazar*, commissary of the horse in *Flanders*, and envoy from the governor of that country to his majesty, who takes me along with him in one of the king's yachts, for which I am beholden to him and the marquis *Catani*, at whose request he does me the favour, and has offer'd me his table; and thus I laugh at some *Dutchmen*, who would have made me pay six crowns to go in their vessel; but I am not to be put upon by such men. I am yours, &c.

GEMEL-  
LI.

## LETTER XXIII.

*The Royal Society, the Julian Kalendar, and voyage to Newport and Bruges.*

Bruges, June 2. 1686.

WHEN I left *London* the other day, I had resolv'd to say no more to you concerning *England*, thinking I had writ enough, and perhaps more than was proper by way of letter; but having reflected on what I said before, I think it convenient to give you an account of some other particulars, which I then happen'd not to think of. In the first place I must speak of the royal society, so famous throughout all *Europe*. It is grown from a very inconsiderable beginning to this height of honour and esteem; for some learned men of the university of *Oxford* having settled in *London* about the year 1656, began to have meetings about literature in *Gresham* college, and the fame of their learning soon spread so much, that it did not only considerably increase their numbers, but king *Charles II.* being restor'd after his exile, granted that noble assembly many considerable privileges on the 22d of *April* 1663, would be himself call'd the founder, and gave it the title of *The Royal Society*. The president calls, puts off, and dissolves the assemblies, distributes the matters thought fit to be handled among them, and admits new members into the society, with the consent of the plurality, or rather of twenty-one above the one half, at which time the person admitted is to pay in to the treasurer forty shillings, and thirteen every quarter as long as he continues a member. The meeting is held in *Gresham* college every *Wednesday* at three in the afternoon, where they chiefly discourse upon mechanick inventions and experimental philosophy, which is thus advanc'd to a high degree of perfection. The two secretaries commit all things to writing, as also enter and answer all letters from the absent and strangers. I suppose you have seen those books in 12mo. printed yearly in *English*,

and translated into *Latin*, under the title of *Acta Philosophica Societatis Regiæ Londinensis*; and thus I need trouble you no more with it.

In the next place I must inform you that the *English* still follow the *Julian* kalendar, because in the year 1582, when pope *Gregory* corrected it, they had cast off the obedience to the church, and would rather be subject to all the errors the moveable feasts are liable to by that computation, than be beholden to the pope for setting them right; so that very often their *Easter* falls two full moons after the equinox, contrary to the primitive institution, which directs it to be kept on the first *Sunday* after the first full moon following the equinox; besides, they have sometimes two *Easters* within the space of a year, as happen'd in 1667, and then none the next, as in 1668. A certain *English* doctor has judiciously observ'd, that all the past errors proceeding from assigning to the year three hundred sixty-five days and six hours (whereas it really consists of three hundred sixty-five days, five hours, forty-nine minutes and sixteen seconds, which difference of almost eleven minutes, every hundred thirty-four years makes up a whole day) it would be requisite in the first place to place the conception of our Lord, that is, *Lady-day*, in *March*, on the vernal equinox, *Christmas-day* on the winter solstice, and *St. John Baptist's* on the summer solstice, and so make a perfect computation of the year from *Christmas-day* forward, according to the aforesaid true course of the sun; and thus having examin'd how many exact years the time elaps'd amounts to, invent good and nice rules for the future.

As for the continuation of my journey, having taken leave of the ambassador and

GEMEL-  
LI.

Signor *Brunetti*, who was extraordinary civil during all the time of my stay, I departed *London* in a boat for *Greenwich*, where count *Salazar* expected me in the yacht. Coming to it, when the insolent waterman pleas'd, I was courteously receiv'd, when, it being night, and no wind stirring, the yacht was tow'd down the river, which is full of windings as far as *Blackwall*, for near three leagues, where we cast anchor, and were entertain'd by the count with a most noble supper, and after some discourse retired to rest.

As soon as it was day we set sail, leaving *Gravesend* behind us, and two leagues below it another town on the left-hand, the name whereof I have forgot, and lastly *Margate* on the sea-shore. To conclude, having sail'd all the night, we arrived half an hour after eight in the morning at the port of *Newport* in *Flanders*, the governor whereof, *D. Diego Covarrubias*, who came with us, carry'd all the company to dine at his house, where we were treated with unspeakable magnificence and plenty. The custom was, for him that was next to the person that drank to uncover the glass, and so it went round. After dinner the count shew'd me the present he receiv'd from his *Britannick* majesty, being his picture masterly painted, and set round with fine large and small diamonds, valu'd at two thousand crowns; so that it is no wonder that the count should requite him that brought it with sixty pistoles.

*Newport.* An hour after I took leave, the best I could, of the company, and went to see the town. It is seated near the mouth of the river, four leagues east from *Dunkirk*,

three west from *Ostend*, and three north from *Ypres*, reckon'd one of the strongest places in the *Spanish Flanders*, and of the safest harbours on the *German* ocean; but there is nothing remarkable among the private buildings. Not far from it the archduke *Albertus* was wounded, fighting with prince *Maurice* of *Orange*, on the second of *July* 1600, in which battle 6000 of the *Austrians* were kill'd upon the spot.

About eight this morning I went into the boat with the count, and came to this city of *Bruges*, along the canal. It is seated in a plain, three leagues from the sea, to which the inhabitants have carry'd the canal, capable of ships of good burden, an incredible quantity of water running into it out of the neighbouring rivers. In the year 1561 pope *Pius IV.* rais'd it to the dignity of a bishoprick, at the request of our monarch king *Philip II.* the church of *St. Donacianus*, vulgarly call'd *Donatus*, being made a cathedral. Here, besides many other beautiful ornaments of fine marble, there are four stately tombs of as many dukes of *Burgundy* in the choir. In other respects, no city in the low countries has finer structures, wider and straighter streets, and a finer exchange for merchants. The women wear on their heads a sharp pointed sort of hood, made fast to the neck of their mantle, which for its shortness is also very remarkable.

I am very soon to depart for *Ghent*, eight leagues distant, and to say the truth, have had enough to do to write you these few scraps. You will pardon my unusual brevity, and I remain, &c.

## LETTER XXIV.

Of *Ghent*, *Brussels*, *Mechlin* and *Antwerp*.

*Antwerp*, June 9. 1686.

Signor *Brunetti* convey'd to me your most acceptable letter, directed to *London*, for which I shall be ever oblig'd to him. I cannot express the satisfaction I receiv'd with it. To proceed where I left off in my last; On *Sunday* I left *Bruges*, and came to *Ghent* by water, in sight of fruitful and pleasant plains, and the count resolving to be gone immediately, I was forc'd to take leave of them to have leisure to view the city.

*Ghent.* *Ghent* is the metropolis of the earldom of *Flanders*, having, as some think, been first call'd *Wanda*, from the *Vandals*, or *Ganda*, whence the *Latins* made *Gandarum*; it is full ten *Italian* miles in compass, but all that space is not taken up with houses,

which would make it too great a city. The finest thing in it, in my opinion, is the ninety-eight great bridges, which join the twenty-six little islands, form'd by the canals and the four rivers that run thro' it, being the *Scheld*, the *Lys*, the *Liene*, and the *Moere*, without reckoning an infinite number of small bridges that are at every step. Besides, there are above sixty churches and hospitals, and five very rich abbeys, particularly that of *St. Peter*, founded by *Dagobert* king of *France* in the year 640, after *St. Amand* had preach'd the gospel there. I assure you I never saw any churches out of *Italy* more magnificent and compleat than those of *Ghent*; *St. John's* and *St. Michael's* are almost all cas'd with good

good marble, and adorn'd with statues and exquisite paintings; that of St. *Alexius* is small, but extraordinary beautiful and rich in marble; and in the monastery there is a room full of pictures of the greatest masters; and to conclude in a word, almost all the churches are wonderfully fine.

Squares.

There are thirteen squares, all worth observing, but chiefly that they call *Vrydagbsmerkt*, or *Friday-market*, where the princess *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth*, countess of *Flanders*, plac'd a statue in honour of the most invincible emperor *Charles V.* The palaces are uniform structures, tho' low; the inns very convenient, and the shops decent enough, and furnish'd with rich commodities. On the walls are walks of long rows of thick green poplars, to walk in the shade in summer, and are a delightful sight. The most general habit is after the *French* fashion, but the meaner sort of women wear that sort of hood I mentioned at *Bruges*, and there are some devotees who put it on after such a manner, that they look like so many unicorns.

Cour du Prince.

Among the most notable structures, next to the strong castle is a palace, encompass'd with a wet ditch like a fort, and call'd *La Cour du Prince*, in which there were formerly three hundred rooms, in one of which the glorious emperor *Charles V.* was born; but it is now much gone to ruin, and scarce affords convenient lodgings for the governor.

I can give you no account of the manners of the inhabitants, by reason my stay was so short, but in lieu of it will inform you, that at a small distance southward from the town there are some ancient ruins of walls, which the learned suppose to have been some strong castle of the *Romans*, which they infer from some medals found there with the effigies of *Nero*, *Gerdian*, and other emperors down to *Constantine*. If it be lawful to guess, I would say here stood the ancient *Gandarum*; and as for the medals, that it does not follow from them that there was a *Roman* castle, for those may be found in any place where their army encamp'd or fought a battle.

It may be expected I should now say something in general of the earldom of *Flanders*, but then I should never have done, and only entertain you with what abundance of authors write, yet I must not omit to tell you, that the *Flemings* and people of *Brabant* are much beholden to our monarch, since he, whether to support the dignity of his crown, or out of affection to them, or else that he may have a martial school for his *Spaniards*, is pleas'd to lay out upon their defence, not only the whole revenue of the provinces, but even the greatest part of the gold and silver his

remotest dominions yield him, with immense effusion of the blood of his subjects.

GEMEL-  
LI.

*Monday* morning I got up very early, and took a place in the *Brussels* coach for nine schellings. By noon we had travell'd about five leagues, when we stopp'd to bait, which cost me four schellings, but I would freely have given five or six that the meat might not have had butter sauce, according to the fashion of the country, to which I cannot conform. We travell'd as far after dinner among green and fertile plains, and came into *Brussels* betimes.

Brussels.

This city, as geographers inform us, took its name from a castle the people call'd *Senones* built here, as a place of arms for the war they intended against the *French*; it is now the capital of *Brabant*, and besides the court of chancery for that dukedom, the residence of the governor-general of the *Spanish* provinces. The country about it is most delightful, and abounding in all sorts of provisions, insomuch that the inhabitants never knew what want was, not even then when the emperor *Charles V.* was here with six crown'd heads, and many other princes, attended by the greatest retinues in the world, and a wonderful number of horse and foot. The climate seems to be here more favourable than in any of the adjacent parts; and as for the inhabitants, here are many noble families, out of which the prince chooses the magistracy, adding to them a consul and six trading citizens, whose industry cannot be outdone in curious arms and rich tapestry. The women are beautiful and fresh colour'd, as are all the *Flemings*; but I could not forbear laughing to see the strange habit of the *Beguins*, or devotees, for some of them wear a sort of hood on their heads, with a thing like a wooden dish on it, cover'd with a black cloth; others a cap, with a great tassel on it, and both of them a curled mantle.

The city has good bulwarks about it, with other fortifications, which in my opinion signify nothing, because the place is commanded by several higher grounds. The river *Sinne* runs thro' it, whose waters run into two deep canals, made with great charge by the ingenious inhabitants, and running to the *Rupel* and *Schelde*; and thus large vessels laden with all sorts of commodities pass down to the sea, and from the sea to the city. The citizens houses are very handsome; those of the gentry magnificent; the town-house worth taking notice of, and adorned with a fine steeple; and here the burgomaster hears causes, with one of the sheriffs, whence an appeal lies to the court of the seven sheriffs, and from that to the council of *Brabant*.

The

GEMEL-  
L.I.  
Governor's palace.

The governor's palace is in the highest part of the city; tho' an irregular structure, is beautiful, and, what is still better, convenient. There is first a square, inclos'd with stone banisters, where the guard is kept; then a spacious court, with a fine fountain, and going up a few steps from thence we came into the hall of the *German* guard, about which there are many shops. On the left hand is a well-contriv'd chapel, supported by two ranks of wonderful columns, that are hollow within, unless they put upon me, so that a man might go up to the top; which, if true, as is said, he was a very ridiculous person, that would cast away so much labour. Not far from the chapel five steps lead up to the second guard-chamber, which is small, whence follows a well furnish'd antechamber, and then the audience room.

The park. The way to the park is up a few steps, terminating in a delightful flat, with a fountain and several marble statues along the wall that shuts it up. On the right hand is the little grove, with perhaps a hundred sorts of full-headed trees, standing thick together, under which there is a pleasing and very cool shade, not only in the evening, but even when the sun is in his meridian altitude. The well-order'd walks are no less pleasant, tho' being dispos'd in the nature of a labyrinth, they acceptably delude the feet, and more when a rabbit runs one way, a hare starts out in another place, and a stag appears frisking, or tamely grazing in a third. But there is nothing so agreeable as to observe the large fish-ponds, and in their crystalline waters perhaps thirty sorts of fish gliding about and sporting, or else swimming about in shoals from one hole to another to seek for food.

In the midst of the grove is a curious pond, with twenty solid columns in it, and on them a little house, or room, inclos'd on all sides with transparent crystal windows. Near it is a pretty fountain and little flower garden, spreading a sweet odour for many paces about. In short, I who am none of those that admire every thing, was a considerable time in a sort of rapture, and almost beside myself in this real and not fabulous garden.

Churches. If we would speak of the churches in *Brussels*, they are very numerous, their structure magnificent, and well adorn'd by the piety of the inhabitants, especially the cathedral, where are good marble columns and statues; and among the most remarkable things, three consecrated hosts, which there is an undoubted tradition shed much blood, being struck through by heretics.

There are many publick squares, all extra-Squares. ordinary spacious and beautiful; but the first place is due to that call'd *Des Sablons*, where the publick shews are perform'd; and perhaps it may have retain'd that name from the antient custom of strewing sand in the amphitheatre, as antiquaries inform us.

*Thursday* I went to the palace, and saw the governor, *Don Antonio Francisco Agurto*, in the council of state, who sits in a room on the left hand of the first hall. In the evening he went to the theatre to the opera call'd *Bellerophon*, which was tolerably well perform'd. Only *Chorus's* were sung in *Italian*, all the rest being in *French*, which is most used here by the gentry. The theatre is very small, having but two rows of boxes, and I paid three schellings for my place.

*Friday*, which was before yesterday, the seventh instant, bidding *Brussels* adieu, I went into the *Vikvord* boat, paying fourpence; and the distance being but two leagues, was sooner there than I expected. Thence I went two leagues further to *Mechlin*, which cost two schellings in the coach, and having din'd, proceeded on. *Mechlin*. This city is seated on the river *Dyle*, in fifty-one degrees of latitude, and is not inferior for beauty to any other in *Brabant*, notwithstanding the fire that consum'd it in the year 1556. The streets are wide, as streight as an arrow, and well pav'd with pebbles; the palaces beautiful, and the markets plentifully furnish'd with all things necessary for human life. I could see no church but the cathedral, and was satisfy'd. In it is honour'd the body of their first archbishop *St. Rumoldus*, lying in a fine silver shrine on the high altar.

About one in the afternoon I took coach again, with some ladies, for the usual price of two schellings, and having rode four leagues came into this city, at that they call the *Mechlin*, or *St. George's* gate, laughing all the way at the sharp pointed straw hats the country women wear.

*Antwerp*, by the country people call'd *Antwerpen*, is capital of a marquisate, erected, as some say, by the emperor *Otho* the second, and therefore call'd of the sacred *Roman* empire. Opinions vary about the original of its name, which I do not care to inquire into; but will only tell you it stands on the right-hand shore of the *Scheld*, and following the windings of that river, seventeen leagues from the sea. These waters surround its strong bastions and most famous citadel; and running into eight large canals, carry up laden vessels to the city. On the ramparts of the walls, are long rows of trees, making pleasant walks for the inhabitants; which was an invention

invention of *Charles V.* when he enlarg'd it sixteen hundred paces in length, and two hundred forty-four in breadth. It is said to contain thirteen thousand five hundred handsome and convenient houses; but the number of inhabitants cannot be easily ascertain'd; being a place of great trade, there are always many strangers. Take notice, that sometimes there have been two thousand five hundred laden vessels on the river, and I have been told, that about an hundred millions are here transacted in buying and selling of commodities in a year. [*This must be of florins.*] The streets are long, streight, and well pav'd with pebbles, and the market-places spacious and beautiful; especially the merchants square call'd *The New Exchange.* This exchange, to speak the truth, is bigger than that of *London*, and more stately, by reason of the magnificent arches, supported by forty-three marble pillars. In the upper walks there are many rich shops, and particularly there is a considerable sale of good pictures, occasion'd by the *Flemings* having a special genius and inclination for painting, as well as the *Italians.* The merchants have another house call'd *Oosterling*, the circumference whereof they say is three hundred cubits.

The town-house, or courts, is one of the best structures, all adorn'd with curious works in marble, according to the strictest rules of architecture. There are in it two principal apartments; the first where the council and other inferior judges meet; the other for chambers call'd of peace, where the publick affairs are handled. To this purpose, you must understand, that *Antwerp* is govern'd by eighteen senators, composing the aforesaid council, among whom are the two consuls; the one internal, who is also call'd *Princeps Senatus*, or *Chief of the Senate*; and the other external, who takes care of some things, which, among the *Romans*, belong'd to the *Ædile*, or *City Prætor*, and to this council appeals lie from the inferior courts. There are also two prefects of the city, the one a gentleman, the other a citizen; of whom I say no more, to avoid my usual fault of tediousness.

The citadel above-mention'd was built by king *Philip II.* in the year 1567, having five regular bastions, and the curtains with ramparts. The garrison consists of eight companies, conveniently quarter'd; the artillery is good and numerous; and there is every thing requisite for a thorough defence. I was there this very morning, and among other rarities they shew'd me, were some leather boats, in which the *Dutch* once came to surprize it.

It remains to say something of the churches, among which the first place is due to that of *Our Lady*, formerly only collegiate, but made cathedral in 1559, by pope *Paul IV.* at the instance of king *Philip II.* All parts of it are well order'd and adorn'd; but the steeple is wonderful, for besides the extraordinary height of four hundred and eighty-four cubits, there is most excellent work on it every way. The next is that belonging to the profess'd house of the *Jesuits*, all finely cas'd with marble, adorn'd with choice paintings, and set off with much gilding; not to enlarge upon two ranks of stately marble columns, one upon another, to the number of thirty-six, which support the great middle isle. The church of the *Carmelites* is most beautiful, as well for architecture as ornaments and painting; but the most remarkable thing in it is a very fine battle, with a lanskip carv'd in marble, than which I shall never see one better design'd and represented. The beauty of this piece did so wholly possess my mind, that I afterwards made no account of the statues that embellish the famous churches of *St. James*, *St. George*, *St. Michael*, and others, though so fine, that it would be too tedious to describe all their perfections.

The citizens are very handsome, and well behav'd, so sprightly and brave, that 1585 they gave the great *Alexander Farnese*, duke of *Parma*, who besieg'd them, enough to do, and invented some warlike engines for their defence, which had never been known before. Methinks I have writ too much for a short letter, and therefore ought not to trouble you any more with my unpolish'd style; but am, &c.

## LETTER XXV.

Of Dort, Rotterdam, Delf, the Hague, Leyden, and Haerlem.

Amsterdam, June 15. 1686.

THOUGH too often writing to the same person, be much like too much babbling; and the inroaching on a friend's goodness may expose a man to their anger; yet I cannot find in my heart to forbear,

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when fresh matter occurs; and I know that besides your having injoin'd me so to do, you take some pleasure in it. Having writ to you six days since from *Antwerp*, I am resolv'd *Amsterdam* shall have no cause to complain

8 E

complain

GEMEL-  
LI.  
complain of me, as if it did not deserve you should have a letter about it. To observe my former method, I left that city on the tenth of this instant month, in a boat, and the wind prov'd so favourable, that we had been very soon here, had not we been stopp'd at *Lillo*, a fort belonging to the states general. We first left on the right hand *Bergenopzome*, a town in *Brabant*, and then *Tortol* in *Zealand* on the left, and on *Tuesday* the eleventh in the morning found we had run twenty-one leagues, when we came to *Dort*, or *Dordrecht*.

Dort. Some think it takes name from a river call'd also *Dort*; but seeing it seated near four rivers, viz. the *Maese*, the *Wael*, the *Linge*, and the *Merwei*, I cannot think them to be altogether in the right, even though one of these were in *Dutch* call'd *Dort*. It was formerly on the continent, and was made an island by the dreadful inundation in the year 1471, when seventy-two towns were swallow'd up by the water, and one hundred thousand men drown'd. It is about a mile in length, and resembles a galley in shape. The houses are high and uniform; the main streets indifferent streight and well pav'd; and the churches remarkable, especially *Our Lady's*. Among the strange privileges of this city, besides its being the only one that coins money, it has that of seizing all goods brought to it, obliging the owners to sell them to the inhabitants, who transport them to other places. It is govern'd by the *Scult*, whom the stadtholder of *Holland* chuses out of three nam'd by the senate; by a consul chosen by the under senators, or *Dud-Raden*; and by eight deputies of the pretors, who are call'd *Coed lugden van acht*, if I remember right; besides nine sheriffs and five senators.

From *Dort* we proceeded to *Williamstadt*, where quitting the sea we enter'd the *Maese*, and holding on our course four leagues, with a fair wind, came to *Rotterdam* soon after eleven, where I gave four schellings, and two stivers for my passage.

Rotter-  
dam.

It is generally believ'd that *Rotterdam* takes its name from a canal near it, call'd *Rotter*; though others differ in opinion. However that is, it may be now reckon'd one of the most trading cities in *Europe*, thanks to the *Maese* and the sea, which is but five leagues from it; or rather to the industry of the inhabitants, who had rather have rich shops and warehouses than stately palaces; and this is the reason why there are none but wooden bridges on the branches of the canal, that run through the several parts of the city; and the exchange ill built, and without any embellishment. The greatest ornament of it is a brass statue, erected in the greatest market-place,

in honour of its famous native *Erasmus*, the glory of his age, and restorer of literature on this side the *Alps*. Could I hope to reach the dignity of the subject, I would say something in praise of him; but that is no easy task, and my letter would grow intolerably long. I shall only say, that all the ill opinion wrongfully conceiv'd of him among most catholicks, proceeds from the too much freedom he took in writing wittily in his *Colloquies*, and other places; and his condemning the vain and useless subtilties of modern *Peripateticks*; especially those, who, without ever having read *Aristotle*, put off their followers with a few whimsical distinctions that signify nothing, and only serve to confound the poor students. These subtilizing doctors, who in the upshot will never be able to give any good account of what they so dearly sell in the schools, have always taken much pains to make *Erasmus* be look'd upon as a *Lutheran*, or worse; that so his learning might be equally under-valu'd with his person; and the more for that in his days the world was so darken'd by the clouds of ignorance, that the affronting of *Aristotle* was look'd upon as a matter wherein religion was concern'd; whereas *St. Augustin* in his *City of God*, chap. 23. plainly tells us, *That it is the divines, and not the philosophers, that must be circumspect in their words*. Yet the university of *Paris* had long before banish'd *Aristotle's* doctrine, perceiving that the errors of *Almain* had proceeded from thence in the schools. And it plainly appears how far *Erasmus* was averse to the pretended reformation and the reformers, by several of his epistles to *Corradus Pellicanus*, *Melan-Ebon*, and others of that party; as also by the esteem the catholick princes, and the pope himself, had for him.

Before I proceed, you must hear a story they tell in this his native country, concerning the occasion that mov'd him to run away from the monastery of *Tergous*. They say there was a most stately pear-tree in the garden of that monastery, which bore the finest pears in all the country about; which being so extraordinary, the good superior had laid a most severe injunction, with grievous threats forbidding any friar to presume to touch them, upon pain of his highest displeasure, because he design'd them all for himself. But *Erasmus*, who lik'd them as well as the superior, got up several times very early, and with much satisfaction eat his belly-full of that fruit; so that the superior finding they daily grew thin, resolv'd to find out the thief, and to make him undergo a most severe penance; so that having lain some mornings upon the watch at the window of his cell, he at length, one of them, saw him

Ridiculous  
story.

him on the pear-tree. He keeping close to wait for the day-light, the better to discern the person, was at length observ'd by the cunning and watchful *Erasmus*, who sliding down from the tree, so perfectly counterfeited lameness as he went away, that the superior was fully persuad'd it was not he, but another lame friar, that had eaten his beloved pears. Thus when it was day, having call'd together all the religious, he told them many fine things concerning the virtue of holy obedience, and then turning in a passion to the lame man, severely rebuk'd him for his contumacy and liquorishness, laying the stolen fruit to his charge. He several times deny'd the fact, alledging his innocence in that case; yet the other thinking he had seen signs enough to be fully convinc'd that he was the man, injoin'd him a most severe penance, which made the real thief laugh in his sleeve, and resolv'd to withdraw himself from his injustice. I have writ this silly novel to make you laugh as well as him; for I cannot entertain such an ill opinion of *Erasmus* as to believe he should desist from his good purpose upon so frivolous an occasion.

Having seen *Rotterdam* I put my baggage into a boat, that goes and comes to and from *Delft*, and return'd into the city to change a pistole; but in the mean while the boat was gone without me, and I was forc'd to take coach either to overtake, or get thither before it. All the way was in sight of fine pleasant gardens; and having rode a good pace about a league, pass'd by a village, I think they call *Acerski*, and coming to *Delft* found the boat and my goods.

Delft.

*Delft* city, built by *Godfrey of Lorraine*, surnam'd the *Crook-back*, is now restor'd in a beautiful manner, after its former misfortunes, but is not strong, for being almost a mile in length, the breadth is not answerable, and the river *Delft* running thro' the midst of it, makes it appear the more disagreeable, as seeming to be but thin of houses. The harbour is in the *Maese*, being capacious, and convenient enough, which enriches the citizens, most of whom trade in beer and linen. There are many fine buildings scatter'd about the city, which I had not leisure particularly to observe, during those few hours I staid there. I shall only tell you, that the church call'd *Veckin d' ode Kerken*, is fine enough, having five isles, and in it are three stately tombs of curious marble, being those of *Marinus Harprecht*, *Peter Heinsius* and *Elizabeth Teger*. In that they call *Dinovin Kerken*, are the tombs of four former princes of *Orange*: The chief whereof is that of *William*, the prime instrument of the *Dutch* liberty. The statues

adorning it represent his principal good qualities and heroick actions; as for instance, one with a hat on, and this motto, *Aurea Libertas*; a device taken from the medal of *C. Cassius*, if I mistake not; another holds a ballance, with these words, *Jovis tranquillitas in undis*, &c. The inscription is as follows,

D. O. M.

*Æternæ memoriæ Gulielmi Nassovii, supremi Arausionensium principis, pat. patriæ: qui Belgii fortunis suas posthabuit: & suorum validissimos exercitus ære plurimum privato bis conscripsit, bis induxit. Ordinum auspiciis Hispanicam tyrannidem propulsavit; veræ religionis cultum, avitas patriæ leges revocavit, restituit: ipsam denique libertatem tantum non assertam Mauritio principi, paternæ virtutis heredi filio, stabiliendam reliquit. Herois vere pii, prudentis, invicti, quem Philip. II. Hispan. R. ille Europæ timor, timuit, non domuit, non terruit, sed empto percussore fraude nefanda sustulit, Fœderat. Belg. Provinc. perenni meritor. monum. P. C. C.*

Then going into another boat, which carry'd some gentlemen and ladies, I came in less than an hour to the *Hague*, about a league distant. In these parts the boats are the greatest conveniency in the world; for they are wide enough, and have a deck, with long neat benches on the sides to sit on; and what is more, all this conveniency at a cheaper rate than you will imagine. By the way we fell into discourse about our city of *Naples*, and so from one thing to another, of the antient *Bajæ*, so much extoll'd by the *Romans*. A *German* gentleman of our company, was of opinion that all those ruins of mighty structures, which he had seen under water, all along under the fort, were formerly along the sea shore; which afterwards in-croaching upon the land, as in other places it withdraws farther off, they came to be over-flow'd, as they now are. But I soon undeceiv'd him, plainly demonstrating that the sea had only recover'd what was wrongfully taken from it, and happened to remember the words of *Cassiodorus*, *variar. lib. 9. Epist. 6.* who says, *Quantis ibi molibus marini termini decenter investi sunt? Quantis in visceribus aquoris terra promota est?* That is, *How great piles are there rais'd to invade the borders of the sea? How far is the land extended into the bowels of the sea?*

Discoursing on this and such like matters, *Hague*, no way pleasing to the ladies, we came to the *Hague*, a village much preferable to many famous cities; not only on account of its plenty of all things, stately buildings, spacious

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spacious markets, and well pav'd streets; but as being the residence of the States general, and of *William* prince of *Orange*, their perpetual stadtholder, as it formerly was the court of the earls of *Holland*. The prince lives in the famous castle call'd *T' Hof van Holland*, signifying, the court of *Holland*, so call'd from having been the habitation of the said earls; and therefore in the chappel still remaining are to be seen the tombs of *Albertus* of *Bavaria*, and his wife *Margaret*. The prince lives more like an absolute prince than a governor; for two companies of *Dutch* foot mount his guard every day; one of *Swiss* halbardiers, and a troop of horse, or dragoons, by turns. They are all well clad in blue; but the *Swiss* have also gold and silver lace. The pikes among the foot march before the musketiers, contrary to what the *Spaniards* use.

Going to see the prince at dinner, I thought the apartments majestically adorn'd; but must spare being particular as to the furniture to avoid tediousness. He being abroad to see a trial of carcasses, I only saw the princess dine alone, above. You know her name is *Mary Stuart*, daughter to the king of *England*; and I will not wrong my conscience in speaking of her form, by saying she is beautiful, for I have much ado to forbear calling her ugly, and what is worse, ungentle, awkward and incredibly haughty. Her chaplain having said grace in *Dutch*, she sat down to eat very hastily, and a great quantity, but drank not much, and when she did, the lady that waited kneel'd. The prince coming afterwards, I went down into the lower apartment, where he was at table, with eight generals, in a room adjoining to the guard-chamber. All the difference between them was, that he sat at the upper-end, on a chair of crimson velvet, the back whereof was half a span higher than the rest, which were of cloth of the same colour. His countenance is uglier than his wife's, and his crooked hawk's nose, according to the rules of physiognomy, shews him to be a rapacious cruel man. But what trifles do I talk of? He has been bred to arms from his infancy, and consequently has much improv'd his judgment by experience in martial affairs; which makes some reckon him among the best generals of this age, and perhaps they may have reason.

In this same palace is held the prince's supreme court, as he is stadtholder: as also the provincial, consisting of twelve senators and a president; the council of *Brabant*, which rules the affairs of so much of that dukedom as is subject to the states; the *Exchequer-Court*, compos'd of four deputies; the council of war; the justice

court, call'd *Hooghen-Raed*, from which no appeal lies, and, to conclude, the assembly of the States general, consisting of eighty deputies of the united provinces. I could not go into this last chamber, they then actually sitting to consult about some important matter; but in the first room I saw abundance of colours and arms, taken from enemies; and then went into the justice hall and *Exchequer-Court*. In the first of them are several shops of sundry sorts of goods, particularly choice books. Next I went along a close gallery to the room appointed for the reception of ambassadors, all hung with very rich tapestry, and about the bench there were twenty-four seats, cover'd with green-cloth, all equal, except the president's, which was somewhat higher; opposite to whom sits the ambassador that has audience. The dignity of president goes round all the twenty-four by weeks; but when the ambassador is to treat about any particular business, he does it with only the deputies, in another small room adjoining. To conclude, I saw a great library, very full of excellent manuscripts, and the choicest books that can be found.

At a small distance from the town is a delicious grove, with curious walks among very tall and full-headed trees, where those often walk, who delight in some quiet solitude, to divert the cares of the world; and the pleasure is here the greater, because there being no fierce creatures, the fearful rabbits, the swift hares, the nimble deer and the fleet stags are wonderfully numerous; so that should all other satisfaction fail, there is always game enough.

Half a league from the town, is the ancient abbey of *Laosdunen*, whereof nothing now stands but the church; and here the princess *Margaret*, daughter to *Florentius* earl of *Holland*, lies buried with all her children; having, as a judgment from heaven, been deliver'd of three hundred and sixty-five at one birth, for reproaching a poor woman that had two twins with dishonesty, who therefore wish'd her so many, and her prayers were heard. The story is well known, and no more needs be said of it.

*Thursday* 13th, after hearing mass in the catholick ambassador's chappel, I took boat, paying a schelling; and passing on a league in sight of well-till'd lands, came to *Leyden*, by the antients call'd *Lugdunum Batavorum*, and now very famous, not only for its great trade of woollen and linen cloth made by the inhabitants, but for being the metropolis of *Rhinland*, and one of the famousest universities on this side the *Alps*. It is seated in fifty degrees forty minutes latitude, if I mistake not, in a plain, delightful

This author's prejudices to the English nation have exposed his want of judgment in many instances; but in none more than in the character he gives of this excellent princess, and in his nigardly and forc'd praise of her heroic consort.

delightful country, water'd with several canals, insomuch that they are oblig'd to join the several islands form'd by them, with one hundred and fifty bridges, some of wood, and others of stone; and in other places to cross the broad canals in boats. The shape of it is almost circular, inclos'd on all sides with good fortifications. The principal streets within are adorn'd with long rows of trees, and pav'd with good stones and bricks, more neatly than are the very floors of lower rooms in some cities. My stay being so short, I had only leisure to see a stately antient church of *St. Peter*, which has five isles; and that of the *French Refugees*, where a minister was then preaching, endeavouring with many examples out of holy writ, to comfort his congregation, then concern'd for the persecution of their brethren in *France*.

I then went to the university, and giving the beadles a small fee, was conducted to the physick-garden, which is adorn'd with the rarest plants that either *India* or *Africk* produce, and full of sundry strange creatures; of all which they give strangers the figures, printed on two sheets of royal paper. There are abundance of rarities proper for that art in the anatomy-hall, besides other things worth observing, among which we must not forget a dead sea-horse.

To conclude, I left *Leyden* yesterday, and proceeded five leagues to *Haerlem*, paying two schellings for my passage in the boat; which is drawn by one horse, and advances about four *Italian* miles an hour. This city, capital of *West-Friesland*, otherwise call'd *Kennemerland*, is five leagues from the sea, and has the second vote among the *States General*, as inferior to few others for goodness of situation, and fortifications, greatness of compass, and suitable number of inhabitants. The natives of it pretend that the invention of printing is theirs; alledging that the first contriver of it was *Lawrence Coster*, or according to others *Janson* was born here; and that his scholar *John Faustus* afterwards carry'd it to *Amsterdam*, thence to *Cologne*, and lastly to *Munster*; where being more employ'd than in other places, thence came the mistake, that the *Germans* were the inventors; whereas they are men more likely to follow the inventions of others heavily, than to find any of their own.

I departed *Haerlem* in a boat, which for a schelling carry'd me two leagues to this famous city. The little time I have been here would make it unreasonable to pretend to give you any account of it, and therefore I remain, &c.

## LETTER XXVI.

Of Amsterdam and Utrecht.

Nimeguen, June 22. 1686.

THO' it seldom happens, that he who talks much upon any subject, has always the good fortune to say the best, and speak to the purpose; yet I am so desirous to please and divert you, by giving an account of all that occurs in my travels, that tho' my reputation were concern'd, I could not forbear writing to, and acquainting you with all my adventures. To observe the same method as hitherto, the city of *Amsterdam*, whence I writ to you on *Saturday* last, is in fifty degrees twenty-four minutes latitude, on the river *Amstel*, which running thro' gives name to it, and falls into its harbour thro' four channels. The said port is a small bay of that they call the *Zuyder See*, or *South-Sea*. Its first beginning was in the thirteenth century, by some poor fishermen settling there, for the conveniency of fishing, and building some small huts of mud and stones; but the conveniency of its situation causing it to be much frequented by all ships trading into the north, has brought it to that greatness it is now arriv'd to,

not without the envy of its neighbours. The compass of it is about thirteen thousand nine hundred and forty-five paces; the shape semicircular; so that the length of the harbour makes the string to the bow. The walls and all its other fortifications are singular, and it would be a difficult task to represent the beauty and uniformity of the buildings; tho' the out-sides be almost all of brick, and the rest of timber. The streets are long, spacious, well-pav'd, and streight, with large canals in them full of the sea and river water, over which are many good stone bridges, and along their sides long rows of spreading trees. Between these trees, at convenient distances, there are lights at night, at the charge of the inhabitants, for the conveniency and safety of people passing to and fro; but at some distance from the houses, for fear of fire; and for the same reason, the inhabitants are warn'd by sound of trumpet, to take heed of every spark of fire, to prevent misfortunes. The excessive care of the streets degenerates into

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extravagancy; for to preserve them, they allow of no coaches upon wheels, but drawn on sledges. The main canal in *Amsterdam* is call'd *Dam-Rack*, and divides the city into the eastern and western. The first contains the new city, and part of the old; and here stands the *East-India* house, where there is always an immense quantity of cloves, cinnamon, pepper, and other commodities, brought from those oriental parts. Here is also the *West-India* house, and in it vast rich *American* goods; as also the *Exchange*, built on such a lofty bridge, that ships sail under it; and in its shops is sold all that men can imagine. *Francis Stryker* shew'd me many rare and valuable things in his house, and among the rest, a little casket or box so ingenious for workmanship, and so rich in painting, medals and jewels, that it cost the owner seventy thousand crowns.

In the west town is the *Stadtbuyse*, or town-house, with some churches and hospitals, as well antient as modern; and two arsenals, so well furnish'd with canon and all other warlike stores, that it is amazing. In other respects *Amsterdam* may be call'd a second *Venice*, as being also built in the water and upon piles; but the difference is, that its streets are regular, spacious, and adorn'd with trees, as has been said. Besides, when were there ever two thousand ships of all nations seen together at *Venice*, as I myself have beheld at *Amsterdam*? not reckoning forty men of war, of the navy of the *United Provinces*: Yet there is this inconveniency, that by reason of the shallowness, the greatest ships must put out part of their lading before they come up.

I will not talk of the manners of the citizens; for traders are always the same, and therefore I cannot conceive why they hate, and have an ill opinion of the *Italians*; for there is no wonder they should have an aversion to the *Spaniards*, on account of their old grudges. All strangers are to be cautious of being abroad at night, for there are dismal jests put upon them; and particularly they must avoid lewd women, who conceal their bullies in their houses, to rob and abuse those that fall into their hands.

There is a great number of learned men, but after the *Dutch* fashion; that is, authors of *Varie Lectiones* and wretched criticisms; and in short good correctors of the press. I do not condemn criticism, which I rather admire, but it ceases to be criticism, when made without the most profound judgment; whereas when it only consists in abundance of scraps of literature, to me it looks more like the work of a gazetteer, than of a man of sound

learning. I have met with none according to my heart but *Le Clerc*, and without saying any more, I am sure you will be of the same mind, when you begin to read his *Bibliothèque Universelle & Historique*, in twelves, which is a sort of journal of the works of the learned, containing excellent and learned extracts of books, with extraordinary remarks and observations on them.

Before we leave *Holland* it is convenient to put you in mind, that this earldom, on the east, borders upon *Guelderland*, has the ocean on the north and west, and *Brabant* on the south, so that all its compass is not above sixty leagues. It was formerly call'd *Batavia*, and contain'd all that tract of land which lies between the *Rhine* and the ocean; and if we carefully examine the antient maps shall find it was never intirely subdu'd by the *Romans*, but only tributary, and much valu'd by them, for the valour of the natives. It is now call'd *Holland*, as some think from its hollowness, because every foot a horse sets, sounds as if it were hollow underneath, perhaps like the sulphurous grounds at *Pozzuoli*. The chief rivers that water it are the *Maese* and the *Rhine*, besides abundance of navigable canals cut by art, and some lakes and pools, whose spare water is artificially convey'd into those long canals; which renders the air wholesome, makes plenty of pasture, and occasions great store of game.

The *Dutch* are large of body, well enough shap'd, and sharp; given to change, whence the proverb of *Fides Batava*, and being traders, not only know how to avoid being impos'd upon by others, but how to trick all mankind. They are inclin'd to all commendable arts, and particularly the north *Hollanders* are much addicted to trade and navigation; whereas the southern love tillage and war; but they are all equally industrious, and as it were naturally form'd to acquire wealth; for tho' their country yields very little wool, yet they make some of the best cloth in *Europe*; they have no woods, and yet build so many good ships; they want vines, and yet there is no sort of rich wine but they have plenty of it; and, to conclude, they supply the want of trees to burn, with turf, enduring the stink of it in the fire. In their houses they are neat to excess, washing not only the floors, but the walls; and by this you may judge of the rest.

As to their government, you know that being much molested by the *Normans*, they chose themselves a governor, whom they call'd *Grave*, retaining all the power among the states; but the successors of the said *Grave*, about the ninth century, took the

file

stile of *Earls*, without any dependance on the empire, as the meaning of the name imported. In procefs of time the earldom fell to the invincible emperor *Charles V.* and his son *Philip II.* king of *Spain*; but whether the severity of the duke of *Alva*, on account of religion, or their natural affection to liberty, was the occasion, the *Dutch* withdrew their obedience from their lawful sovereign, rebelling in 1572, and formed their republick nine years after, by the advice and support of the enemies of *Spain*, and thro' the valour of *William of Nassau* prince of *Orange*; who from thence-forward was appointed captain general of the republick, to be continu'd to his successors.

I only mention'd *Holland's* shaking off the yoke, all the *United Provinces* being commonly compriz'd under this name, tho' they are seven, viz. *Groningen*, *Friesland*, *Zutphen*, *Gueldres*, which two make one province, *Overyffel*, *Utrecht*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, all which in 1519 made the famous league of *Utrecht*, from which they were afterwards call'd *United Provinces*, or *Protestant Low Countries*, to distinguish them from the catholick, subject to the house of *Austria*, being the dukedoms of *Brabant*, *Limburg* and *Luxemburg*, the counties of *Namur*, *Haynault*, *Artois* and *Flanders*, the lordship of *Mecklin*, the marquifate of the holy empire, and part of the duchy of *Gueldres*. At present *Spain* retains but a small part, if we consider what has been taken from it by the *French* and *Dutch*; and now it seems to have lost its right over the rebels, first by the truce granted them by king *Philip III.* and then by the peace *Philip IV.* concluded in the year 1648.

Utrecht.

*Thursday* the twentieth I took boat, and having gone seven leagues in sight of curious gardens and pleasure-houses, came to *Utrecht*, paying two schellings for my passage. There are so many and so various opinions concerning its name, and so uncertain are the conjectures of several authors who have undertaken to treat of it, that it would be a difficult, and perhaps impossible task to find out the truth. Some will have it so call'd à *trajectu Rheni*, from the passage of the *Rhine*; others from the legion *Tricesmæ Ulpia victrix*; and others will have it to be *Ultricesum*, or the *Tricesima* of *Ammianus Marcellinus*; but however that is, it is now

capital of the province of the same name, and enjoys a wholesome and temperate air, as being seated in the least marshy ground in the low countries. Two canals run thro' it, the one call'd *Vaert*, if I mistake not, the other *Nieuw-Gracht*, over each of which there are thirty-five bridges; and these canals bring large boats laden with goods, which they also convey to the neighbouring towns. The most valuable conveniency in my opinion is, that there are fifty cities within a day's journey of *Utrecht*; and twenty-six of them stand so, that a man may go dine there, and return home at night. The fortifications are good, and the buildings handsome; among which the most worthy to be mentioned, are, the church of *St. Martin*, formerly a cathedral founded by bishop *Willebrod*, *St. Saviour's*, *St. Peter's*, *St. John's*, and *Our Lady's*, magnificently built by the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, as it were in satisfaction for the damage done to the churches at *Milan*. The citizens are courteous and industrious; nor have they ever wanted men of learning: pope *Adrian VI.* once tutor to *Charles V.* was one of them; and I shall never forget his epitaph, which is this,

ADRIANUS VI. HEIC SITUS EST, QUI  
NIHIL INFELICIUS IN VITA DUXIT,  
QUAM QUOD IMPERARET.

That is, *Here lies Adrian VI. who thought his being in authority the greatest unhappiness of this life.*

Were I to play the historian, I would observe how great the authority of the antient bishops here was, and what remedy was apply'd by *Charles the Bald*, king of *France*, and how in procefs of time the sovereignty devolv'd to the *Austrian* emperors, and was from thence transferr'd to the states of *Holland*; but my design is only to acquaint you with what I see, not with what I read or hear, and therefore only tell you, that having paid three schellings and a half for my supper and bed at night, I set out on *Saturday* morning in a coach, paying ten schellings for my place, and having travelled seven leagues and a half, before night came to this city, where I remain your, &c.

## LETTER XXVII.

Of Nimeguen, Cleves and Cologn.

Cologn, June 27. 1686.

Nime-  
guen.

HAVING stay'd scarce two days at *Nimeguen*, all I can tell you of it is, that it stands on the left side of the *Wael*, which is deeper here than elsewhere, and therefore the inhabitants have with great industry made it capable of large ships down to the sea, which has convey'd much wealth to them, which is much forwarded by the safety of the harbour, and the citizens inclinations to trade. The fortifications are many and regular. As for structures, there is still the antient castle of *Valkenhoff*, formerly ruin'd by the *Normans*, and since rebuilt by the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, together with *Charlemaign's* palace. The cathedral is dedicated to *St. Stephen*, and is reckon'd one of the noblest in these parts, as well for magnificence of structure, as largeness and beauty of ornaments. In the choir is the chappel of *Catharine of Bourbon*, wife to *Adolphus* duke of *Gueldres*.

Not far from this church is the free school, extraordinary well adorn'd with good statues, and farther on, the court, with many statues of emperors on the frontispiece; and this is all I can tell you as to the buildings. As to other particulars, you know it is an imperial free city, with the privilege of coining, and capital of the duchy of *Gueldres*, and that its li-

berty reaches northward to the aforesaid river, eastward to the duchy of *Cleves*, southward and westward by *Holland*, tho' it was formerly comprehended within the kingdom of *Friesland*, on which it still borders. This appears by an antient piece of marble found on the neighbouring mountain, with this inscription, *HUCUSQUE JUS STAURIAE*, *Thus far the liberties of Stauria*; and *Stauria*, or *Staverara*, as *Hornius* guesses, was the metropolis of *Friesland*. As for the other stone, with the inscription, *HIC PES ROMANI IMPERII*, *This is the extent or foot of the Roman empire*; perhaps it ought rather to be understood of the *German Roman* empire than of the antient *Roman*, as others have less properly fancy'd.

Last *Monday* I took a place in the coach for five *German* florins, being about four *Neapolitan* ducats, and set out with a gentleman of *Vienna* call'd *Signor Varena*. We din'd at *Cleves*, three leagues distant, and capital of the duchy of that name, seated in 52 degrees latitude, on an easy and pleasant hill, on which is a square tower, formerly the residence of the dukes, which, tho' no very antient fabrick to appearance, is believ'd to have been built by *Julius Caesar*, because of the inscription still on it.

ANNO AB URBE CON. DCXCII. C. JULIUS DICTATOR, HIS PARTIBUS SUBACTIS, ARCEM CLIVENSEM FUNDAVIT.

That is, *In the year 692 after the building of Rome, Julius Cæsar the dictator having subdu'd these parts, founded the castle of Cleves.*

The said duchy of *Cleves* borders eastward on that of *Berg*, *Westphalia*, and the county of *Mark*, northward on *Zutphen* and *Overyffel*, westward on *Guelders* and the county of *Liege*, and southward on that of *Cologn* and *Juliers*. Many rivers run thro' it, some small, others great, particularly the *Rhine*, which, besides fertilizing the land, affords the advantage of navigation, very beneficial to several places.

Duke *John William* dying in the year 1609 without issue, the succession was stiffly contended for between the marquis elector of *Brandenburg*, the duke of *Neuberg*, the duke of *Deux-Ponts*, and the marquis of *Burgaw*, all pretending by wives of the house of *Cleves*; but, as you well know,

only the two first divided it between them by force of arms, so that the duchy we speak of now belongs to the *Brandenburgers*. The city is small, but has many beautiful and remarkable structures, and good churches belonging to the catholicks.

We proceeded five leagues from *Cleves* to *Guelders*, where we lay, and on *Tuesday* went on seven leagues to *Nuys*, and lastly, yesterday morning, after riding four leagues, we came to this city, where I am at your service, ready to depart this very day as soon as I have din'd.

*Cologn*, by the *Germans* call'd *Coeln*, lies in fifty-one degrees of latitude, and twenty-seven and forty minutes of longitude. It is generally thought to have been built by the

the *Ubi*, a people of *Germany*, who at the time when *Agrippa*, son-in-law to *Augustus*, commanded the *Roman* army in these parts, pass'd the *Rhine*, flying from the superior power of their enemies the *Suevians*, and being admitted to his friendship, obtain'd so good a place to fix their habitation; but it is not easy to find what name they gave their new city. Afterwards, in the days of the emperor *Claudius*, it was made a colony, and call'd *Agrippina*, in honour of *Julia Agrippina*, mother to *Nero*, who was born there. It was also call'd *Colonia Claudia Augusta Agrippinensium*, in some antient inscriptions.

About the year 462 it was taken by the *French* under the conduct of *Childerick*, and in 949 it was taken from them by the emperor *Otho*, who made it a free city; it was then call'd the new *German Rome*, for its magnificence, wealth, beauty, and multitude of inhabitants; but at present I am of opinion no such great account can be made of it; for tho' rich, and driving a considerable trade by means of the river, yet if we look to its extent, it is but an *Italian* mile and a half long, and a quarter in breadth, in the form of a half-moon, on the left bank of the *Rhine*, for which reason there is never a fine streight street throughout the city; but, excepting one, indifferently seated, and less than half a mile in length, all the rest are narrow, crooked, and mis-shapen. As to the fortifications, there is a double wall, but weak, and most of it antient; the houses about the *Eigelstein*-gate may be call'd convenient, and indifferent uniform, the rest towards *St. Severin's* gate the most wretched and barbarous in the world, and in short there is scarce any thing in it worth taking notice of.

The town-house was formerly a good structure in the days of the *Sicambri*, for

now mens taste is extraordinary nice. The GEMEL-LI. cathedral is a very large and antient church of five isles, but so void of ornament, that it would look hideous were it not for the fine tombs in it of several archbishops and princes both in marble and brass; and behind the high altar, in a small chapel, are kept the heads of the three holy kings, *Gaspar*, *Melchior* and *Balthasar*; and on the altar itself is the body of *St. Engelbertus*, and other considerable relicks. *St. Maternus*, disciple to *St. Peter*, who dy'd in the year 134, is said to have been the first bishop of *Cologne*. The churches of the *Machabees* and of the eleven thousand virgins are handsome, but much inferior to the most indifferent in *Italy*; you may guess what the rest are, being very many, and yet of no note. In the palace is a famous tower, adorn'd with some statues, and at a small distance the *Jews* synagogue, call'd *Jerusalem*, where they shew a picture of the hand of *Apelles*; let them answer for the truth of it.

On the opposite bank of the river stood formerly a fort, built by the *Romans*, to which there was a bridge built by *Constantine* the Great, according to the tradition of this country; but it was afterwards destroy'd by bishop *Bruno* in the year 1124, and at present there are only a few cottages, inhabited by *Lutherans*. This archbishoprick, which is divided into the upper and the lower dioces, borders northward on the country of *Cleves* and *Mark*, eastward on the duchy of *Bergs*, southward on the archbishoprick of *Treves*, and westward on *Guelders* and *Juliers*.

I know you are acquainted with much better things than I can write you, but these may serve to clear any doubts, that you may know how things really are, and not suppose them to be better; and so I remain, &c.

## LETTER XXVIII.

*The Author's Journey from Cologne to Vienna, and Description of Coblentz, Mentz, Frankfort, Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Passaw, and Lintz.*

*Vienna, July 14. 1686.*

HAVING stay'd but two days at *Cologne*, and seen what was most remarkable, as near as I could, I took boat on the twenty-seventh of the last month, about noon, for *Frankfort*, the watermen working so well, that we came to the village of *Witrich* by the time it was dusk, where we spent the night very pleasantly; but as soon as it was day proceeding on our way, soon came to *Bon*, four *German* leagues from *Cologne*.

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This city, the usual residence of the archbishop elector of *Cologne*, is seated in fifty degrees forty minutes latitude, on the left side of the *Rhine*, said to have been built by *Drusus*, in the reign of the emperor *Augustus*, to secure that pass on the river; yet there are some long-sighted wits who place the foundation of it I know not how many ages before the destruction of *Troy*. It is now a strong place, yet very small for a city, without any handsome streets or

GEMEL- slightly structures, tho' the electoral palace  
LI. were a thousand times more stately than  
it is.

After dinner we return'd to the boat, and as we advanc'd I was pleas'd to observe the sun gilding the tops of the hills, curiously cover'd with vines and fruit-trees. Passing by the little village of *Nouncourt*, and observing a fine monastery of *Bernardine* nuns there is in a small island, we proceeded in sight of many noble houses on both sides of the river to the village of *Letristorf*, which is on the right, opposite to the town of *Andernach*, and belonging to the archbishop of *Treves*, where we lay that night. As soon as it was day we went on, pass'd by the village of *Lans*, and then the archbishop's palace, abandon'd, as the people say, on account of being haunted, the evil spirits taking delight in that curious place; and having run six leagues, came to the fort of *Erenbretstein*, on the right of the river, and subject to the same archbishop. On the top of the hill is a strong and regular citadel, with a convenient dwelling for the governor, and on the side of the hill a great castle for the aforesaid archbishop to reside in when he thinks fit, to which end there is a fine spacious and well order'd garden; and both these places are well furnish'd with cannon.

Coblentz. On the opposite bank, over to which there is a fine stone bridge, stands the city of *Coblentz*, by the *Latins* call'd *Confluentia*, because near by it the waters of the *Rhine* and the *Maese* join; and by another name, *Colonia Augusta Ulpia Viatrix*. It is of an indifferent magnitude, and the best of the archbishoprick, next to *Treves*, full of rich shops, and a numerous garrison, yet the streets are too crooked and narrow. It abounds in all sorts of provisions, and particularly the *German Nectar*, that is, wine, by reason of many pleasant crystal streams, which running down from the fruitful hills to the river, curiously water the well cultivated gardens and fertile vineyards.

Since we are speaking of the archbishoprick of *Treves*, it is proper before we leave it, to observe, that it borders northward on the county of *Nassau*, the duchy of *Mons*, and the archbishoprick of *Cologne*; eastward on the *Landtgraviate* of *Hesse*, southward on *Lorrain*, and westward on the dukedom of *Luxemburg*.

To return to my journey, the first thing I saw after dinner was the small city of *Lantzren*, two *German* miles from *Erenbretstein*, and on the right side of the *Rhine*, belonging to the elector of *Mentz*; thence we advanc'd six leagues, as the watermen said, between pleasant hills, cover'd with thick vines, and lay at *Pupert*, a small village of the diocese of *Treves*, where the

houses, as in most parts of *Germany*, are fram'd with timber, and the rest is a thin wall of mud, and stones ill laid, by which you may guess at the structure.

Monday morning we first pass'd by the village of *Sangil*, belonging to the prince of *Rhinfeldt*, who has there a beautiful and stately house on the top of the hill. In that village I left my heart, for there we parted with a young maid that came with us from *Cologne*, and had perfectly charm'd me with her wit, beauty, carriage and modesty. But this is a superfluous observation, and I have not now leisure to talk of love. From *Sangil* we went a league on foot to the town of *Vessel*, on the left of the *Rhine*, belonging to the state of *Treves*, where we heard mass. A *German* mile farther on the right-hand is the village of *Guffi*, with a tower call'd *Palz*, built in the midst of the water, well provided with men and all warlike stores. Two leagues farther is *Babaraba*, a village, where the elector palatine keeps a small Garrison, and here we din'd merrily, thanks to the good wine that country abounds in.

Half a league from thence we pass'd by *Lork*, belonging to the elector of *Mentz*, and two leagues farther by the city *Pingen*, on the left, seated on a hill, with a fine castle, near which the river *Nab* falls into the *Rhine*, and lastly, lay that night in a village on the right call'd *Ruiteffum*, a league from the aforesaid city. The next morning we heard mass in the neighbouring village of *Vinckel*, and having seen that of *Elff*, passing by, with many others which adorn that same right side for the space of seven leagues, came late to dine at *Mentz*. I must observe, that if I happen to err in the distances, the fault is not mine, but theirs who impose upon me, for I could not measure them with my eyes, especially going by water.

*Mentz*, by the *Latins* call'd *Maguntia-Mentz-cum*, is seated in fifty degrees thirty minutes latitude, and twenty-seven degrees thirty minutes of longitude, on the left of the *Rhine*, which not far from thence is join'd by the waters of the *Mein*. Its territory, being water'd by many pleasant brooks flowing from the hills, produces plenty of all things necessary for the support of human life, and particularly rich wine, as the river and hills furnish abundance of fish and game. Part of the city lies in the plain, the other part rising along the side of the hill, but the upper houses are most forsaken. On the hill stands a castle, with a great tower, ill provided with men and cannon; nor does the electoral palace on the bank of the river appear to me any thing considerable; for, not to speak of the outside and symmetry, having gone over

over a bridge into a great court, and thence into the lodgings, the most remarkable thing I saw was some tapestry of forest work, and the gates without any porters. Tho' the city is small, ill wall'd, and the streets winding and uneven, yet there are some good churches in it, among which the first place is due to the cathedral, formerly dedicated to St. *Stephen*, and now bearing the name of St. *Martin*. Besides the conveniency of the aforesaid rivers, there is a canal cut, which conveys the water of the little river *Ombach* into the city, and the two banks of that canal are join'd by a bridge of boats.

*Tuesday* the second of this month I set out in the common *Frankfort* boat, which at less than half a league's distance turn'd into the river *Mein*, and began to be drawn by horses, whereas on the *Rhine* that was done by men. We first found on the left a small fort furnish'd with a few iron guns, and the village of *Flierckem* on the right, then that of *Rifelsum* on the left; and lastly, having gone seven leagues, din'd at another nam'd *Heckst*, whence we advanc'd four *German* leagues more, being as good as eight of *Flanders*, to *Frankfort*.

*Frankfort*. This city is in fifty-one degrees of latitude, and thirty-one of longitude, on the borders of *Wetteravia* and *Franconia*, and is thought to have been so call'd as it were *Francorum transitus*, the passage of the *Franks*, for there *Charlemaign* pass'd his army over the ford against the rebellious *Saxons*. The city is divided into two parts, whereof that on the left is call'd little *Frankfort*, or *Saxen-hausen*, that is, *Saxon-houses*, and that on the right great *Frankfort*, as well on account of the great number of stately houses, broad streets, and other remarkable structures, as for the strong walls and bastions that encompass it, being in figure almost oval. Here is a mighty trade, not only of *Germany*, but many other parts, at the two fairs so famous throughout all *Europe*, kept at *Easter*, and in *September*, when there is a mighty sale of books. Tho' the *Lutherans* are more numerous than the catholicks, and have the government in their hands, yet the latter have the free exercise of their religion, and several fine churches, the chief of which is dedicated to St. *Bartholomew*, and has an extraordinary clock, which shews the motions of all the planets; but this freedom of the catholicks is no extraordinary favour, for the *Jews* enjoy the same. The liberty of this imperial city doth not extend above a league about over some villages, bordering eastward on *Hanover*, southward on *Hesse Dermstadt*, westward on the archbishoprick of *Mentz*, and northward on *Wetteravia*; so that the

best it has to boast of is, that the king of the *Romans* is elected in it, where it is to be observ'd, that if two princes should happen to be chosen at the same time, neither of them may enter the city till he has vanquish'd his competitor in the field, and prevail'd on him amicably to quit his title; as we read has happen'd several times. The house where the election is made is call'd *Reiner*, and before it is a curious fountain; and here the *Scheffen* or sheriffs meet, with the *Sculd*, to decide causes, as do the burghermasters, for such matters as relate to them; and for publick affairs the senate, compos'd of forty-two elders, among which there are always two butchers, two shoemakers, two bakers, two smiths, and one skinner; but taylors are not now admitted, perhaps for fear lest they should cut too large slips of cabbage from the publick.

The next morning I set out in a coach, paying four tallers for my place, to *Nuremberg*, and passing over into the lesser *Frankfort* on a handsome stone bridge, took notice it was very well fortify'd, and inhabited by rich merchants. Then travelling thro' a delicious wood of antient pine and fir-trees, at two in the afternoon found we had travell'd four leagues to the village of *Statestaf*, where having eaten a bit, and rested a while in the coach, we proceeded half a league to the town of *Afchemburg*, belonging to the elector of *Mentz*, where is a square castle; well enough built; then passing by some villages and delightful plains, all cover'd with green vines, we came to lie at *Reinfeld*, where we had a supper and bed fit for anchorites.

*Thursday* morning, having gone two leagues in the coach, we were fain to walk up a high steep hill and then leaving behind us a good town call'd *Mildemburg*, din'd at the village of *Kiseim*, where the territory of *Mentz* ends, whence we advanc'd through mountain and woody grounds to the city of *Pischiobian*, if I name it right, and lay that night, uneasily enough, at the village of *Semiringhen*. The next morning we travell'd two leagues to *Nab*, belonging to the bishop of *Wirtzburg*, then three farther to *Kustolor*, a village of the elector of *Brandenburg*, where we din'd. After which we went on, thro' some plains and some hills, to *Windfen*, a city subject to the emperor; and then two farther, to the village of *Linden*, where we lay with as little conveniency as the night before.

*Saturday* the sixth, after riding four leagues, the one half of the way over mountains cover'd with tall spreading pine-trees, we came to a great village call'd *Furt*, and a league thence to *Nuremberg*, so nam'd from the antient *Norici*, who pass'd over from

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berg.

from the other side of the *Danube* to dwell in the *Hercynian* forest, for fear of the *Huns*. The city is seated on a sandy soil, in fifty degrees of latitude, and thirty-four of longitude, the river *Regnitz* passing near by, and that of *Pegnitz* through it, which last there forms two islands. Trade has increas'd and enlarg'd it to near seven miles in compass; the broadest part fronting to the south, where it is farthest from the *Regnitz*. Both the streets and squares are spacious, and well pav'd; and two of them are very remarkable for being adorn'd with most curious fountains, not to mention the fine palaces, and several markets, taking their names from the several commodities sold in them; in some whereof there are statues no way contemptible. The town-house, which they call *Vocans*, has a stately front, and over its great gate are the city arms, being an eagle with a woman's head. Along the walls of the hall there are benches rais'd three steps from the ground, with a small chair on the left hand, and a space in the middle, shut up with brass banners; and thro' this hall is the way into the court, where the senators meet to try causes. Ever since the days of *Charles IV.* when the government of the city was chang'd from a *Democracy* almost into an *Aristocracy*, there are twenty-six of these senators, whereof thirteen are call'd masters of the city, and the rest sheriffs, being always chosen of twenty-eight noble families; and it is to be observ'd, that by their antient constitution, no doctor of the civil law can be made a senator; and therefore in difficult cases they only consult three lawyers. When any extraordinary business requires, two hundred citizens meet in council, and are chosen out of the three degrees of senators, merchants and commons.

On the top of the hill are two castles, one of which was built by the emperors for a dwelling, and the way up to it from the city is a path cut in the rock; the other at this time is a publick granary. Most of the fabrick is of a sort of stone, dug out of the neighbouring hills, which is at first very soft, and afterwards hardens by degrees; and the walls and towers of the city are of the same. The river is also of great use for corn and powder mills; as also for the iron and brass works, and casting of cannon. Where it is to be observ'd, that the people of *Nuremberg* have been very long much delighted in fire-arms; and therefore there is a place appointed, where on holy days, besides fencing, with *German* activity, they practise shooting with musket and cannon. In this city is also still preserv'd the antient custom of burying the dead without the walls, and therefore there is a large piece of land

call'd *St. John's* church-yard, whither they carry all the bodies both of hereticks, and of the few catholicks there are. As the *Mahometans* set up two stones, the one at the head, and the other at the foot of the grave, with the person's name and country, the time of his death, and any action of his life; so the people of *Nuremberg* hang over their country graves a brass tablet, containing the arms, and some inscription in praise of the deceased. But if a man would make the very stones burst with laughing, he need only shew them the caps the meaner sort of women wear, and some other things I know not what to compare to, us'd by those of better quality.

*Sunday* the seventh, I set out for *Ratisbon*, paying three florins for a place in the coach, and having travell'd four leagues, din'd in the village of *Pospaw*, where, much against my will, I was forc'd to speak *Latin*; because I understood not the several languages of any of my company. Continuing our Journey we pass'd through the city of *Newen-Marcht*, and when the sun began to decline reach'd a village, call'd *Deyningen*, belonging to the duke of *Bavaria*, as does the aforesaid city. Here we pass'd the night merrily, thanks to about thirty peasants, who had features like satyrs, and play'd on their rustick instruments, like *Bacchanals*, dancing, and every now and then tossing off their extravagant goblets, not much inferior in bigness to *Minerva's* shield, made by the emperor *Vitellius*.

The next morning we took coach, the weather being somewhat rainy, and riding four leagues came to the village of *Hemaut*, in the dominions of the elector *Palatine*; where in a stove we soon eas'd ourselves of cold and hunger. Here I made a good observation of the need we have of spittle towards digestion; that is, I consider'd the mighty providence of nature, which has so plac'd it in certain vessels, and particularly on the tongue, that the very scent and nearness of meat, or even the thought of it, is sufficient to provoke and draw it; whence to express an earnestness for a thing, it is usual to say, it makes one's mouth water; by which it plainly appears not to be barely an excrement. After dinner we travell'd three leagues along a very base road, and about evening came to *Ratisbon*, or, as the *Germans* call it, *Regenspurg*, a name taken from the river *Regen*, which loses itself not far off in the *Danube*, tho' by the *Romans* it was call'd *Colonia Augusta Tiberii*.

It is seated in a plain, on the right side *Ratisbon*. of the *Danube*, and forty-eight degrees forty minutes latitude, in the lower *Bavaria*, and

and to me seems much longer than it is broad. The walls are after the antient manner, so that a man may easily walk round on them, under shelter from the rain; but they are so weak they'd scarce keep out an enemy one day; nor do the houses, streets or churches, deserve to have much said of them. I saw nothing good in the cathedral but a brass statue, representing *Philip William*, cardinal of *Bavaria*, bishop of the city, kneeling before a crucifix; but the palace is magnificent, and worth seeing. They pretend, that the body of *St. Denis the Areopagite*, lies in the church of *St. Emerentianus*, being brought thither out of *France* by the emperor *Arnulfus*, which the *French* deny, affirming they still have it; but a certain author makes a jest of them both, saying, that *St. Denis* never came into *France*. I saw the church of *St. Augustin*, an indifferent structure, and the nuns officiating within an iron grate, near the high altar, with the assistance of the sacristan; a thing utterly new to me. There are two bridges, the one over the *Regen*, and the other over the *Danube*; this last built by the emperor *Henry V.* may be reckoned a good structure, consisting of eleven arches, four hundred and seventy paces in length. The habit, both of men and women, would among us be thought a pretty invention for a mask in carnival time; for the men among other things wear coarse woollen steeple-crown hats, and long beards, as rough as pilgrims; I mean the meaner sort: the women wear a little black mantle, with the same sort of hat on their heads, or else a great cap, made of several furs, with an hundred sorts of hair. It is a free imperial city, tho' the dukes of *Bavaria* resent it should be so in the heart of their dominions; and here are also held those diets of the empire, where when the princes of *Germany* were truly free, matters of consequence and general advantage to the publick were handled; not as is practis'd at present, when nothing of consideration is mention'd there, besides the supplies for the war against the *Turks* in *Hungary*; and tho' the great men of the empire are at such charge in assembling, as soon as the tax, or imposition requir'd, is once settled, the rest is always put off from one diet to another for ever; a mighty grievance, conniv'd at, and perhaps contriv'd by the present reigning family; observ'd in his time by *M. Paulus Jovius*.

Taking another coach at *Ratisbon*, I came at night to the village of *Murin*, distant from the city five leagues of excellent road, on the right side of the *Danube*. Setting out thence again on *Wednesday* morning, after a league's riding, I came to

the city of *Straubing*, belonging to the duke of *Bavaria*; which tho' small, has one handsome square, and a church indifferent stately. Here I took boat, and running down the river took mighty pleasure in viewing both the banks adorn'd with fine houses and villages, and well cultivated gardens, for the space of eight leagues, at the end whereof we took up our lodging in the city of *Filtz-Owen*, so call'd from the river *Filtz*, which falls not far from it into the *Danube*.

The next morning, having travell'd four leagues between hills, we came before noon to *Passaw*, a city, by the *Latins* call'd *Patavium*, and *Batavium*, giving its name to a great diocese, whose bishop is also a temporal prince. It is in the lower *Bavaria*, upon the very spot where the river *In* falls into the *Danube* on the south side, and the *Ills* on the north, so that the *In* passes on its right, and the *Danube* on the left. These three rivers have as it were three cities opposite to one another, viz. *Passaw* on the *Danube*, *Instadt* on the *In*, and *Illstadt* on the *Ills*; so that it might with good reason be call'd one city, divided into three parts, and join'd by wooden bridges. The bishop has a good palace on the hill over *Instadt*, and on that of *Passaw* a fort, more remarkable for its situation, than for fortification or cannon. The said rivers obstruct this city's extending itself in breadth; but in length it stretches about half a *German* league, which is the measure of its only great street. The houses and palaces are all uniform structures, especially those built since the fire, among which the bishop's is most remarkable. The cathedral will be extraordinary beautiful when the painting now in hand is finish'd; and were there nothing else, it deserves to be seen for the sake of a most beautiful iron gate, of masterly workmanship. So in the *Jesuits* church, the finest and most curious thing in my opinion is, the ornament of the chappels delicately wrought in ebony.

Holding on our course along the *Danube*, which being swollen here with the waters of several rivers, is now ten fathom deep, running fierce and swelling; we ran in a short time ten leagues to the city of *Lintz*, formerly call'd *Colonia Aureliana*, seated on the right of the *Danube*, in forty-eight degrees, thirty-four minutes latitude, and thirty-two of longitude; but there are many houses on the other side of the river, over which there is a good stone bridge. Some reckon it the capital of the upper *Austria*, others not; however that is, no place is more pleasant and delightful, and affords so much sport of fishing and hunting. On the top of the hill is a large and

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stately castle, built there by the archdukes, and at a small distance a monastery of *Capuchins*; nor do the other parts of the city want for good churches, markets and palaces, being full of rich citizens, by reason of its two fairs, held every year, one at *Easter* and the other on the twenty-fourth of *August*, not to mention the beautiful suburb leading to *Passaw*. *Lintz* was formerly very famous, on account of the emperor *Frederick II.*'s being besieged in it, after his return from his mighty enterprizes in *Italy*; but it afterwards became much more renowned in the year 1532, by the slaughter of almost fifteen thousand *Turks*, who came to attack it.

The next day continuing our journey along a mountainous way, very pleasantly shaded by very tall, thick and spreading pine-trees; we first, after a league's riding, passed by the town of *Stayfok*, lying at the foot of a hill; and three leagues further the city *Ens*, standing also on a hill, but much decay'd from its former grandeur. At about fifteen leagues distance, we saw on another hill the famous monastery of *Melck*, the nuns whereof have the sovereignty of the town of the same name; and we were told the revenue of the monastery amounted to one hundred thousand florins. We ran still down the same river five leagues, in sight of good vineyards, and lay that night at *Surstain*, on the left side of the *Danube*, not far distant from the city of *Krembs*, near which there is another mighty wealthy monastery of nuns, call'd *Ketovia*.

Yesterday we ran full seven leagues before dinner, to the town of *Dulim*, where the river spreads very much, because the country is plainer, and is a place remarkable, for that there the king of *Poland*, with his army, join'd the duke of *Lorrain*, in order to relieve *Vienna*, then besieged by the *Turks*. Two leagues beyond it we saw the third rich monastery, call'd *Closten-nimberg*, and a little further, the hill *Kallemberg*, from which the christian army march'd down, in order of battle; and, to conclude, having gone another league, came to this glorious and imperial city about sun-setting. Intending to set out in the morning for the camp at *Buda*, and having hitherto seen but little of this place, it will not be practicable to give you any account of it till my return. It therefore only remains, that I beg the continuance of your favour, and that you will remember me in your prayers, especially if it shall please God to take me out of this world, fighting for his glory. Dear friend, perhaps I shall see you again, but if heaven has decreed otherwise, assure yourself, that, as far as may be, I shall always preserve the same affection for you in another life, and am,

Sir, your most affectionate,

and obliged servant,

and most cordial friend,

D. G. F. G.



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A R E L A T I O N of  
A J O U R N E Y  
T O  
C O N S T A N T I N O P L E ;

Giving an Account of divers Occurrences; how far the King of *Sweden's* Commission was executed there; as also of the State of the *Turkish* Monarchy at that Time, being a Report made to the most potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the *Swedes, Goths and Vandals.*

By his faithful Servant and Subject

N I C H O L A S R O L A M B,

Baron of *Bystad*, Lord of *Lanna, Broo, Biorkwiik, Beatalund* and *Traan-nos*, his Majesty's trusty Senator, Counsellor, and President of his Court of Justice of *Gothia* at *Jonkioping*, formerly Envoy Extraordinary to the *Ottoman Porte.*

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Translated from the Copy printed in *Swedish* at *Stockholm.*

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Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-noster Row.*

T H E

# A U T H O R ' S P R E F A C E .

**T**HE reputation and esteem which your majesty's hereditary kingdom of Sweden hath obtain'd, by the long war in Germany, and by the conquests made in it, have stirred up the envy of the chiefest princes in Europe, so that they have let slip no opportunity to disturb its rest and peaceable state, and to trouble it both from within and without with many difficulties; but chiefly they were jealous of seeing the government of Sweden in your majesty's hands, whose valour they had before felt in Germany to their sorrow; and now again must look upon your majesty's victorious arms in the kingdom of Poland with anger and envy. They also have raised against your majesty the house of Austria, the pope, and other new enemies; and not only meddled with the affairs of Poland, but also endeavour'd to inspire all neighbouring princes, even the Ottoman Porte, with wrong notions of your majesty's actions; which was the more easy for them to do, because the report of your majesty's great progresses in Poland were already suspected by the Ottoman Porte, on account of its bordering on that country, and therefore fearing your majesty's too great power. To prevent these and other inconveniencies, and to make an end of the differences with Poland, for the glory of your majesty and your dominions, as also for the security of the protestant religion (since your majesty was obliged to enter into alliances with foreign princes that were in its interest, especially with the prince of Transilvania, and with the Cofaks, to remove all the mistrust the Ottoman Porte might have of your majesty's success in Poland, to the end that that potent oriental empire might not obstruct the foresaid princes, or, as it appear'd to be design'd, might not carry any forces into Poland, and so take an advantage against the Christians, by weakening their power there) your majesty sent an embassy\* to the Ottoman Porte; and having been pleased to make use of my person in this business, my duty requires to give a full account, as well of what happen'd upon my journey to and from a place so far distant, as how the affairs were executed, and in what condition I found the Ottoman empire. All which is most humbly presented to your majesty in the following lines.

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\* N. B. The occasion of this embassy, with several other circumstances relating to the history of the negotiation itself, may be seen more at large in *Puffendorf de rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sueviæ rege gestis*, lib. iii. sect. 71. and lib. iv. sect. 23.

A RELATION of  
A J O U R N E Y  
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C O N S T A N T I N O P L E, &c.

**W**HEREAS your majesty in the month of *September* 1656, being near *Frauenburg* in *Prussia*, dispatch'd me with your gracious commands, that I should wait at *Stetin* for your majesty's further orders; likewise for the answer of Mr. *Kley*, your majesty's resident at the *Roman* emperor's court, concerning the passport your majesty had desired for me of the said emperor; I was obliged to tarry at *Stetin* for these and other reasons best known to your majesty, till the 22d of *February* 1657. Then I set out with the *Berlin* post at eight a clock in the evening; and because my stay at *Stetin* had occasioned a general report, that your majesty was sending me to the *Porte*; and yet it being very necessary for me to travel *incognito*, if I would pass through the emperor's dominions, they using their utmost endeavours to know when I would set out, and which way I would take, since not long before, a gentleman of the electoral court at *Dresden* had shewn to one of your majesty's officers, *viz.* lieutenant colonel *Taub*, a letter dated at *Stetin*, in which my person and stature were described, and the time of my departure named: I gave out eight days before my setting out, that your majesty had sent for me to come to *Prussia*, in order to send me that way through *Poland*; so no body, even my own servants, knew no better than that I went to *Prussia*, except the government of *Pomerania*, of whom I took a passport as a student, with which I could pass through the cities in *Germany*. From *Berlin* I went with the *Leipzig* post through *Wittenberg*, where I met with two *Swedish* students, that were at table with me where I lodg'd, but wearing a black periwig I was unknown to them. At *Leipzig* I stayed one day to receive the money I had ordered to be remitted me from *Hamburg* hither for my journey: Here I also provided myself with a passport of the commandant of the garrison, to whom I gave myself out to be a student, that had

studied a while at *Leipzig*, and was now resolved to see other places in *Germany*. This passport was afterwards of great use to me in *Bohemia* and *Austria*. It was very troublesome at this time to travel, the roads being so very deep, that often the waggons stuck in the clay, and we were obliged to draw them out with a great deal of pains, which continued till we reach'd *Vienna*. Altho' my right way was to go to *Dresden*, yet I would not venture to pass thro' that place, by reason of the strict inquiry made there, and the information they already had of my coming, but went within somewhat less than a mile of it, to a town call'd *Serkowitz*; from whence I sent my servant to *Dresden*, to Mr. *Steen Bielcke*, and acquainted him of my arrival, who in the morning came to me; and after a short conference with him, I pursued my journey, turning on the left hand about the city, to a ferry call'd *Loschewitz*, where I passed over the river *Elbe*, and should have gone the direct road to *Pirna*. But the commandant of *Dresden* having also command there, and for fear of being discovered, I turned on my right hand to a market-town call'd *Dohna*; afterwards I follow'd the direct road to *Praag*, *Ígelaw* and *Vienna*. In *Bohemia* and *Moravia* I was in some danger of being attack'd by highwaymen that keep in the forests, and in their language are call'd *Petrofsky*: Besides these, the soldiers that were quarter'd thereabouts, robb'd the travellers in the country, and committed great violence. Both sorts appear'd to us, but being four coaches together from *Praag*, and all well armed, they had not courage to come near us; though just before they had murder'd some travellers; and again, some of them had been kill'd by other travellers, as we found in passing by.

The 15th of *March* at nine a clock in the morning I arrived at *Vienna*, and lodged in the suburbs, in an inn call'd the *Golden Fleece*, where I stay'd till after dinner, after which I changed clothes, and went into the city unknown, and without

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25 Febr.  
Berlin.

28 Febr.  
Leipzig.

Confe-  
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Dohna a  
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Praag.

15 Mar.  
Vienna.

ROLAMB. any examination, as if I had been no stranger, and concerted with Mr. *Kley* the resident about some necessary affairs or other. I stayed in his house with one servant, and gave myself out to be Mr. *Steen Bielke's* gentleman of the horse, that was sent by him to buy some *Hungarian* horses: The next day I let my other servants come into the city, and lodged them separately, as I had sent notice to Mr. *Kley* beforehand of my coming, by letters from *Leipzig* and *Praag*, and he had thereupon wrote to *Jonas Midnansky*, minister of the prince of *Transylvania*, about an honest man that might conduct me to him; I stayed three days at *Vienna* expecting him; but he not coming, I set out for *Presburg* the 19th of *March*, being *Holy Thursday*, under the pretext, that I, like all other Protestants, was come on account of the approaching *Easter* holidays to attend my devotion. I also got thither unperceived, and by the help of two Protestant citizens, named *Michael Schrembster* and *Christopher Snolschi*, I hired a coachman to *Eperies*, who did not know better than that I was a merchant; those of my retinue gave themselves out to be also either merchants or tradesmen; and for the better dispatch, I was obliged to see *Midnansky*, who lived in a city call'd *Betzkou*, that lies far from the high road to *Eperies*: To prevent my coachman's mistrusting any thing, I told him I had by a servant already bargain'd for a great quantity of leather at *Transhia*, a place trading in that commodity, which I needs must see before I could send it to *Vienna*, which contented him, and he carried me whither I would go. Half a mile on the other side of *Tirnow*, I went thro' a valley, where a merchant from *Vienna* had just before been robb'd of 5000 rixdollars ready money, by the *Hussars*, who also appear'd to us; but finding us arm'd with long guns, let us go in peace. When I was come within a mile of *Betzkou*, where prince *Ragotzky's* minister *Midnansky* lived, I first intended to go only with one *Hungarian* servant thither, to confer with him about the security of my voyage, according to direction by his letter, and to leave the rest of my retinue behind me in the village *Tsachkowitz*, where I lodg'd the night before at an anabaptist's, and was already provided with horses. But it coming into my mind, that I might easily meet with some *Hussars*, who for the sake of a tolerable suit of clothes, which I wore, and the cloak-bag, in which I kept his majesty's orders, and which I never left out of my sight, might assault me, and thereby his majesty's design be hindred, I thought it the surest way, rather to lose one day's journey, than to hazard his majesty's orders;

for which reason I sent one of my servants alone with a letter to *Midnansky*, and dress'd him in a ragged *Hungarian* coat; when he had gone about half a mile he met with five *Hussars*, who, after exchanging a few words, and searching him, but finding nothing, let him go; so that I had good luck I did not go myself.

*Midnansky* sent me one of his servants, an *Hungarian*, that should conduct me to a castle call'd *Roune*, belonging to prince *Ragotzky*, where *Midnansky* design'd to meet me the next day; because at *Betzkou* there lived several *Roman* Catholics that were in the emperor's interest, and that I therefore hardly could come undiscovered thither, nor stay there. When *Midnansky's* servant arrived, I was in a worse condition than before, because he understood no other language than *Hungarian*, and my coachman being curious to sift him, I took him aside, and by signs made him understand, not to tell where we intended to go, the coachman having already perceived that I design'd to go to *Roune*, which was quite out of his way; and he making words about it, I could hardly have made him be silent, if he had not been a *Lutheran* and a good man: So that at last he was content.

The next morning after I was arrived at *Roune*, *Midnansky* came also thither, with whom I conferred about all necessaries of my journey, and our correspondence. And the *Polish* crown marshal *Lubomirsky*, being upon the road to *Moran*, to see the *Hungarian* palatin and chancellor, who was arrived at *Eperies* from prince *Ragotzky*, in order to go from thence to *Vienna*; so that the meeting either the one or the other was almost inevitable, I took a passport of *Midnansky*, as if I was an officer by him taken into prince *Ragotzky's* service, to make use of it, if I should meet the chancellor; but in case I should meet *Lubomirsky*, I design'd to pretend to be a merchant, who on account of his trade was going to *Eperies*.

The following day, I, with two more, and *Midnansky's* servant that should go with me to *Zaros*, set out on horseback; my other servants and baggage went the right road, with whom, for the better security, *Midnansky* had also sent two *Heyducks*. After one day and an half's journey by the mountain *Fatra*, which is a part of the mountain *Carpathus*, I came again into the right road, where I found the ordinary post. The way between *Roune* and the mentioned post, went along the river *Wagh*, a passage so terrible to look upon, that it made my hair stand on end: For at the left hand was a precipice many fathoms deep, to the strand of the river

Concert with Mr. *Kley*.

19 Mar. *Presburg*.

24 Mar. conferr'd with *Midnansky* about the journey and correspondence.

25 Mar.

Passage by the river *Wagh* terrible to look upon.

river, and at the right hand sharp and high rocks, and the way itself very narrow. To get over the mountain *Fatra* was very troublesome, it being not only extraordinary steep and high, viz. half a *German* mile up, and so much down again, but also cover'd with ice, so that we were obliged to climb up on our hands and feet.

26 Mar.  
Rosenberg  
a market-  
town.

In a market-town call'd *Rosenberg*, I was informed that the *Hungarian* count-palatine *Franciscus Vesselini* was also on the road from *Moran* to *Vienna*; wherefore I hastened to pass that place, where perhaps he might come in my way, which was three miles from thence, and accordingly I did not meet him. But instead of him, I met, near a town call'd *Hybe*, sixteen *Polanders* of *Lubomirsky's* people, that told for certain that he was upon the way, and immediately would follow after: Wherefore I took lodging in a village call'd *Lausen-berg*, and did not go to the post-house, which was a mile farther, and where I should have stayed that night, to the end that he might pass by me, which also happen'd. In the said village I stayed till midnight, and went from thence in the dark to the next post-house, which was in a *Polish* market-town call'd *Luchyuna*, neither could I go farther, being obliged to take fresh horses there; wherefore I stayed again till all were asleep, came also thither and went from thence without being perceived by any body except the post-master, who was sly enough to ask questions, viz. whether we were envoys, or if the *Swedish* envoys that were expected would soon come, and other things that did not concern him; he also endeavoured in a very complaisant manner to make us stay some hours, pretending the badness of the roads that were very difficult to pass in the dark, and offer'd if we would stay till sun-rising, to give us his coach, with which he only favoured his particular friends. But as I perceiv'd well enough he was ordered to spy, and some roguery was hid under his complaisance, I gave him thanks for his offer; and to confirm him in his opinion that I was a merchant, I took out some knives, and offer'd them to sell to him, which made him believe me; so that he gave me some commissions to execute for him at *Eperies*, and bring him an answer when I returned. Near this market-town *Gamoisky* and the *Turkish* *Cbiaus* that were in *Prussia* with the king, had been taken by the *Polanders* a little before our arrival.

The post-  
master at  
Luchyuna  
inquisitive.

The place  
where *Ga-  
moisky*  
was taken  
by the  
Poles.

27 Mar.  
Leutsch  
one of the  
six Ger-  
man free  
towns in  
Hungary.

When I came to *Leutsch*, which is one of the six *German* free towns in *Hungary*, I would not venture to go farther with the post, there being in that road several castles and towns where they used to examine, a-

mong which was the town of *Wolvar*, ROLAMB. where the year before some waggons belonging to the elector of *Saxony's* envoy that was sent to *Transylvania*, were stopt by the *Polanders*; but I took a waggon and went two miles on the left hand thro' a valley call'd the *Wolff's Dale*, by reason of the danger of robbers that attack the travellers like wolves.

About nine a clock in the morning I came to the town of *Leutsch*, and because I could get no waggon I was forced to stay there that day, which happen'd very well for me, being so weary of riding post, that I was not able to set a foot over the threshold without the help of my hands, having rid the three days and nights before, and in so troublesome a manner, that if I had had my feet in the stirrups one mile, I was forced to carry them in my hands the next; and he that does not know what it is to be fatigued, may only ride post in *Hungary* for some days, without his own saddle and furniture.

Trouble-  
some ri-  
ding post  
in Hun-  
gary.

*Midnansky* had given me a direction to the bailiff of *Leutsch*, who was to serve me if I had occasion, but when I desired him to provide me with waggons, he gave me a surly answer, saying, He was not so far oblig'd to *Midnansky*, as to put himself in danger for his sake, after he had caused his disgrace with the *Palatin* for having furthered some *Swedish* envoys, viz. Mr. *Sternbach* and *Welling*, though they had had a passport of the emperor; wherefore I might see how to provide for myself; as for his part he dared not meddle with it, for fear of being disgraced. I judged from this answer, and because I could get no body to carry me, it might have been contriv'd so, to force me to go to the aforesaid *Polish* places, or to make me stay till they had sent thither, and given notice of my being here; therefore I resolv'd to go out of the town on foot along with *Midnansky's* *Hungarian*, to the next villages, where we might get horses, or quite to the town of *Cibin*, four miles from thence, and to leave my servants behind in the inn, that it might seem as if I was only gone to dine some where in the town. But just as I was going to take the cloak-bag, wherein I had my letters and orders, upon my shoulder, one of my servants came and told me he had got a country waggon with four horses, into which we got in the morn-  
ing by day-break, and went the aforesaid way to the town of *Cibin*, that lies a mile from *Zaros*, a castle and town belonging in common to prince *Ragotsky* and his relation *Ladislaus Ragotsky*. And because the said *Ladislaus*, who was a *Roman* Catholick, and in the emperor's interest, used

Recom-  
mended by  
*Midnan-  
sky* to the  
bailiff of  
*Leutsch*.

The bai-  
liff's surly  
answer oc-  
casions  
suspicion.

28 Mar.  
*Zaros*, a  
castle and  
town be-  
longing to  
prince *Ra-  
gotky* and  
his rela-  
tion.

ROLAMB. used to reside there, I sent *Midnansky's Hungarian* beforehand, to inquire whether *Ladislaus Ragotsky* was there or not, and sent a letter with him to the prince's governor, *Martinus Halapi*, by which I acquainted him of my arrival, desiring him to keep it secret, (but yet I did not tell him otherwise than that I was an officer, as I have mentioned before, neither did *Midnansky's Hungarian* know better,) and to forward me as soon as possible. This *Hungarian* met me again half a mile out of the town, and told me that at that instant the abovementioned *Ladislaus Ragotsky* was coming along with the bishop of *Cracow*, besides forty *Polish* noblemen; wherefore I stayed in the valley till it was dark, and then went into the town; and in the morning early from thence to *Zaros Parak*, so that neither *Ladislaus Ragotsky* nor any of the *Polanders* did perceive me. In the village call'd *Giorcke*, where I lodged the night before, five *Hussars* that had follow'd us expecting some booty, made an alarm, but we being got into the inn before they came, they went to and fro under the window all the night, and discoursed with one another whether they should attack us in the house: But finding us well arm'd, and having likewise four *Heiducks*, whom the governor of *Zaros* had sent with me, besides four merchants, who were come to lodge there the same evening with their servants, in all ten persons, they went off in the morning. What griev'd me most was, that I thought they were sent by the *Polanders* at *Zaros*, or by the *Hungarian* chancellor *Georgius Zelepzini*, who lived but a little mile from thence at *Cassou*, but hearing afterwards what party it was, I did not mind it, but set out in the morning early for *Zaros Parak*. When I came there, the *Præfætus Michael Inzedy* was not at home, wherefore I was obliged to stay there for him three days.

Zaros Parak. This *Zaros Parak* is an estate of prince *George Ragotsky's* mother, *Catharina Lorantphi*, on the river *Bodrack*, and hath a fine little castle with a town well fortified, extraordinary well situated and of great revenue; it lies close by the famous town of *Tokay*, where there grows the best wine in all *Hungary*. At *Tokay* the river *Tibiscus* and *Bodrack* join, both full of fish of many sorts, very large and fat. They never take more of them than what is sufficient for one meal, the rest they fling into the river again, being sure of catching at any time as many as they please. Every body has liberty to fish, whether he has land there or not. They have wood enough; wheat (for of other sort of corn they sow very little in all *Hungary* and *Transylvania*) corn-

fields and meadows in abundance; vineyards likewise, game and wild-fowl more than in any place in all *Hungary*, the great and large plains of the *Heidones* that are full of all sorts of game extending to the town. But all this the people do not mind, for they value nothing more than a glass of strong *Hungary* wine, garlick and fat bacon, which makes them relish their wine the better; and one may see there herds of hogs and oxen, like flocks of sheep in *Germany*, by a thousand at once.

The third of *April* I went from *Zaros Parak* to *Tokay*, and there I passed over the river *Tibiscus*. *Tokay* lieth on the *Tibiscus*, where the *Bodrack* falls into it; the *Tibiscus* is one of the four capital rivers in *Hungary*, (the others are the *Savus*, *Dravus* and *Danube*) and in goodness and bigness next the *Danube*. The castle stands upon the point that is between both rivers. The garrison belongs to *Transylvania*; but of the garrison in the city, one half belongs to the emperor, and the other to *Transylvania*. The town is open, and without any fortification more than the advantage of its situation; on one side of it passeth the river *Tibiscus*, and on the other it is surrounded with very high and steep vineyards, that leave on both ends of the town only a small avenue by the strand. These vineyards are about three leagues in circumference, and produce the *Hungary Tokay* wine so well known in *Poland*. The inhabitants lamented very much the circumstances of *Poland*, because they could not sell their wine, of which all their cellars were so full, that they had no room left for the product of future vintages. In these vineyards I was shewn some separate pieces of ground, of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tunneland [a Swedish measure of land] that were generally sold for 30, 20, or 15000 gilders, on account of the particular quality they have of producing better wine than those that are adjoining, which is owing partly to the ground, and partly to their situation, as they lie towards the east and south. I cannot forbear mentioning here in what manner the *Hungarians* keep their corn and wine, which is, by digging holes in the ground, in which they keep their seed and wine, and know of no other cellar or granary: Thus all their streets, and almost half their fields are undermined. In these holes the corn will keep ten years and longer without any damage.

Near *Tokay* I passed over the river *Tibiscus*, and went through the counties or *comitatus* of *Zapolia* and *Bibor*, a district of three days journey in length, and seven *Hungarian* miles broad, all plain fields, without any bush; and there being many bogs,

Plenty of the country.

The four capital rivers of Hungary.

Description of Tokay.

How they keep their corn and wine in Hungary.

Multitude of wild-fowl. bogs, there is such a multitude of cranes, wild-geese, bustards, ducks and other small wild fowl, that they almost cover the earth, and fly in great flights like clouds; hares are there also in abundance, likewise meadow and cornfields, which they need not dung, it being fat enough of itself. Instead of wood the inhabitants burn reeds that grow in the bogs. In these countries live none but *Heidones* or *Heiduks*, who are subject to the prince of *Transylvania*, in number about 40000, and dwell in large boroughs, which they call cities, about 1000, 2000, or even 4000 in one town. They are free from all duties and imposts, and only obliged to serve the prince in his wars whenever they are summon'd; and then they take three, four, and more servants with them. They are divided into regiments, each city making one, which hath its colonel, whom they call *capitaneus*, and each regiment ought to consist of the same number, and all have one general over them, which at that time was *Bacchus Gabor*. Their traffick consists in cattle and horses, which run wild there: the cattle are tended like as in our country, but run in the fields winter and summer, and the calf always follows the cow, as the colt also does the mare.

Heidones or Heiduks. Their traffick in cattle and horses. It is remarkable, that in all *Hungary*, especially in this district, quite to *Waradin*, no cattle is to be seen but what have hair of the colour of elks, oxen as well as cows; the calves are all red, but when they grow older, they become of the same colour. Commonly a *Heiduk* sells two or three hundred oxen in a year, which the *Hungarian* merchants buy, and sell them again in *Italy* and *Austria*. One day's journey from *Waradin* in the county of *Bihor*, I passed through a town call'd *Debrens*, where there live no *Heidones*, tho' it lieth in this district, because it is a free town, and only one thousand *Heidones* are quarter'd there. The inhabitants of that place deal in *Turky* commodities, and pay contribution to the *Turks*, the king of *Hungary*, and the prince of *Transylvania*, by whom in time of war they are always allow'd to be neuter. This place is only remarkable on account of its nastiness, it being a constant dunghil. Cross the Market is laid a bridge of timber, over which people pass on foot and on horseback, and whoever goes beside it is sure to fall into the dirt, to which they are so well reconcil'd, that they besmear their doors with it instead of paint.

As I travelled through these countries, I was conducted by *Heidones*, who were relieved in every city, and had their banners and colours, which look'd at a di-

stance as if a fleet of ships came to meet me. In *Waradin* I was very well received and treated by the *capitaneus Franciscus Gyuleus*.

The ninth of *April*, in the evening, I arrived at *Clausenburg* in *Transylvania*; the young princess and the young prince her son were there, but having no minister with them, except their master of the household, a man of a mean character, I was not received with any solemnity; however, the next morning the princess sent to me to my lodging, and bid me welcome, desiring me to excuse my not being received as she desired, and that I would have patience for some days, till the old princess, mother to the then reigning prince, came with the stadtholder, to which I returned a proper answer.

The 11th of *April* the old princess arrived with the stadtholder *Achatius Bardzai* and some other ministers. About an hour after her arrival, she sent two noblemen to me to complement me, and invited me to an audience the next day, which was performed as follows:

The 12th of *April* at seven in the morning, two coaches drawn by six horses came before my lodging, with a great number of *balberdiers*, which they call *carnaks*, and footmen cloathed in *Hungarian* livery, viz. sheepskins. The master of the horse went before the coach with a stick in his hand, and one of the princess's ministers, *Sebeci Ferens*, who the year before had been envoy to his *Swedish* majesty, and was taken prisoner by *Warka*, came to receive me. In the castle from the gate to the stairs, where I went up, on both sides where the coach passed, stood the princess's guard with guns, which they held upon their shoulders, and not before them as is usual in our country, when the soldiers stand in arms. At the stairs I was received by both princesses marshals, that conducted me thro' three chambers (full of all sorts of persons of distinction, who were come to attend) to the old princess *Catharina Lorantphi*, who received me in the middle of the apartment. I made your majesty's compliments to her in *Latin*. Having concluded my harangue, they were all silent, looking upon one another, and then disputing who should answer, for none of them was vers'd enough in the *Latin* tongue. When they had thus spent about half a quarter of an hour, the princess herself at last was obliged to answer in the *Hungarian* language, and her marshal interpreted it in *German* as well as he was able. The princess desiring afterwards to talk with me in private, bid her people as well as mine retire, and there stay'd only the stadtholder *Achatius Bardzai*,

ROLAMB. *zai*, a counsellor, and the marshal: a chair being set for the princess, and another for me, she discoursed with me concerning prince *Ragotsky's* interest at the *Ottoman Porte*, which she recommended to me in many words, to which I returned a proper answer; and having taken my leave of her, went into another apartment to the young princess and the young prince *Ragotsky Ferens*, i. e. *Franciscus Ragotsky*, whom I likewise saluted in your majesty's name, and delivered to the princess the letter I had from your majesty, for prince *George Ragotsky*; after which I was reconducted in the manner as before, into the city to my lodging. From *Clausenburg* I wrote to Monsieur *De la Haye* the king of *France's* ambassador at the *Ottoman Porte*, desiring him to acquaint the vizir with my coming, and to excuse my not bringing presents from your majesty. The next day the old princess set out for *Zaros Parak*, and I, in company with the stadtholder, went to *Alba Julia* or *Weissenburg*. He shewed me upon the road as well as at *Weissenburg*, all civility; his discourse was very sensible and pleasant, and among the *Hungarians* he passed for a good soldier. Among all the *Hungarians* I ever conversed with, he was the best and the most humane; for the greater part of them are conceited, unreasonable and ill-bred, despising others, and undervaluing every thing in comparison of their own rustick and filthy way of life; thinking when they have but fowls, bacon, garlick and strong *Hungarian* wine with it (which they rather suck than drink out of dirty common stone or wooden mugs, that have narrow necks, and are stopp'd up with nastiness) they have the greatest pleasure the world can afford. No man how great soever hath any plate or glass, nor even pewter upon this table; but nasty trenchers that are not scoured but once a week, which when they have thrown the bones off, they lay before you again.

Letter to the king of France's ambassador at the Ottoman Porte.

Way of life of the Hungarians.

When I came near *Alba Julia*, I was received by four companies of horse and conducted to my lodging. As to this place, it has the name of a great city among us, but when you see it, is very ordinary, so that one may well say of it, *minuit presentia famam*. There is not one tolerable house in all the town, except the princess's; the rest are all small huts, and the windows of skin, which is used all over *Transylvania* among the gentry as well as the common people.

Alba Julia.

11 April, Wrote to his Majesty.

Hermanstadt and Cronstadt,

well received, and treated with all good will and civility: but the road was very bad, all mountains, water and mire; I had especially a forest to pass, called *Saydenwald*, which is three leagues long; all the roads were laid over with bridges of round timber, and were besides very deep, by reason of the snow's melting upon the high mountains which separate *Wallachia* and *Transylvania*. At some places the bridges being carried off, we could not pass without great danger; and where the water did not hinder us, the roads were so deep that although I had ten horses before the waggon, we were hardly able to get through.

I shall pass over in silence how these Saxons at first came into *Transylvania*, and how they have obtained their privileges, referring for that to history. I shall only mention here, that the *Saxons* possessing the best and most fruitful part of the country, and having great privileges, are hated and very much oppressed by the *Hungarians*. And though the princes, before their accession to the government, are obliged to promise to maintain them in the enjoyments of their privileges, yet that promise is little minded. They complain in particular very much of the prince now reigning, *George Ragotsky*, who oppresses them more than any of his predecessors, and makes use of all manner of pretences to seize on their houses or farms; forces them to forward, to lodge and to defray all travellers, which none of the other inhabitants of the country are obliged to do. One of their antient privileges was, that none but a *Saxon* was allowed to buy any house in their towns: this they are now about to abolish, under the pretext that, if an *Hungarian* should offer the value for a house to be sold, the *Saxon* should be obliged to let him have it, or the seller should forfeit his house, and so much money besides, as the buyer had offered. This they say was resolved by the two states, viz. the *Nobilitas* and *Siculi*, which by reason of a majority of votes, ought to prevail, notwithstanding the third state, viz. the *Saxons* who were prejudiced by it, neither were present nor consented to it. Many other burthens are laid upon them, so that in all likelihood they will lose their liberty in time, especially as they have but few men of understanding among them, the rest being all simple people. As for the *Hungarians*, they would willingly see the *Saxons* destroy'd, though they have more reason to protect and care for them; for wherever there appears any culture in *Transylvania*, it is owing to the *Saxons*, the rest being a meer *Barbary*.

the chief Saxon cities. A Forest called Saydenwald. High mountains separate Wallachia and Transylvania.

Saxons in Transylvania

possess the best places;

at present much oppressed.

The states of Hungary.

Hermanstadt.

*Hermanstadt* within the walls is the greatest and best built town of the *Saxons*. *Cronstadt* is the strongest and has the bravest inhabitants, who may well be called the protectors of the liberty of the *Saxons*, for which they stand up boldly, though they do it sometimes too bluntly and set aside the proper methods to be observed. For they once shut the gates upon their prince who was just coming into their town, and forced him to turn back; but they smarted for it afterwards. *Cronstadt* is remarkable on account of the situation, lying on the frontiers of *Wallachia* upon a spot of ground, that looks as if it were a country by itself, the land being low like the *Prussian worders* (*marshlands*) separated on all sides from the rest by high mountains, and in no part like the rest of *Transylvania*; it has also its particular name, *viz. Wurtzland*, containing thirteen large *Saxon* market-towns, that well may pass for good towns all belonging to *Cronstadt*. It is a fine fruitful country, but of no greater extent than what one may look all over, there being neither woods nor hills to hinder the sight. A river runs through it, called *Bartza*, in *Latin, Burcia*. *Cronstadt* hath three great suburbs, one is inhabited by *Wallachians*, the second by *Saxons*, and the third by *Hungarians*. Here I was obliged to tarry three days for horses and other necessaries. During my stay here, one of the princesses' couriers arrived from *Constantinople*, whom I could not get to speak with, for he avoided me for fear I might question him how it fared with the prince of *Transylvania's* affairs at the *Porte*, which however I ought to have been informed of, as I was chiefly sent upon their account. But so suspicious is that nation, that they trust no man, nor shew any confidence or friendship, but where it is for their own interest.

23 April.

Targowish the prince of Wallachia's residence.

The 23<sup>d</sup> of *April* I went in company with prince *Ragotsky's* envoy from *Cronstadt* over the *Wallachian* mountains into *Wallachia*, and arrived the 26<sup>th</sup> at *Targowish*, the prince of *Wallachia's* residence; we passed the mountains with great trouble, on account of the snow, and the river *Dombvisza* with great danger, there being no bridges where we passed over, and as it winds much betwixt the mountains, we were obliged to cross it very often; it is soon filled up with water, according as the snow upon the mountains melts faster or slower, so that at one hour it is easy to get over, but at another it overflows all its banks; for in the morning when first we passed over it, it was not very deep, but before eight a clock that same morning, the horses and waggons did almost swim, and one of the *Hungarian* envoy's servants

with his horse narrowly escaped being drowned. We used hands and feet to get over as well as we could, and let the waggons go at a venture: before night it was so high, that no body could pass that way after us for a fortnight.

A good distance from *Targowish* the prince sent me his coach with six fine *Turkish* horses, two hundred noblemen on horseback, all finely equipp'd, and about thirty companies of horse, all which made a shew like a little army. The prince himself was present *incognito*, till his marshal and secretary had bid me welcome, the secretary complimenting me in *Latin*. Here we saw the finest *Turkish* horses, the officers dressed different ways, some in coats of mail, others in panther, leopard and whole tiger skins, others with spotted wings like those of eagles; their musick were pipes and kettle-drums, for neither the *Hungarians, Wallachians, nor Turks* know how to use trumpets, and in this manner I was conducted to my lodging. The day following I had audience of the prince, which was done with a pomp suitable to your majesty's dignity, and the prince's respect for you. At the audience was a great number of people, most noblemen, some dressed in sable and other rich furs; among others was also their archbishop present. The audience-room was hung with damask, and had glass windows; all other chambers where I passed through, about eight or nine, were not hung, and had but paper windows. The prince met me in the middle of the room; after I had in a proper compliment assured him of your majesty's affection, he conducted me towards two chairs, on one of which he set himself down, and I sat in the other. But after a little discourse and inquiry after your majesty's health, I went with him, according to his desire, into his apartment, where I stay'd about two hours, and having on his request given him an account of the state of affairs in *Poland*, he not only seemed pleased but even surprised at it. He afterwards hung about me a *Casfan* of gold brocade, which I refusing to accept, of, he said it was the custom of the country, and the greatest mark of benevolence, which obliged me to take it; after this I went in the same procession to my lodging again in his coach drawn by six *Turkish* horses, that were much finer than those the day before.

The next day I was for proceeding in my journey, but was detained by the prince who invited me to dinner, that was to be in his orchard. Coming in his coach to the gate of the orchard, five marshals met me with silver staves in their hands, and

ROLAMB.

Reception before the city.

Fine Turkish horses.

Audience of the prince.

Dinner in the orchard,

ROLAMB. and the prince himself met me at the door of his summerhouse, where the table was laid. Before the summerhouse stood his ministers and courtiers with some companies of *German* soldiers. As soon as I was enter'd, he conducted me to the table, where he and I sat upon two raised chairs; the envoy of *Transylvania* sat upon an ordinary bench. Upon the table stood only four silver dishes, but the covers were of iron. After we had sat and discoursed a little while, the second course was brought in, then those of my retinue, that used to dine at my own table, and the prince's ministers sat down also. First there were always four or six silver dishes brought in; the prince and I were serv'd in plate, but the others in pewter. The victuals were well dress'd, and of a good taste, and changed continually from the beginning to the end of the dinner. When the healths went round, that of the Grand signior was drunk first, the prince having first made some excuse for so doing, your majesty's health came next, which the prince drank twice, whereas he had drunk that of the Grand signior but once; after these came the healths of prince *Ragotsky* of *Cmelnici*, and the prince of *Moldavia*. At every health there was musick of harps, violins, pipes, drums, kettle-drums, and several other *Turkish* instruments. Upon drinking the prince's health (which I began immediately after that of *Cmelnici*) two cushions were laid upon the floor where the prince sat; for his ministers, who rose from the table, went thither two by two, kneeling down upon the cushions; and after having drank, kiss'd the prince's hands, wishing him prosperity, and then took their places again. Before dinner was half over, two great bears were laid before the door of the summerhouse, which had been kill'd by the prince's huntsmen, to whom he himself made a present of a handful of *aspers*. Near the summerhouse was pitch'd a tent to retire to upon occasion; and secretary *Klingen* once rising up, he was received by two marshals with their silver staves, who conducted him to the tent with great ceremony, and stayed before the door till he came out again; then one presented him a basin with water; and after he had washed himself, the marshals conducted him again into the summerhouse. The dinner continued from half an hour past ten, till seven o' clock at night, when I took my leave of the prince who shewed me no less civility on this occasion than at dinner, embracing and kissing me twice; after which I went in his coach to my lodging again, conducted by all his courtiers and musicians. At dinner he often expressed his devotion and veneration for your

Drinking healths.

Taking leave of the prince.

majesty's person and great actions, wishing that *Wallachia* was as near *Sweden* as *Transylvania*, not doubting but his state would then be better; wishing your majesty would allow him to levy 500 *Swedish* soldiers for his own money. The next morning he sent me by his master of the horse a very fine pacer, and some companies of horse to conduct me part of my way; where, whenever I came to a town, I always met some companies of horse, who received and conducted me.

*Wallachia* is, by reason of its situation, and goodness of the ground, to be counted one of the best provinces in *Europe*. The soil is extraordinary fruitful, so that the inhabitants need not give themselves much trouble in plowing it; for if they only cover the wheat with the ground, it bears plentifully. The best of the land lies uncultivated, and is quite unpeopled, the inhabitants living all along the mountains, in order to be protected by the mountain guards, against the invasions of the *Tartars* and *Turks*. The middle of the country is all campaign, and not the least hill to be found; and as the land lies uncultivated, it produces numbers of oak forests, that stand here and there like little islands in a sea. Along the *Danube* is the most culture, and pasture every where enough; sufficient fishing; plenty of Wine, honey, wax and salt; as also veins of gold and silver; but none dare search them, for fear of making the *Turks* long after it; out of the earth runs also pitch; there is as much game and wild fowl as one's heart could desire. The prince may yearly raise in *Wallachia* 6 or 700,000 rixdollars ordinary revenue; but he cannot lay extraordinary taxes on the inhabitants, unless by their good will; in which particular the *Wallachians* are freer than the *Moldavians*, whom their prince may tax as he pleaseth. A traveller finds no conveniency there; for along the road, there is not a village to be seen in some days travelling, except every two miles a hut covered with straw, where he finds a barrel of wine, of which he may have for his money what he desires, but provisions he must bring along with him. The inhabitants in the country, especially the nobility, are handsome, civil and friendly, but of no great courage; they are inconstant and seditious with regard to their princes. *Matthias Woywoda* that had governed them forty years peaceably, and defended them with great bravery against invasions of *Turks*, *Moldavians*, *Cossacks* and *Tartars*, felt their treachery in his old age, which he had great difficulty to overcome. The present prince *Constantin Serban*, by the help of the prince of *Transylvania*, appeared

Wallachia one of the finest countries in Europe.

Best cultivated along the Danube.

The prince's yearly revenue.

Temperament of the inhabitants.

Sedition  
appeas'd  
by the pre-  
sent  
prince.

peas'd their sedition, and established himself in the government. Just before my arrival, he had defeated before the town of *Targowisch* 300 mutineers of his own horse, whose heads I saw upon stakes round the city. The prince is obliged constantly to keep soldiers upon the *Turkish* frontiers, to hinder their invasions, from which he is not secure, notwithstanding he pays a great contribution to the Grand signior, viz. 300 purses, amounting to 150,000 rixdollars; for which reason he had a garrison in *Pise* of 2600 men, in *Breila* 6000, and in *Wadivia* 4000, to guard the frontiers.

28 April.

The 28th of *April* I came to the *Danube*, over against a town call'd *Silistria Drestor* or *Silistra*, where the said river separates *Wallachia* from *Turky*. I crossed it in ferry-boats, and so set my foot out of *Christendom* into *Turky*; I was there lodg'd in a little dirty house (there being no better) in which lived *Grecians*. I was conveyed to the river side by four companies of the prince's *Hussars* with flying colours.

Out of  
Christen-  
dom into  
Turky.

1 May.  
Audience  
of the  
bassa of  
Silistria.

The following day I was fetch'd to the audience of the *bassa* of *Silistria*, who resides in this city, and is one of the seven *vizirs*, named *Melech Achmet bassa*, he is called *Melech*, i. e. Angel, by reason of his fine shape; his wife is daughter of *Sultan Murat*, uncle of the emperor now reigning. Being come to his *Seraglio*, the *chibaus* that conducted me stopped, and pretended I should alight from my horse before the gate; but as I thought this derogatory from your majesty's honour, I rode directly into the court up to the stairs, where two *Capuci Bassi*, i. e. chief doorkeepers with silver slaves met me, and conducted me through a large antechamber to the door of the audience room, where I was desired to take off my sword, which I refused; the *bassa* sending three times to insist upon it; I answered at last, that I was resolv'd not to part with it; had I been told of it in my lodging beforehand, perhaps I might have complied with his demand; but to make me take it off before his door, was neither civil, nor consistent with the dignity of your majesty my gracious king; besides, I was not sent to him, but to the *Turkish* emperor; and if he would not admit me in a manner agreeable to the honour of my master, I had no business with him. When he heard this, I was at last conducted into the audience room, which was spread over with fine carpets, and near the walls were laid cushions; in the middle stood two chairs opposite to one another; upon one of which I sat down, then the *bassa* came out of his apartment, and after his salutation, which was but a nod of the head, we sat down each upon his chair. His expression

The  
whole  
compliment,  
a  
nod of the  
head.

and behaviour were at first pretty rough; ROLAMB. but seeing that I made no account of it, but returned proper answers to all his objections, he began to soften; and turning about to an *emir* of *Mahomet's* relations, who sat a little from him, said in *Turkish*, No wonder we hear the *Swedes* so much talked of for soldiers, look upon this young man here, how boldly he speaks; afterwards he began to be good humour'd with me, and asked, why I did not let my beard grow? sent for coffee, and shewed me how I must drink it without burning myself, and invited me to come the next day to dine with him before my setting out; afterward he hung a *caftan* of gold brocade about me, which with them is reckon'd a particular honour; so I took my leave, and went to my lodging again, where I was soon after complimented by his musicians, *caputfis*, pages, cooks, &c. to whom I was obliged to give money for their coffee, as they call it. His saying of the Swedes.

The next day he sent for me to dinner, 2 May. which passed in the following manner. Dinner with the bassa of Silistria. The *bassa* himself with the *effendi* of *Mahomet's* family, sat upon the floor, each in a separate corner of the hall; in the middle upon the floor stood four low square stools, one in the middle that was white, and the three others round it. When I came in, I was conducted to the said stools to sit down, and the white stool being the same upon which I had sat at the audience the day before, I was going to sit down upon it again; but it standing in the middle, I had some doubt or other about it, and pitched upon one of the other three; accordingly it appear'd afterwards, that the white one was design'd for a table. Being set down, the *bassa* came and placed himself upon the other stool, upon the third sat the envoy of *Transylvania*, the forementioned *effendi* sat by the *bassa* upon the floor, another *aga* sat also upon the floor at his other side; after this came the butler to lay the cloth, he laid over our knees a linen towel of divers colours, long enough to reach round; he next laid a round cloth with coloured flowers upon the stool that stood in the middle, and served for a table, which also covered all our knees; behind each person was a *Turk* upon his knees, holding the cloth fast on both sides with both hands, then the butler laid bread round upon the table, which was thin, oval, and baked in hot ashes (for they have no ovens in those parts, but How the bread is bak'd. towards the time when they are going to eat, they prepare a dough, of which they make a cake, and set upon the hearth in the chimney, that is swept clean, and then throw a great heap of embers upon it, and so the bread is baked, but how wholesome

ROLAMB. it must be, is easy to presume.) He then laid upon the same cloth before each of us a handful of wooden spoons, great and small; I for my part got six; afterwards he set upon the stool, that served for a table, a large flat pewter dish, like a wash basin, into which he flung for every one three green grasses of a bitter taste; but as they pretended wholesome for the stomach, and by it a little *China*-dish with pickles; this done, they placed in the middle of this table a dish of roasted meat, call'd *cabab*, of which every one snatch'd a bit with his fingers; but the *bassa* flung a piece for me upon the border of this large pewter dish, (for they use no other plates) and lent me his knife. After having eat between us two or three bits of this dish, it was taken away, and another put in its place, and so they continued till there had been served up about forty dishes, some of which were well tasted; but there were divers sorts of fritters and puddings, dressed with honey, not very pleasant to eat. When rice boil'd with broth and melted fat was served up, there was at the same time set before every one a porringer with milk, which they mixed with the rice, and so eat it together; this dish they call *pilou*, and is by them reckoned one of the best, rice being the best victuals among the *Turks*. The desert consisted of preserved fruit. After dinner there was brought water and a towel; thereupon we drank coffee, after that we washed our hands and face with rose water; at last there was hung a piece of red silk over every one's head, and our faces were smok'd with all sorts of frankincense, and so dinner was done. Those of my retinue dined upon the floor, sitting in a circle. After a short discourse with the *bassa*, I took my leave of him, and immediately pursued my journey; but about two musket-shot from the city, I had the misfortune to be overturn'd, and to bruise my left leg and foot so much, that for three weeks I could not stir any further than I was carried. However, I continued my journey in this troublesome condition, there being no where any conveniency for stopping a few days, the country being utterly impoverish'd by the marches of the *Turks*; we came to many places where we could not get the least bit to eat, and the greatest trouble was to appease the hungry stomachs of my people.

Rice the best victuals with the *Turks*.

Leave of the *bassa*.

4 May.

Vetus *Byzantium*.

A third day's journey from *Silistria*, about a mile on the other side of a place call'd *Sbumna*, is a hill, upon which, as the *Turks* say, *Vetus Byzantium* stood formerly, the *Pontus Euxinus* reaching then up to it, though it is now many miles di-

stant from that place, neither is there any other water, but a large valley of flat fields of a long extent. It is true indeed, that upon the mountain there are ruins of old walls to be seen, with great iron rings walled in, on which they believe ships and boats were fastned in former times. There may have stood of old a city, but that it was *Bzantium*, and that the *Pontus Euxinus* came up to it, is like other fables told by the *Turks*.

The fourth day I pass'd the mountain *Hæmus*, by the inhabitants call'd *Noak*, from a great robber *Noak Bela*, who once lived upon this mountain, as they say, and did great damage to the *Turks*; on the place where his castle stood, lives now constantly a *Turk*, who beats the drum, sings a song of the aforesaid *Noak*, and shews the *rudera* of his castle to travellers, who used to give him a few *aspers*. It is one day's journey to pass over these mountains, they are steep, high, and the road is bad and dangerous, by reason of robbers, of whom ten in number appear'd to us, yet durst not attack us, but fled into the wood; the *Turkish chiaus* I had with me shot at them, but missed. These mountains separate *Bulgaria Minor* from *Major*, and go from *Pontus Euxinus* to *Macedonia*, all of an even height; there they divide themselves, and as it were, incompass with two arms *Macedonia* and *Greece*. Being pass'd these mountains, we had for the greater part even and flat fields through all *Bulgaria*, an admirable country, like an orchard; asparagus, colliflowers, tulips, and other fine herbs and flowers grow in the fields: wild tortoises were lying on the road, thirty or forty in a heap. Between this and *Constantinople* we had only two troublesome forests, one call'd *Faky*, one day's journey long, at the end of which runs a water that separates *Bulgaria Major* from *Romania*; the other forest is call'd *Debelti koak*, i. e. *Dives Sylva*, likewise one day's journey long, and two days journey from *Constantinople*. In both these forests robbers used to lurk, who march with flying colours, foot and horse; two days before my arrival, a company of thirty *Turkish* travellers had been attacked by some robbers from the latter forest, who kill'd twelve of them, the rest narrowly escaping, who met us, and told us the ill success of their journey; those that were wounded lay in *channas* or inns in a city call'd *Sarai*, where we lodg'd at night; the following day we pass'd this forest without any danger, being convoyed by *Turks*.

Ruins up in the mountain.

5 May. The mountain *Hæmus* called *Noak*.

Two troublesome forests.

Being now come so near *Constantinople*, I sent an express into the city, and by the *Hungarian* ministers residing there, acquainted

Kutziukcek three hours journey from Constantinople.

acquainted the grand *vizir* of my coming; I also wrote to the ambassador of *France* for necessary information concerning several matters; mean time I stayed in a town call'd *Kutziukcek Mese*, three hours journey from *Constantinople*, where the ministers of *Transylvania* came to me, with whom I consulted about my entry, which was performed in the following manner.

14 May. The 14th of *May*, at six o'clock in the morning, I set out from the above-mentioned *Kutziukcek Mese*. About half way between this and the city, I met the ambassadors of *Transylvania*, that brought a horse for me with very fine trappings: but being not able, on account of my foot, to mount a horse, it was led before my coach in which I went; my *Hungarian* commissary, with two of his servants, went also before. At the usual place, that is a good way from the city, I was received in the name of the *Turkish* emperor, by a *Turkish* *aga* or officer called *Ali Aga*, who had with him 24 *chiaufes* on horseback, and conducted me into the city to my lodging in a procession, according to the custom there, *viz.* First of all went the 24 *chiaufes*, after them *Ali Aga* by himself, then the ministers of *Transylvania* and their retinue; next, the horse design'd for me was led by two grooms of the stable; I followed in a coach drawn by six horses, which the resident of *Transylvania* had lent me; after the coach follow'd six of my retinue on horseback, and at last my baggage waggon drawn by four horses. My lodging was order'd by the *vizir*, in which two rooms were furnish'd after the *Turkish* fashion, with carpets upon the floor, and cushions of many colours next to the walls; the others were expressly furnished with tables and banks, otherwise not in use among the *Turks*.

The lodging order'd by the vizir.

15 May. I was no sooner arrived in my lodging, when some of the *French* ambassador's servants came, whom he had sent to meet me out of town; but they having taken the wrong way, had missed of me. As soon as they were gone, the secretary and servants of the *English* ambassador came to bid me welcome; and the secretary entering with me into a long conversation, my *chiaus* grew uneasy at it, saying, it was contrary to custom to converse with the foreign ministers, before I had audience of the *vizir*. I excused it in the best manner I was able, saying, That among the ministers of the *Christian* powers the custom was so, and to neglect it would be look'd on as an incivility: besides, on such occasions nothing material was treated of, but all consisted in compliments, nor could he take amiss any thing that pass'd between the ministers of those two crowns, who be-

ing in so strict an alliance with his *Swedish* majesty, and all three being intimate friends of the *Ottoman Porte*, he had no reason to mistrust them, they having not the least thought of any thing disadvantageous to the *Ottoman Porte*; which satisfy'd him. After dinner, the resident of the emperor sent some persons with his compliments; but a *spabi* that was order'd to be my door-keeper, would not let them come in, but sent them away unknown to me. Immediately after, others came from the resident of *Holland* on the like errand, who would have been sent away likewise, had I not prevented it. The next day I sent messengers to return my compliments to the said ministers, and excused myself to that of the emperor, that his people were not admitted, and he afterwards sent to me with better success. It is the custom in *Constantinople*, contrary to what is observed in Christian countries, that the ministers who reside there send first to him that arrives; they give the title of illustrious, even to the residents; and in visiting treat one another with sweetmeats and wine. However, they converse but little together, and live retired, notwithstanding their principals are in friendship.

16 May The compliments returned.

17 May Audience of the vizir.

The 17th of *May* I had audience of the great *vizir* *Copryli Mehemet bassa*, which by reason of the indisposition of my foot, I fain would have defer'd some days; but the *vizir* insisting upon it, notwithstanding it was *Whitsunday*, I was allowed no farther excuses. Besides that, the envoy of *Transylvania* desired me to make a beginning, and enter upon business for fear of the *vizir*, who was a rigorous man, might make him suffer for it. I went in the morning half an hour past seven on horseback from my lodging to the *Strand*, where I went into a boat, and was rowed to the harbour next to the emperor's *Seraglio*, call'd *Bass Capi*; there I mounted a horse again, which I had borrow'd of the resident of *Transylvania*, and went to the *vizir*'s house, that lay a good way from the water. First rid my *chiaus* by himself, he was followed by half of my retinue on foot two and two, after that my *janizaries* in their dress, *viz.* a high cap of elk skin, trim'd with a gold lace a hand broad, and in the fore-part a scutcheon of silver gilt, half a yard high, in the hand a great cane with an ivory head; after the *janizaries* went my interpreter, I on horseback came next, and behind me the rest of my retinue. Being come to the stairs of his house, I alighted from my horse, and was as good as carried into a room that was hung, where I waited a little till I was call'd into the *vizir*'s room; for they never allow any person to go directly

**ROLAMB** rectly in to them, but let them first wait a-while; it even is a great honour to be brought into a separate apartment, most people being obliged to wait in the ante-chamber or hall.

The vizir's audience room.

In the audience room there were two chairs placed, a little square one for the vizir, and an arm chair of red velvet for me. I was introduced by *chiaus Passi*, and immediately after I had entered the room, the vizir came also out of his chamber; we sat down each upon his chair over against one another; the vizir began first to speak to my interpreter, asking how I came by that accident on my foot, with some expressions of compassion; then I made him a compliment in your majesty's name, delivering him your letter, which he received with great veneration, and gave it to the chancellor, by them call'd *Reis effendi*. After this I spoke concerning my commission in general, referring myself to a memorial I had with me, containing the particulars, together with the proper arguments drawn up in *Turkish*, which I delivered at the same time with a translation of the letter. The reason why I delivered it in writing, was, 1. Because the interpreters do not exactly keep to one's words, but either use other expressions, or add something of their own, which in a matter of such moment might easily have done prejudice. 2. The *Turks* are much wandering in their thoughts, so that they do not take things so well only from discourse. 3. They have no patience to hear a long speaker, but one must make few words in speaking with them. 4. Foreign ministers have their spies at publick audiences. 5. It is customary with them to do business in writing; for even the vizir himself, when he is with the emperor, transacts all in writing, and talks but seldom with him. After having delivered the writings, the vizir began to ask, 1. How your majesty did? 2. Where you were? 3. How strong *Ragotzky* was? 4. About the design and intention of your majesty's conjunction with him. 5. What towns and fortresses your majesty had in possession in *Poland*. To all which I returned proper answers. Afterwards he asked, whether your majesty had defeated the enemy since that conjunction? I thereupon first mentioned in a few words the chief encounters that had passed before; but that after the conjunction, whilst I was there, no decisive action had happened, king *Casimir* not having a sufficient army for offering battle; he replied, Why did not your majesty march your army back again into your own country, since they were not able to resist you? Upon which I gave him an account of

The vizir's divers questions.

Answers to them.

the transactions of last year, how the states of *Poland* surrendred themselves, how they renounced *Casimir*, and how at the pope's instigation the *Poles* had broke their oath and promises. Your majesty therefore was now about pursuing and punishing those rebels, and bringing them to reason. I farther acquainted him, how through the pope's intrigues the *Poles* had made an alliance with the *Czar* of *Russia*, and consented to have his son for their king. To this he answered in great passion, this the *Poles* will never consent to; he said several other things on that subject, too long to be related here. As for the rest he used me with great civility in his discourse, in receiving and dismissing me; so that all who were present could not but express their great surprize, as being quite contrary to his custom, which is to give every body furly and short answers. After the conference, he hung a coat upon me, and gave also to each of my people one; so we went away like mass priests, keeping the coats on till we got on horseback, then I took off mine. When I was got out of the outer gate of the vizir's *Seraglio* into the street, my *chiaus*, and another of the vizir's servants, that begg'd some money, coming too near my horse, he kicked twice, and threw both their horses with their riders to the ground, their white turbans rolling along the street; my *chiaus* that was an old and an heavy man, fell upon the other *Turk*, and as it happen'd, received no harm, but the other was so bruised, that the blood gushed out of his nose and ears, and the next day he died. This at first occasioned laughter, but afterwards it was look'd upon as ominous, that a *Swedish* horse at one stroke had thrown down two *Turks*, this nation being very superstitious. Besides, A prophecy among the *Turks*, concerning a certain northern nation they have a particular suspicion against the *Swedish* nation, it being writ in their prophecies, that their empire shall be destroy'd by a northern nation, of which I shall make farther mention hereafter.

The 19th of *May* being the third festival of *Whitsuntide*, I had audience of the emperor *Sultan Mehemet*, which was performed as follows. In the morning about three o' clock, I went from my lodging by water to the abovementioned harbour, near the *Seraglio*, where my horse stood ready, which I mounted, and rid to the emperor's *Seraglio* in the following procession. 1. Rode *chiauses*. 2. The resident of *Transylvania*, and a secretary of *Transylvania*, *Jacobus Hanzani*. 3. The envoy of *Transylvania*, *Tordai Ferens* alone, he had desired his own audience might be put off, in expectation of this opportunity, when he knew he would be treated with greater honour,

A prophecy among the *Turks*, concerning a certain northern nation  
19 May.  
Audience of the emperor.

Procession.

honour, than if he had had audience by himself. 4. I rode by myself. 5. Behind me my retinue on foot, consisting of about forty persons, many of the *French* ambassador's people, and *French* merchants, attending among my retinue, partly at my desire, partly out of their own curiosity. In this order I went through the first palace-yard of the *Seraglio* to the second gate, where I alighted on a high bench of marble made for that purpose, call'd *Beckgitaski*, for none are permitted to ride into the inner court; afterwards I went on foot in the aforementioned order through this inner court, which is four square, and very large, set with laurel, cypress and other trees, more like a park, there being a great many red deer and harts in it. Along all the four sides are porches, or sheds of boards supported by marble pillars; under the porch on the right hand stood the *janizar aga* with his officers, who had high and large bunches of feathers upon their heads, and were dress'd in gold brocade of many colours; behind them stood the *janizaries* in four ranks, all along that side of the court; they were, as I guess'd by eye-sight, about one thousand or twelve hundred, all well dress'd, with furr caps upon their heads. On the left hand stood a long row of *chiauses*, with their high white *turbans* upon their heads; in the middle of the last row, in a large room call'd *Divan*, which is their council-chamber, was the great *vizir* sitting in the front, dress'd in a white sattin coat lin'd with sable, to whom I bow'd in passing by; on the right hand in the front towards the court, sat a row of about sixty or seventy *bassas*, all dress'd in silver brocade, and high white *turbans* upon their heads; I and the envoy of *Transilvania* were conducted to the left hand side, where we and our retinue sat down. Immediately after, a great heap of bags of money were laid down before me, with which the emperor's servants and troops were to be paid. This money was not counted, but weigh'd; neither is it usual among the *Turks* in talking of money, to reckon by hundreds or thousands pieces in number, but by so many bags or purses, each purse containing 500 rixdollars; so if you hear 100 bags mention'd, there is 50000 rixdollars meant by it; they always take care to fix the audience of foreign ambassadors, upon a day when the forces are to be paid, to make a shew of their grandeur. Before they began to distribute the money, the *testerdar*, i. e. *treasurer*, came to ask my name, which he took down in writing, it being customary to register at whose audience the pay was made. Then the grand *vizir* wrote a note to the emperor, acquainting him with my presence, and de-

firing his orders about the audience; that note was carried to the emperor by a *capuci bassa*, who had a silver staff in his hand; the emperor sent his orders to the *vizir* likewise in a note, which the *capuci bassa* carried aloft in his right hand, and where he pass'd by, the people rose up and made a respective bow to the paper. After this, I was desired to come to dinner in the room where the *vizir* was, which pass'd in the following manner. In the *vizir's* place (who absented himself, because he fasted) sat *Jussuff bassa*, one of the seven *vizirs*; over against him stood a chair of red velvet, upon which I sat down, and the envoy of *Transilvania* by me on my left side; then came he that laid the cloth, setting a small square stool between us, and a flat round silver dish upon it, in the shape of a large water basin, which serv'd for a table, upon which the cloth was laid. The rest of the manner of dining being like that of the *bassa* of *Silistria*, I shall refer to it: There were in all five such tables in the room, one in the front, at which I sat with the mention'd *vizir*, and one in each corner; at that on the right hand sat *Achmet bassa*, also a *vizir*, by himself; at the other on the left hand sat two judges of *Asia* and *Europe*, call'd *Cadi les Kieri*; out of which always one is taken to be *musti*: on the left side of the room *Nisan-sky Mustafa bassa* dined with the resident and secretary of *Transilvania*, and two of my retinue; on the right side of the room sat the high treasurer, call'd *testerdar*, who is a *bassa*, by him sat secretary *Klingen*, and another of my retinue; the rest of my people dined in another room. There was such a silence during dinner, that not one word was spoke, nor the least noise perceived; the attendance serving at table, going to and fro in very good order and quietness. All that were present sat like images looking down before them, because the emperor himself was upon the roof, and look'd through a glass window upon us; wherefore none durst look up on pain of death. Only some *chiauses* run to the other tables, where they had victuals given them, taking some in dishes, some in their hands, and some in small bags, which they carry about them, to put up all sort of eatables roasted and boil'd, even soups, all together; for the *Turks* look upon it as a sign of grandeur, when such people come to beg something from their table. Dinner being over, and the tables taken away, the grand *vizir* came in again, and sat down by me in the place of *Jussuff bassa*, who, upon the other's approach, got out of the way, as if he had been turned out of doors; such is the veneration they shew the grand *vizir*.

ROLAMB.

Dinner in the vizir's room.

With such silence, that not one word was spoken.

Veneration shewn to the grand vizir.

The inner court.

The divan, or council chamber.

Money not counted, but weighed.

Audience usually given to foreign ambassadors when the militia is paid.

ROLAMB. He spoke very friendly to me, inquired how I was in health; afterwards he desired us to take our places again, and to prepare for the audience. Thereupon I withdrew, and being come to my former place again, I, and those I had with me, had long coats of gold brocade hung about us, according to custom. The great *vizir*, and three other *vizirs*, being gone in to the emperor first, I was soon after conducted into his presence. The room where he uses to give publick audience, call'd *Divan Hane*, is but little and dark, and you go two steps down into it. The emperor sat upon a throne raised a yard from the ground, which had four pillars, with curtains above and below, round about; within were laid long cushions, which made it almost look like a *French* bed; the pillars were cover'd over with gold; the knobs set with diamonds, the cushions and curtains imbroider'd with pearls; the floor was spread over with red velvet, richly imbroider'd with gold, which we walked upon. The emperor was eighteen years of age, his face tawney and long, of a pusillanimous and stupid physiognomy, he wore a white turban, with two black plumes of hern feathers, one hanging down on each side, and a silver brocade coat of many colours; the grand *vizir* stood next by him, and three other *bassas* on the other side, who stood so immoveable, as if they had been nail'd to the wall. In the antechamber stood *Capi Aga* an eunuch, who is head of all the white eunuchs, and of what men there are in the emperor's seraglio; likewise *Kislar Aga*, a moor, and an eunuch, who is head of all black eunuchs, 200 in number, and of all women in the seraglio. By these two stood also some other white and black eunuchs and mutes, who are much employ'd by the *Turkish* emperor; for by them he gives his most considerable orders by signs, for two reasons, 1. That it may be kept secret. 2. That he may talk what he pleaseth without any notice. At the door of the audience room stood two *capuci bassas* in gold brocade coats, who took me under the arms, and so led me in before the emperor, to whom I made a bow; after which I was brought some steps back again, and there they left me; then they took the envoy of *Transilvania*, and brought him into the middle of the room, where they push'd him down upon all fours; from thence they carried him back again towards the door, by the wall; my retinue were brought in one after another in the same manner, and some that did not take care of themselves, were push'd down to the ground that they quak'd; for there was a long row of them, and the cere-

The audience room.

The emperor's character.

The emperor gives his orders by eunuchs and mutes.

mony was to be dispatch'd in great hurry. After me six of my servants had the favour to be admitted, who had also coats given them. All this made the said *capuci bassas* so warm, that the sweat run down their faces, partly from working, partly from fear; for had they committed the least fault, they had been undone at the least wink from the emperor.

All being now quiet, I saluted the emperor in your majesty's name in *Latin*, assuring him of your friendship in as few words as possible; but when I began to talk of the subject of my embassy, the *vizir* interrupted me, saying, he had acquainted the emperor with it already, which oblig'd me to stop there. I then deliver'd his majesty's letter, wrapp'd up in blue gold brocade, which a *capuci bassa* took from my hands, and gave it to the *vizir*, who laid it down by the emperor. As soon as this was done, the *capuci bassas* took me under my arms again; and after having made a bow to the emperor, conducted me out again, where I mounted on horseback, but was obliged to stay till all the *janizaries*, with their officers, were pass'd by, to march before me: after this I went in the same procession as before to the harbour, where I stept into a boat, and return'd to my lodgings.

The next day after the emperor's audience, I went to the *musti*, to wait on him with your majesty's letter; but he returned an excuse, pretending, as he was but lately come into his office, (for he had indeed been in it but eight days) he would inform himself about the affair, and afterward send me word. However, though he was not altogether in the wrong so far, for he was not only unexperienced, but also of no great parts; yet the main point was, he knew I was not come stock'd with presents; and therefore the honour of receiving your majesty's letter and compliment was of no account with him; and although I afterwards got him underhand put in mind of it once or twice, yet I had no notice of any audience; nor did I think it necessary to force your majesty's letter upon him, he having no credit nor authority, but living in a servile dependence on the *vizir*, who had placed him in that office, with a design of establishing himself the better in his own: for when the emperor designs to make away with some *vizir*, or make any other considerable change, he never fails to consult the *musti* about it, who is the chief of their lawyers, and whose opinion has great weight with the emperor; and accordingly these views of the *vizir* had the intended effect: for in the expedition against the *Venetians*, which the *vizir* commanded, things

Compliment to the emperor.

20 May. No audience of the *musti*.

things look'd at first with a bad aspect for the *Turks*, so that the emperor even was twice resolv'd to send him a cord, but the *mufti* prevented that storm both times by his intercession.

21 May.  
Message from the vizir to the Swedish envoy.

The day following the *vizir* sent to me to salute me, to ask after my health, and to bid me be of cheer, (their expression is *safadaoln*, i. e. be merry) the emperor having declar'd himself favourably upon your majesty's desire, and resolv'd to dispatch me, before his departure to the army, with all honour, and to your majesty's satisfaction. I sent him an answer, with a compliment, and, as I found it necessary, to give him a true notion of the affairs, and to clear up certain doubts he had rais'd about some of the articles, which I had deliver'd to him in writing; at the same time, to get an opportunity of bringing him to a firm resolution with relation to the *Tartars*, and to get favourable orders to be return'd for them by a courier lately arriv'd from the *cham* of *Crim*, who sent notice by him, that he was ready with his forces, and only expected the emperor's orders. I sent my *chiaus* to desire leave to wait on him once more before my departure. He sent me a civil answer by the *chiaus*, appointing me for the next day to *Tersano*, where we could talk more at liberty, his house in town being too much frequented. I went accordingly, and notwithstanding he was full of business, he sent every body away, and admitted me immediately. Being now acquainted with their way, I forthwith, without any previous discourse, enter'd upon my business, and ask'd him, whether the *Porte* was resolv'd to accept of the offer of your majesty's friendship upon the terms propos'd? he answer'd very civilly, with assurances of reciprocal good offices; I then touch'd upon the three points of my commission, as being the effects intended by that union, and desired to know what answer I had to expect? He replied, That the *Porte* had long had friendship with *Poland*; and the *Poles* having committed nothing contrary to it, it would be wrong in the *Porte*, to abandon that old friendship for the new one with your majesty, which was as yet to be establish'd, and to consent, out of regard for this new friend, that their subjects should help to distress their old friends. I there-

Friendship between the Ottoman Porte and king Gustavus Adolphus, and queen Christina, to be renewed.

upon remonstrated to him, that the friendship offer'd by your majesty was not new, but had begun in the time of king *Gustavus Adolphus*, was continued by queen *Christina*, with good offices done in favour of the *Porte* against the *Roman* emperor, and was now confirm'd by your majesty; consequently this was no new transaction,

but a continuation and sequel of the old friendship, only with this difference, that your majesty was willing to strengthen the old union, for which the *Porte* ought to think themselves so much more oblig'd. Upon this he answer'd, *Valla* (which is a great oath with them, signifying as much as, *so help me God*) all this is very reasonable, adding, that I might depend upon it, that the *Ottoman Porte* would never be deficient in good offices and sincerity towards your majesty, and would now particularly comply with your majesty's desire as to the three points propos'd; he also promis'd immediately to write to the *cham*, not to assist the *Polanders* against your majesty; and to inquire of him at the same time whether he had not perhaps newly made an alliance with *Russia*, which if not done, he would order him to fall upon the *Russians*. I thereupon desir'd an order to the *cham* in writing, which he promised to give me. In order to have full resolution upon every thing, I spoke concerning the prince of *Transylvania* in particular; he fell into some passion, and ask'd why your majesty had that affair so much at heart? As I knew the reason why this conjunction or alliance was suspected to the *Porte*, I enlarg'd a little on the reasons for it, refuting on the other hand with plain arguments the pretended causes of their mistrusting him, protesting withal, that your majesty's intentions and designs were sincere towards the *Porte*, without having the least thoughts against their interest or advantage. He swore the same oath again, that if those were his majesty's intentions, the prince of *Transylvania* should not only be forgiven, but even the Grand signior's own troops should be at your majesty's service, if desir'd. He concluded with this general promise, that your majesty's desires should be complied with in every respect, and I should be dispatch'd to my satisfaction before his departure.

The prince of Transylvania's concerns recommended.

Two days after, being the 25th of *May*, the *vizir* sent me word by my *chiaus*, that my recredential letters were drawing up, that he had appointed the next *Wednesday*, being the 27th, for my expedition, and that I might keep myself in readiness for it, he intended to set out the day after for the camp, which was about a quarter of a league from the city. However, the appointed day being come, I was not called; wherefore I sent my *chiaus* to the *vizir*, to know the reason of this delay, and to put him in mind of his promise, the time of his departure being so near. His answer was, that having learned from *Silistria* and *Wallachia*, that a solemn embassy from your majesty was on the way hither, my expedition was deferr'd till its arrival

Remem- bring the vizir on his promise of dispatching me.

ROLAMB-arrival. I was apprehensive, that if the *vizir* was once arrived at the *Dardanel*s, he would be so overloaded with other business, that these and such like affairs might be postpon'd to your majesty's prejudice; besides, that those people are of an inconstant mind, and do not long stick to one resolution, but are rather apt to take contrary impressions suggested to them by ill affected persons. A minister was also daily expected from *Poland*, who was not like to promote your majesty's interest; but what I was most afraid of, was, lest some encounter, or any other accident concerning *Ragotsky* might happen, that might make the *Turks* waver, to the prejudice of your majesty's interest. These considerations put me upon trying once more, whether it was not possible to get a confirmation of their resolutions, at my taking leave, before the *vizir* proceeded on his journey; for he was already in the camp, where he staid eight days: accordingly I sent to desire another audience of him, but he excus'd himself, pretending multiplicity of business, and that he had referred my affair to the *caimakam*, (who is the *vizir*'s deputy or lieutenant at *Constantinople*, during the *vizir*'s absence, and governs the whole state) who would satisfy me in every thing. I thereupon immediately desir'd audience of the *caimakam*; who excusing himself also, I insisted that I might at least send secretary *Klingen* to him; but he answer'd, he durst not admit any stranger, nor meddle with any business, whilst the *vizir* was so near, but that as soon as he was gone he would give me notice of it; he did so, and sent for me presently after the *vizir*'s decamping. I told him in a few words, what the *vizir* and I had agreed upon, and acquainted him with your majesty's progress in *Poland*, since the conjunction of *Ragotsky*, of which I had receiv'd advice a few days before from Mr. *Kley*, your majesty's resident at *Vienna*. He receiv'd me with all civility, and answer'd, The *vizir* had acquainted him with his resolution, and all should be done to your majesty's satisfaction, but only my expedition was defer'd till the arrival of the other minister.

This was the situation your majesty's affairs committed to my care were brought to before the *vizir*'s departure; and as there could nothing more be done, but to wait for the promised expedition, I employ'd the rest of my time in visiting foreign ministers; for before this time, as there was a great number of troops in the city, the *vizir* had advis'd me to keep at home, lest I might receive some affront, he not being able to prevent their insolence. This I alledged to the *French* and

*English* ambassadors, when I sent secretary *Klingen* to excuse my delay in visiting.

As for the emperor's minister Mr. *Simon von Reninge*, I expected the first visit from him, he having but the character of resident. Besides, there being no great confidence between our masters, and he not seeming very desirous to come to me, I kept my visit back also, and remain'd within the terms of those compliments we had exchange'd by our servants at my arrival. In other respects he is said to be an ingenious and discreet man, who has a good character among those that converse with him, and is well belov'd at that court, since the present *vizir* has a great regard for the house of *Austria*; partly on account of the *Venetian* war, which as the *Turks* would willingly be rid of with reputation, the *vizir* thinks might easily be ended by the *Roman* emperor's (whose authority he imagines to be the same in *Christendom*, as his own is in the *Turkish* empire) obliging the *Venetians* to make peace with them on such terms as they should propose; or by permitting their army to march through the emperor's dominions into the *Venetian* territories; partly also to prevent the *Roman* emperor's undertaking any thing against the *Ottoman Porte*, while that war lasts. For these reasons the house of *Austria* is much caref'd by the *Porte*; and their resident is sure to effectuate what he will, by the means of his interpreter *Panejotti*, who is a *Greek* by his religion, has learning, and is endow'd with quick parts and good sense, above any other *dragoman* at this court; and is much trusted by the *vizir*; so that what *Panejotti* says, almost passes for an oracle; (for among these barbarians and ignorant people, a slender tincture of knowledge passes for the highest wisdom) for which reason he has pensions from *Transylvania*, *Wallackia* and *Moldavia*, and many other quarters, to support their interest, when consulted by the *Porte*, which often happens. But as he takes money indifferently of them all, so he equally imposes upon them all. What makes his credit still greater, is, that the *vizir* employs him to translate all *Latin* letters that come to the *Porte*, there being no other *dragoman* that understands *Latin*.

The *French* ambassador, Mr. *De la Hay*, was about 80 years of age, and had been 20 years ambassador; a capricious man, who for a punctilio would set aside all consideration, even in matters of consequence, and was at that time upon ill terms with the *vizir*, who had bid my *cbiaus* dissuade me from visiting him. However, I would not be wanting in what I owed him, and went to pay him a visit at the time he had himself appointed, but he let me come within

within his gate into his orchard, where I was met by his secretary, who was to make an excuse, as if he was indisposed; but the truth was, he had taken amiss my visiting the *English* ambassador before him; though he had no reason for it; 1. Because the *English* ambassador had visited me first, and he not. 2. There was the same good understanding between your majesty and his master. 3. The *English* ambassador had invited me that day to dinner. 4. He had the same morning been with the *musti* about your majesty's affairs, and was to bring me an answer; and as he was to go next morning to the *caimakan* on the same errand, he wanted my information. 5. Having already heard of the *French* ambassador's capricious temper, I had left him the choice of his own time, either in the forenoon or in the afternoon, and he appointed afternoon. But waving all this, as he did not greatly affect your majesty, or the common cause, this occasion shewed what was to be expected from him. For altho' I had wrote to him from *Transylvania*, and desir'd him to acquaint the *Porte* of my coming, and to excuse my bringing no presents with me, he had indeed done it but superficially, having only sent his *dragoman* to the *vizir*; who being a proud and scornful man, was not a little provoked at it. After my arrival, when an *aiack divan* (that is, a general council) had been held, concerning my commission, and the writing I had given in, after the breaking up of which, the *vizir* sat down and discoursed on that subject; among others, one call'd *Sali passa*, began to speak of your majesty and your exploits, much in the same terms he had heard me talk the day before, and turned his discourse to this conclusion, they ought by all means to lay hold of this opportunity of embracing your majesty's friendship. Upon this M. La Bordé the *French* ambassador's oldest interpreter, who had been sent thither prepared, began to caution them, saying, They should be aware of the *Swedes*; for it is a nation (these were his expressions) who, if they can get a hole big enough to put a finger into, they will not give over, till they can follow with their whole body; *Poland* they have already brought under their yoke; if they are allowed to keep it, they will soon long for *Moldavia* and *Wallachia* also; and at last extend their desires even beyond the *Danube*; you have better neighbours of the *Polés*; consequently it is more advisable for you to assist them in driving the *Swedes* out of *Poland*. I had deliver'd to the *vizir* on the 15th of *June* a paper, in which I mentioned the alliances and friendship that were subsisting between his majesty and *France*,

&c. The *vizir* having sent to inquire concerning that matter among the foreign ministers, the *French* ambassador sent his interpreter to the *vizir*, to tell him for answer on his part, that formerly there had indeed been an alliance between *France* and *Sweden*, but that was now at an end, and *France* had no further concerns with *Sweden*. Nay, when I desir'd him to stir and speak in behalf of the common cause, he excused himself; sometimes he pretended it would sound too harsh, and look like threatening, to mention that *France* and *Sweden* stood in so close an union, that to comply with the one, was obliging the other also; at other times he was too tender to give umbrage to the emperor's resident. Both which excuses were but shifts too easily seen thro'; for on the other hand he cultivated a great intimacy with the emperor's resident, carested the *internuncio* of *Poland* exceedingly; and in short, was indefatigable in obstructing your majesty's affairs and the common cause. As for the rest, he kept too much company with monks, and was a great promoter of their interests, a man of infinite intrigues, especially in the affairs with *Venice*, in which he had meddled very much, and for which he was suspected and hated by the *Turks*, who intercepted some of his letters to the *Venetians*, and by that means were come to know what sums had been paid him by that republick.

The *English* ambassador, lord *Thomas Bently* paid me the first visit, on which occasion, as well as before his frequent messages to me, he assured me in many and strong expressions of his veneration and good intentions towards your majesty and the common cause, offering himself most readily to assist me in all that could be for your majesty's service. Upon my arrival, he had call'd all the *English* merchants at *Constantinople* together, representing to them the great friendship that was between your majesty and the protector, and acquainted them with the strict orders he had from him to espouse his *Swedish* majesty's interest at this court. Therefore, seeing your majesty's envoy was now arrived, he exhorted them to neglect no opportunity of giving to all the *Turks* with whom they conversed, such impressions as might tend to your majesty's advantage, and to the promoting of the common cause. He himself at my request went in person to the *caimakan*, the *musti*, the *bustanci passi*, and others of his acquaintance, setting forth to them the reasons that were most conducive to the ends proposed. To sum up all, he left nothing untried to give real proofs of all that can be desired of an ally and friend; and this not only in the beginning, but also during

His expression concerning the Swedish nation.

The English ambassador.

**ROLAMB.** all the time I was obliged to continue at *Constantinople* for your majesty's service; he was otherwise a man of great civility and good understanding, and has most credit at the *Ottoman Porte* of any of the foreign ministers of this time, both on account of the respect they bear to his master, and for his own sincerity.

The Dutch resident, well versed in the oriental languages. The Dutch minister Mr. *Varnar* was first appointed resident by the *Ottoman Porte*, and afterwards confirmed by the States; a man well versed in the oriental languages, but fitter for a professor, than for a publick minister; for his whole delight and business consisted in reading *Rabin's* and all sorts of other oriental writings; for which purpose he kept *Hebrews*, that at certain hours of the day went to instruct him; he himself had published a treatise of *coffee*, its nature and use. This is a kind of a pea that grows in *Egypt*, which the *Turks* pound and boil in water, and take it for pleasure instead of brandy, sipping it through the lips boiling hot, persuading themselves, that it consumes catarrhs, and prevents the rising of vapours out of the stomach into the head. The drinking of this coffee and smoaking tobacco (for tho' the use of tobacco is forbidden on pain of death, yet it is used in *Constantinople* more than any where by men as well as women, tho' secretly) makes up all the pastime among the *Turks*, and is the only thing they treat one another with; for which reason all people of distinction have a particular room next their own, built on purpose for it, where there stands a jar of coffee continually boiling. The Dutch resident never having paid me a visit, the respect due to your majesty, did not allow me neither to see him; and though I gave him all manner of reason and opportunities to live confidently together, yet he kept himself retired, and avoided all commerce with me, except the compliment he sent me at my arrival. Whether he did this out of jealousy against the *Swedish* nation, agreeably to the sentiments of his masters, or to please the emperor's and the *French* ministers, with whom he had a very good understanding, is what I do not know. Besides those that were no ministers in ordinary of foreign powers at the *Porte*, for those of prince *Ragotsky*, of *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, of the *Tartars*, and of *Ragusa*, were not reckoned among the foreign ministers, forasmuch as their masters are tributary to the *Porte*; the *Venetians* used to have one here in time of peace, but he was recalled upon the war's breaking out; and their *bailo*, who had been sent envoy extraordinary half a year ago, was then in prison at *Adrianople*.

The resident of Transylvania. I lived in confidence, as I was directed by your majesty, with Mr. *Stephen Tissa* the

resident of *Transylvania*, and Mr. *Jacob Hartzanius* prince *Ragotsky's* secretary, who assisted me in translating my writings, and was my interpreter at the audiences.

I inquired underhand, whether the *Tartarian Capi chikaja* was inclined to join and converse with me; but I found him so much in the *Polish* interest, that he did all he could to defeat my designs, and avoided my company; for this reason I judged your majesty's dignity might suffer by making an attempt, and meeting perhaps with a dishonourable repulse, a thing one might well apprehend from so polite a nation.

There were also two envoys from the *Zaporovian Cossacks*, but they lived retired. I sent to compliment them, and acquainted them with the orders I had from his majesty to espouse their interest: They only returned a civil answer, but were shy of conversing with me, for fear of giving suspicion; for their aim was to make the *Ottoman Porte* believe, the *Cossacks* had no less absolutely submitted themselves to them than the *Tartars*, without having their eyes turned for support any where else, and that they maintained great friendship with the *Tartars*. The end, which the envoys intended, was, not to be long detained, but they thereby missed their true interest.

In this state and condition were your majesty's affairs, which I was graciously intrusted with on the fourth of *June*, on which day the *vizir* broke up with the camp from *Constantinople*.

The king of Sweden's letter to the Grand Signor.

**N**OS CAROLUS GUSTAVUS Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Wandalarumque rex, magnus princeps Finlandiæ, dux Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Brehmæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ, & Vandaliciæ, princeps Rugiæ, dominus Ingridiæ & Vismariæ; nec non comes palatinus Rheni, Bavarici, Juliaci, Clivici & Montium dux &c. Serenissimo, celsissimo, excellentissimo, potentissimo, magnanimo, & invictissimo principi, domino SOLTAN MEHEMET, eadem Dei gratiâ Turcarum imperatori, &c. Amico nostro charissimo salutem, prosperos rerum successus & mutui amoris incrementum.

Serenissime, celsissime, excellentissime, magnanimo, & invictissime princeps, amice charissime. Quemadmodum in superioribus nostris literis ad serenitatem vestram d. xvi. Junii proxime præteriti anni hic Marienburgi perscriptis, atque cum serenitatis vestræ fideli aulico & internuncio

Musta-

Mustapha aga transmissis amice significavimus, Nos constituisse mittere ad serenitatem vestram aliquem nostrorum ministrorum, qui eandem de statu rerum nostrarum, aliisque connexis negotiis informaret, & cum primis nostro nomine amorem & affectionem nostram erga serenitatem vestram contestaretur: ita nunc supra dictarum rerum causâ ad serenitatem vestram ablegamus nostrum aulicum & militiae consiliarium, generosum, nobis sincerè fidelem, Claudium Rolamb, hæreditarium in Bystad & Lenna, ut serenitati vestræ exponat, non modo quibus ex causis bellum quod nunc cum rege & republica Poloniæ gerimus, primo sit ortum, & deinde nunc apertâ hostilitate, nunc suspensione armorum continuatum: sed etiam quare ultimis induciis nondum finitis, nuperimè ad armorum conflictum utrinque ventum sit. Largitus nobis est Deus felices rerum successus contra nostros hostes, & spem etiam aliquam mediaque nobis ostendit componendi & sopiendi diuturnum & cruentum hoc dissidium. Cui intentioni dum illaboramus, inventi sunt quidam, qui non ferentes æquis animis nostram prosperitatem, novas nobis turbas, novosque hostes excitare annisi sunt. In his est magnus Moscoviæ dux, utpote qui nullâ justâ de causâ, sed excogitatis frivolis quibusdam querelis, contra pacta perpetuæ pacis, nos bello laceßere cœpit. Adjungere se etiam Polonis contra nos chami Crimensis copiæ, nosque prælio cum Polonico exercitu, licet infelici illis eventu, adorti sunt. Et quia communes sunt rationes, quæ nos & serenitatem vestram ad constituendam mutuam, firmam & utilem amicitiam correspondentiamque invitare videntur, speramus fore, ut serenitas vestra, cognito rerum in hac parte Europæ & cum primis nostro statu, e suâ re futurum judicet, ut mutuis animis in communem rem consulamus rationesque ineamus, quibus utriusque partis vicini, quandoque extra justitiæ vestigia exorbitantes, ad juris & æquitatis normam redigantur. Quod si serenitas vestra velit permittere & auctoritate suâ ita dirigere, ut chamus Crimensis nobiscum armorum societatem contra magnum Moscoviæ ducem inire possit; & simul alia nonnulla, quæ serenitati vestræ noster extraordinariis ablegatus pluribus exponet, procuratione suâ promovere, fecerit quidem hoc ipso nobis rem gratam, sed sibi cum primis proprioque suo statui nunc & in futurum valde proficuum & pene necessariam. Quam rem totam & quibus fundamentis ducti, confidamus serenitatem vestram in supradicta nostra postulata condescensuram, depromet etiam sæpe jam nominatus noster conciliarius. Quare serenitatem

vestram amicè requirimus, velit eundem nostrum ROLAMB. extraordinarium ablegatum, Claudium Rolamb, benevolè coram se admittere, & sermoni deductionibusque ejus indubiam fidem tribuere, non aliter atque si ipsi præsentem essemus; eundemque deinde ad nos cum optatâ & amica resolutione quantocius dimittere. Quibus finientes, serenitati vestræ amica nostra studia & officia deferimus.

Dabantur Frauenburgi in Borussia  
d. xxiii. Sept. An. M. DC. LVI.

CAROLUS GUSTAVUS.

M. Biornklou.

*The Inscription.*

*Serenissimo, Celsissimo, Excellentissimo, Magnanimo & Inviçitissimo Principi, Domino SOLTAN MEHEMET, Turcarum Imperatori, amico nostro charissimo.*

As for the state of the *Turkish* empire, State of the Turkish empire. it was at my arrival almost in a *crisis*; for although there was some appearance of its recovering in the time of sultan *Amurat* from the shock it had suffered, during the unskilful administration of the sultans *Mustafa* and *Osman*, yet since the unexpected demise of *Amurat*, and till my time, it always was in a state of decay, which then was such, that it either might be re-established or utterly unhinged. But as it is necessary for the setting these affairs in a better light, to give an insight into the transactions of the time immediately preceding, I shall begin my relation from the time when Mr. *Strasburger*, who Strasburger's relation of the affairs of Turkey. was sent by king *Gustavus Adolphus* of glorious memory, was at the *Ottoman Porte*, and resume the thread of his account from the troubles that happened at sultan *Amurat's* accession to the throne, and the revolt of *Babylon* where he leaves off.

Although sultan *Murat* at the beginning of his reign appeared only of an effeminate and voluptuous temper, particularly given to poetry and musick, and in love with an *Armenian* young man called *Musa Cielebi*, for whose sake he renounced all conversation with women; yet this youth being afterwards forcibly and with threatnings taken from him by the *janizaries*, and cut to pieces before his eyes, he fell into melancholy, to drive away which he was advised to drink wine, to which he To wine. was not a little inclined before, from the praises he found of it in the poetical writings which he read every day. And having the best sorts of wines brought him from all places, he gave himself up to drink-

ROLAMB drinking to such excess, that it wrought an intire change of his mind, to such a degree, that he would often go privately to taverns and spend there half the day in drinking; nor would he mind any thing but looking at the exercises and sham fights of his young favourites called *Izoglans* and *Muskabys*, or even getting on horseback himself, mingling with them, and fighting with a kind of spear, which they call *girid*; and then his greatest diversion was to run it into their eyes, or to cut off the heads of those who came in his way. These daily practices raised his thirst after blood to such a degree, that in the night-time, after he had drank himself out of his senses, he went about the streets of *Constantinople* with some executioners behind him, climbed with ladders up into the windows, to search whether he could perceive any smell of tobacco, and then to have the smokers dragged out of the house and hanged up. Whomsoever he met in the streets in the night-time, innocent or guilty, he ordered their heads to be cut off and thrown into the water; so that no morning passed without finding twenty or thirty dead bodies without heads here and there in the streets. These actions as they rendered him terrible, so they brought him into credit among his subjects; for no quality in an emperor is higher valued among them than that of cruelty; for which reason sultan *Amurat's* memory is in high esteem with them to this day. His *silitar-aga*, i. e. his armour-bearer, named *Mustapha Passa*, who was in great credit with him, encouraged him in this notion of raising thereby an opinion of bravery among his own forces and his neighbours; and in order the better to refrain the insolency of the army, advised him to undertake an expedition against his enemies the *Persians* or *Poles*. And although *Amurat* inclined more against *Poland*, yet the *musti* endeavoured to persuade him first to recover *Babylon*, it being an eternal disgrace for the *Ottoman Porte* to give up so famous a city, whither the *Turks* make as solemn pilgrimages as the *Christians* do to *Jerusalem*. But sultan *Amurat* had a higher spirit, and resolved to attack both these enemies at once; nor would he slip the opportunity of king *Vladislaus* of *Poland's* being in war against the *Russians*. Accordingly he sent the vizir *Tabani Bujuk* over into *Asia* to raise an army against the *Persians*, at the head of which *Husref Passa* was to march against *Babylon*; *Amurat* himself went to *Adrianople*, from whence he design'd to march in person against *Poland*; however he sent *Abassa Mehemet Passa* before, with sixty thousand men to take *Kaminieck Podolsky*,

but the said general was totally defeated by *Konitz Polski*; nor had *Husref Passa* better success against *Babylon*. Sultan *Murat* having thus miscarried in one of his designs, he was persuaded by *Szabin aga* to make peace with *Poland*; after which he marched in person with four hundred thousand men, first against *Jbrevan*, and then against *Babylon*, both which places he took by capitulation; the former in the year 1045. in the month of *Seffer*; the latter in the year 1048. in the month of *Szaban*, according to the *Turkish* way of computation (who begin to reckon their time from *Mabomet's* flight from *Mecca*, called by them *Hezirah*, and according to the change of the moon from new moon to new moon.) During these expeditions he had given orders by one of his eunuchs *Bessier aga* to the vizir *Bairam bassa* to make away with two of his brothers sultan *Soliman* and sultan *Achmet*, as also with the late emperor sultan *Mustafa*, who was in prison, lest they might occasion some insurrection during his absence; sultan *Mustafa* died the night before this order was to have been executed. The vizir being gone in to the two others to dispose them willingly to submit to death, the executioner came in soon after and laid the cord first about the vizir's neck (by mistake for want of knowing him;) and if those that stood before the door had not known the vizir by his voice, whilst he was struggling and calling out, he had been strangled first; but having escaped in this manner, the two youths were put to death. After this was done, the vizir *Kara Mustafa Passa* was left before *Babylon* with three hundred thousand men; but sultan *Murat* himself marched home again through *Mesopotamia* to *Constantinople*, with a hundred thousand men, whereof upwards of thirty thousand perished, by the way, partly of hunger and thirst, partly being torn to pieces by the lions.

With the remainder sultan *Murat* returned in the year 1049 victorious, and in great triumph to *Constantinople*, and at his arrival, caused two of his remaining younger brothers sultan *Bajazet* and sultan *Kasim* to be strangled; the third, sultan *Ibrahim*, who was the only one left, was spared upon his mother's intercession, he being simple and of no spirit, only given to love, so that there was nothing to be apprehended from him.

Being now returned to *Constantinople* in peace, he gave himself up to drinking night and day; during the night in company with one of his concubines an *Italian* woman, and in the day-time with his favourites *Mucio Bustangi Passi*, *Deli Hussein Passi*, *Silichter Pascha*, and his physician *Hakin*

To cruelty.

The Turkish emperors are valued for no quality more than for cruelty.

The Turks chief pilgrimages to Babylon.

The Turks chronology.

Two of the emperor's brothers strangled.

The late emperor dies the night before the intended execution.

Two more of the emperor's brothers strangled.

His conduct after his return.

*Hakin Passa*. Since the expedition of *Babylon* he had got a *Persian* with him named *Emirghione Oglu* a good poet and musician, who accustomed him to drink brandy and strong waters, the excessive use of which threw him soon after his arrival into a fever, of which he died after thirteen days illness in the 30th year of his age. When he saw death approaching, he called before him all his favourites, and made them promise, that as soon as he should have breathed his last, they would make away with themselves and all the servants of his household, that he might not go alone into the other world; but he waited on by them there also; but when he was dead, none of them cared to make good their promise.

Dies at the age of thirty of a fever, contracted by drinking too much brandy.

In the room of sultan *Murat*, his brother sultan *Ibrahim* was set up for emperor, who was naturally stupid; but as sultan *Murat* had left no sons himself, and had made away with his other brothers, there remained none of the male line of the *Ottoman* family to succeed, but he, however unfit he was for government; and *Kara Mustafa Passa* the vizir being a prudent man, and reflecting on the new emperor's incapacity as well as his inclination to women and all sorts of pleasures, and fearing lest his follies might prove obstructions to his carrying on the administration, he supplied the emperor with store of beautiful women, musicians, and other pleasures to which the emperor addicted himself so intirely, that he never thought of the government, but left it to the vizir's care. He had nine women given him for his lawful and principal wives, who were called *hassaki sultanas*, and were to serve him alternately, among whom was one named, on account of her beauty and agreeableness, *Szekepara* (as much as to say a bit of sugar) who gained the emperor's heart preferably to all others; and being a quick and cunning woman set the emperor upon many extravagancies. She brought it about that *Jussuff capitán bassa*, who returned victorious from *Candia*, lost his life, merely because he had brought her no presents; she made the emperor waste upon her and the other women the whole treasure which sultan *Murat* had heaped up, and distributed all offices in the empire among her favourites. And as their minds were always set upon something or other that was not to be had in the *seraglio*, they persuaded the emperor to oblige the vizir to get it, which not only was very difficult, but sometimes even impossible for him. The vizir at last remonstrated this to the emperor, and brought him so far, that he turned some of the women off, and only kept those whom the vizir recommended

Sultan *Ibrahim* naturally stupid.

*Szekepara* his chief wife.

Her intrigues.

The vizir endeavours at a remedy,

to him. But it was not long before the emperor, wrought upon, partly by his former love, partly by their intrigues, took the same women again, who full of revenge gave the emperor all sorts of ill impressions against the vizir; so that he often treated him with very rough language; but dared not touch his life on account of the authority and credit he had. The women perceiving this tried another method, and made the emperor believe, that the vizir had some necromantic characters under his gown of sable fur, whereby he enchanted the emperor so as to be formidable to him. Some days after the vizir appeared in that gown again before the emperor, who fell into a great passion, called out and ordered *Bustanci Passi* to dispatch him. The vizir hearing this got on horseback, went out of the *seraglio* in full gallop, and as he went by the people that were gathered together on account of the *divan*, cried out fire! fire! to conceal the true reason of his flight, which frightened every one, and made them hasten homewards; but *Bustanci Passa* pursued him to his house and had him killed there. So this wise and able minister fell by the intrigues of these women, a man whom they still talk of with praise, in whose time not one bad *asper* was to be seen in *Constantinople*, which otherwise is but too common.

ROLANDA  
but in vain,

by reason of the women's intrigues,

and at last loses his life for it.

Sultan *Ibrahim*'s mother tried all possible means to restore him to his senses by the help of physicians, but that proving ineffectual, she employed a forcerer called *Hussein Gingi Hogia* (*Hussein* means a master of spirits.) This was the man who should make the emperor wiser, and for that reason was night and day with him, which brought him into great credit and authority. But the emperor grew rather mad than better, and let this man govern according to his wild schemes, who deposed and set up vizirs as he liked, he taking for himself the employment of *cadi Palkieri* of *Asia*, which is a great dignity among the *Turks*. But the emperor fell into still greater debaucheries and excesses with women; he was carried with his concubines in sedans all about the streets of *Constantinople* in broad day-light, attended with pipes, drums, and all other sorts of noisy musick: he ordered the vizir to take care that no waggon should be seen in the streets that might hinder him in his furious rambles. The vizir accordingly made all possible regulations; notwithstanding which, it unluckily happened one day that the emperor met a country waggon in his way, laden with wood, which put him in such a fury, that he immediately sent for the vizir and stabbed him in the street

The emperor to be restored to his senses by physicians, but groweth worse under the hands of a forcerer.

Commits great excesses.

**ROLAMB.** with his own hand, leaving the corps naked for some days exposed to publick view. He made great and sumptuous nuptials for his daughters, whom he married one after another to some *bassas*, tho' they were but two or three years of age. All diamonds, pearls and other jewels that were to be had in *Constantinople* he bought up, and gave them to his women: he sent to the shops of christian and jewish merchants for gold brocade and other precious goods in great quantities, without paying for them. All the amber that was to be found in *Constantinople* he bought up and eat it for a provocative like bread, which made that drug so dear in the city, that a hundred drachms of it cost above a thousand rixdollars, and at last grew so scarce that none was to be had; for the same purpose he sent all over the country to catch sparrows, of the brains of which he had pyes made.

A hundred drachms of amber cost in his time 1000 rixdollars.

He clothes all his concubines in fable furs.

Remonfrances made to the empress dowager.

He is dethroned, and his son made emperor.

If one wanted a great employment, an infallible way to obtain it, was to present the emperor with a handsome woman slave, but then the purchaser could keep it no longer till another gave him one more handsome, and so every month produced a shifting of places and employments. At last the emperor took it in his head to have all his concubines (who were some thousands) clothed in fable, and to hang even his apartments with that precious fur; in order to which he commanded the *vizir Achmet Passa* to get sufficient quantity of it; the *vizir* obeyed and ordered that every body in *Constantinople*, who had a fable fur coat, should send it to the emperor. This falling hard upon the chief men of the empire, particularly on the officers of the *janizaries*, who would not willingly part with theirs, they grew mutinous; and one *Murat aga* who had lately been disgusted by the *vizir*, and deposed from his office of *janizar aga*, took the resolution to remonstrate to the empress dowager, to the *musti*, to *Abdu Rabim Effendi*, to *Mulki Kadi* a favourite lady of the empress dowager, and to *Beftasz aga*, lately made *janizar aga*, how unfit the emperor was for government, and what would be the consequences of his continuing longer in it. This had so much effect, that it was resolved by the foresaid persons, in conjunction with the *janizaries*, to dethrone sultan *Ibrahim*, and to raise his eldest son sultan *Mebemet* to the imperial dignity in his stead; who as he was but a child, the empress dowager his grandmother by the father's side was to have the guardianship over him till he was seventeen years of age. And tho' the *spabi's* of *Constantinople* opposed this design, yet the *janizaries* being strongest

in number, and having the empress dowager and the *musti* on their side, the latter party prevailed. So they proceeded to execution, and first deposed the *vizir Achmet Passa*, filling his place with *Sopbi Mebemet Passa*, otherwise called *Kogia Vizir*. They next went into the *seraglio*, and upon a sentence pronounced by the *musti*, seized Sultan *Ibrahim*, and put him into an iron cage, the same in which formerly *Tamerlan* had kept sultan *Bajazet*. This was done the more quietly, because *Abdu Rahman Capi Agasi* had been also brought over, and consequently the *Izoglans*, and others of the court servants, were kept in awe in their own rooms. The women seeing their protector fallen from his grandeur, and prognosticating but too well what would be their fate, raised heavy cries and lamentations; accordingly 800 of his concubines, besides the women slaves, were turned out of doors at once, some of them were strangled, and others exiled; *Szeckerpara* was sent to *Grand Cairo*, where she died miserably. Their gold, jewels, and all their precious furniture, of which they had not only chests but even whole rooms and houses full, were sold at *Constantinople* for half the value.

Is put into an iron cage.

Lamentations among the women, who are involved in the execution.

Ibrahim runs at last quite mad.

Is strangled.

Buried in Sophia church.

Sultan Mehemet.

Ceremonies of the Turkish emperor's inauguration.

This made sultan *Ibrahim*, who before was but stupid, at length run quite mad; he roared and cried night and day, that no body in the *seraglio* could have rest, till some days after the *vizir* took him out of the said cage, brought him into a room, so as he was, without a cap, breeches, and barefooted, and had him strangled there by two old seamen, of whom there are 24 in the *seraglio*, who being by age disabled for rowing, are employed there in sweeping the rooms, his corps being afterwards carried out, and laid in the palace yard, all the eunuchs came, according to custom, to sling their *turbans* upon and about the corps, which was at last carried into *Sophia* church, and buried there near that of sultan *Mustafa*, who in his time had been no wiser than this emperor.

Sultan *Mebemet* hearing that his father was strangled (for it was done unknown to him) wept and lamented very much, till at last the empress and the *vizir* with much ado comforted him. He was afterwards brought to the mosque of *Eiub*, in the year 1058, according to the *Turkish* chronology, and there, after many prayers, and burning of frankincense, the *musti* hung to his side the sword of their prophet *Ali*; and stuck a henn feather in his *turban*, which is all the ceremony of their inauguration. Thus sultan *Mebemet Han* succeeded his father, who for his extravagancies and lust was taken

taken off the same year, in the imperial dignity, in the 29th year of his age, his grandmother *Bujuk Valide*, sultan *Achmet's* dowager, and mother to sultan *Murat* and sultan *Ibrahim* being appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire.

Tumult betwixt the janizaries and spahi's.

Immediately after this change, a tumult arose between the *janizaries* and the *spahi's* of *Constantinople*; the latter alledged that they had not consented to sultan *Ibrahim's* death; and having engaged in their party all the *Izoglans* out of the two imperial seraglio's at *Pera* and *Atmeidan*, they called loudly for having all those punished who had been the cause of sultan *Ibrahim's* death; the *janizar* officers endeavoured to appease the tumult by fair means, but in vain; and one of their *sorbaci*, i. e. colonels, who set up for mediator, was killed by the *spahi's*. The consequence was, that both parties at last came to a pitched battle near *Atmeidan*, in which, after a sharp engagement the *spahi's* were put to flight, and upwards of one thousand men kill'd on both sides, but most on that of the *spahi's*, some of whom were cut off even in sultan *Achmet's* mosque, whither they had fled; and others wherever the *janizaries* met with them. Thus was this emotion appeased for this time, being the first since sultan *Mehemet's* accession to the government. But the *spahi's* were rather irritated herewith than suppressed; for those of *Asia* and *Europe* were not concerned in this affair, but only those of *Constantinople*; on the other hand, the authority of the *janizaries* increased more and more, and the old *janizar* aga mentioned before, who was the author of sultan *Ibrahim's* death, was made *vizir*.

A sharp fight.

The empress dowager governs two years.

Now the state was in peace for two years, and the empress dowager being a woman of spirit and sense, both on account of her own natural parts, and of the long experience of her years, governed during that time well and peaceably, till the young dowager *Seni Valide* (i. e. the emperor's mother) began to suspect, that she, who would consent to the death of sultan *Ibrahim* her own son, might at last practise against her grandson's life also; for which there was the more appearance, because the old empress had a good understanding with the *janizaries*, and bore an ill-will to the young empress dowager, whilst on the other side she much cared for the mother of the emperor's younger brother sultan *Soliman*, a youth of a much better look and shape than the eldest. These considerations made the young empress dowager seek her security and support among the *spahi's* of *Asia*, who were easily drawn into her interest, as being highly provoked at the disgraceful rencounter with the *janizaries*; so

that they only waited for an opportunity to be revenged. For the main power of the *Turkish* empire is in the hands of these two bodies, which keep one another, as it were in balance; so that if one begins to outweigh the other in credit, the opposite party immediately sets up for a counter-balance. An emperor's greatest skill and security consists in keeping this balance; and in case both parties grow too powerful in playing one against the other to both their ruin; which maxim indeed has been tried, but seldom with success before this present *vizir's* time, of whose artful management in this point mention shall be made hereafter.

ROLAMB. The main power of the Turkish empire is in the hands of the spahi's and janizaries.

The young dowager therefore endeavoured to gain over to her interest the *spahi's*, and some *bassas* and *begs*, who had formerly been employed in the seraglio, by representing to them the insolence of the *janizaries*, and insinuating, that they in concert with the sultane *Valide*, were set upon destroying the *spahi's*, unless they took care to prevent them in time. This wrought so readily upon the *spahi's*, that they rose up in arms, and marched with a great force under the conduct of an old renowned commander of theirs *Gurgi Nebi* to *Scudari*, a city situate over-against *Constantinople* on the *Asiatick* side, under the pretence of revenging sultan *Ibrahim's* death: But as all those who were the authors of it, maintained a good understanding with the *janizaries*, and that the *vizir Murat passas's* credit among them was almost absolute, this revolt of the *spahi's* was soon suppress'd, through the *vizir's* capacity, and the power of the *janizaries* without much bloodshed. For tho' the *vizir* met them near *Scudari* with a great army of *janizaries*, yet he first sent the *Cadi l'Askieri*, or chief judge of *Asia* to dissuade them from giving occasion to the spilling of *Mussulmens* blood, and to enforce his admonition with threats, in case they persisted. Accordingly this method proved effectual; for after some slight skirmishes in which the *spahi's* were worsted, they relented, and every one went to his own home again. This success raised the spirits of the *janizaries* still more and more, and particularly increased the insolence of their commander *Bectasz aga*, who besides, was the old empress's favourite, and of his adherents *Kut Khiabaja* and *Kara Chiaus*, who were rich men, and of great credit. The hatred also which the old empress dowager bore to the younger, grew the more violent, as she was informed, that the latter had been the occasion of the late tumult, in order to ruin her. She therefore began to contrive how to dethrone the emperor by the help of the *janizaries*,

Cadi l'Askieri the chief judge of Asia.

Bectasz aga, commander of the janizaries.

**ROLAMB.** *nizaries*, and to set his younger brother sultan *Soliman* upon the throne, in order the better to secure her own authority, without being any more controuled by any one; for sultan *Soliman's* mother being lately dead, the inspection over him seemed to devolve upon her alone. To bring this about, she thought the more easy, because the *spahis* being reduced so low, the *janizaries* carried all before them, and with them she could do what she pleas'd by the means of *Beftasz* their *aga*, whose insolence was come to that degree, that he pretended to overrule even the *vizir*; and as *Murat bassa* above-mentioned, who otherwise was in high esteem, had refused him some small request, he, by the help and authority of the old empress, had him turned out of that high post, and *Melech Achmet passa* put in his room, who was a quiet and simple man, whom he could lead at his own will. But this invincible power of theirs which they imagined so well rivetted, that *Beftasz* used publickly to say, that before any man should take off his head, so many other heads should fly first, as would make a heap as high as *St. Sophia's* church, suffered a terrible shock from a quarter where it was least expected. For *Beftasz* making his credit subservient to his avarice, had bad aspers coined at *Belgrade*, which he forced upon the common people, by making them change the adulterated coin for their ducats, which he put into his own coffers. This caused an insurrection, which began at *Constantinople* in a quarter of the town call'd *Sarabekhana*, where their taverns are; the common people of the whole city having gathered there in a few hours, went to the *mufti*, and to *Nakib effendi*, (the head of *Mahomet's* family, a great dignity among them) whom they forced along with them to the *seraglio*, desired to speak with the emperor, made their complaints to him, and insisted on another *vizir's* being named, he who then filled that post not being fit to govern, as being a tool and underling of *Beftasz aga*.

*Capi aga* and *Kislar aga*, the chief officers of the emperor's household (the latter hath the command over all women and *Moors*, and the former over all men in the *seraglio*) found this fair opportunity to ruin *Beftasz aga*, and to establish the emperor upon the throne, and therefore encouraged the emperor, not to let it slip, but to get the common people on his side, and set them on against the *janizaries*. Accordingly the *vizir Melech Achmet passa* was sent for, and immediately deposed from his office in the sight of the people, and *Cbiaus passa* put in his place, who former-

ly had been sultan *Murat's* armour-bearer, a man of good understanding and courage. So the people were for this time appeased and satisfied. But *Beftasz* and his adherents perceiving too well, that *Cbiaus passa* would not be a man for their turn; and yet not daring to oppose these measures for fear of the people, dissembled, in hopes that either they might gain him over, or find out means to put him out of the way. In order therefore to hinder the *vizir* from stirring up the people again, and subjecting the old empress together with himself to the same peril, he ordered his *janizaries* carefully to hinder any further meeting among the inhabitants; so that whenever any two were found to talk together either walking or standing, they were clapt up in prison, and the most eminent among them were secured on various pretences, in order to frighten the others from assisting the new *vizir* upon occasion.

The emperor assisted by the *vizir* on the other side, designing insensibly to remove out of the way those three heads of the *janizaries*, ordered *Bustanci passa*, that when *Cutchia Hajasi* should come to the *divan*, according to custom, he should meet him and dispatch him at any rate: But the old empress having information of this design, terrified *Bustanci passa*, so that he dared not to put it in execution. With these cabals the animosity between the two empresses was carried to the highest pitch; and as the younger, together with the *vizir*, laboured to maintain the emperor's person and authority, the elder with the *aga* of the *janizaries* endeavoured with all their might to establish their own, which could not be done, unless the emperor was dethroned, and his brother sultan *Soliman* set up in his place, as I mentioned before. In order to bring this about, *Beftasz* call'd a *divan* together, to be held in *Orta Giami*, i. e. the *janizaries* mosque, where there was a numerous assembly of their clergy, as well as laymen, who made appearance, some as being of *Beftasz's* party, others as being awed by his credit, who durst not stay away: Only the *vizir Cbiaus passa* was yet wanting; but he was sent for at midnight, with an intent either to make him consent to their scheme, or, in case of refusal, to kill him there on the spot. The *vizir*, though fully sensible of the great danger he would expose himself to if he went, and of the indignity offered to his person, he by his employment having solely the power of convoking a *divan*, and this no where except in the *seraglio*, or in his own house; nevertheless, being a man of sense, and of an undaunted spirit, he went with a

Which he secretly tries to ward off,

His infolencies.

Coins bad aspers.

Which occasions tumult and complaints against him.

with the assistance of the old empress.

The hatred betwixt both empresses increases.

*Beftasz* convokes a *divan*,

His ruin intended.

and sends for the *vizir*, who otherwise has the sole power of calling one.

small attendance to the said assembly, where he found 10000 *janizaries* drawn up in arms before the mosque, with burning matches. However, he proceeded and entered their assembly, tho' *Beftasz* neither met him, nor yielded the upperhand to him; of all which he took no notice, but temporized. Having heard their proposition concerning the election of sultan *Soliman*, he returned an answer, as if he was very well pleased with it, commending them for the zeal they shewed for the welfare of the *Mussulmen*, and took an oath upon their alcoran, that he would always be true to their party, and assist them in the execution of their design. With this *Beftasz* was satisfy'd, not so much that he really gave credit to the *vizir's* promise, and relied on his friendship, but rather in confidence of his own power, imagining, that though the *vizir* might have a mind to oppose him, he would not be able to do it in so short a time; for the next day was appointed for the execution of the resolution they had taken in the *Kalaba divan*. Towards evening the *vizir* left them, and repaired to his own house; where having stayed some hours, he, with two persons more, went to the emperor's seraglio through a back door called *Iron-Gate*, having had information, that the old empress intended to retire that night out of the seraglio, on account of the disturbances that were to be expected the next day, and to secure her own person among the *janizaries*. The *vizir* coming to the said gate, found it open, contrary to what is usual, *Bustanci passâ* having ordered it so, at the old empress's direction; but the *vizir* had it shut up, and went to the emperor's bed-chamber (called *Haram*) where he met *Soleiman Kiflar aga*, who perceiving a candle burning in the old empress's apartment, contrary to custom, and being at a loss what to think of it, was not gone to bed: His fears increased, when he saw the *vizir* coming so privately, and in the dark. But upon the *vizir's* acquainting him with the whole transaction, and his own intentions, he soon recovered his fright, and, at the *vizir's* desire, went in, and ordered the young empress and the emperor to be waked, and conducted by some eunuchs out of their own rooms into the old empress's apartment, where she was sitting and amusing herself with vocal and instrumental musick. Her chief door-keeper *Basz Capa Oglan* endeavouring to lock the door against him, he killed him with his *ganzar* or dagger, and with his eunuchs who had their daggers also drawn (for those are the usual arms of the *Turks*, who wear no sabres, except in war, or

on their travels) rushed in upon the old empress, seized her, and put her into a safe room under a close guard. This being done, the *vizir* and the said *Kiflar aga* went into the emperor's apartment, and by signs bid the women who watched there, to wake the emperor and the empress; which accordingly they did, without speaking one word, also by signs only (for at the *Turkish* court it is the general custom to converse chiefly by signs; one seldom hears a word spoken, and they are so perfect in this practice, that they are able to tell stories, and to understand one another, as well as if they talked together, thinking that this silent way of conversing adds to the veneration of the place.) The emperor and his mother hearing of the design that was upon the anvil, were extremely disturbed, particularly the empress, who having but lately lost her husband, was now seized with new apprehensions what would become of her son; the emperor being but a child, was frightened at his mother's desponding behaviour, and fell crying and lamenting at the *Kiflar aga's* feet, saying, *La, la, la, Kurtar ben*, i. e. My guardian protect me. The *vizir* comforted them the best he could, and took the emperor with him a part of the seraglio call'd *Hazoda*, where his gentlemen of the bed-chamber have their room; there are forty of them in number, who are afterwards advanced to the dignity of *passas*, and other high offices, and are called *Hazodali*, from the place where they dwell. In these mens hands it was that the *vizir* and *Kiflar aga* put the emperor, from whom he had in the mean time taken an order, by virtue of which he deprived *Bustanci passâ* of his office (which is the inspection over all *Bustanci's* and seraglios) and appointed another in his place; he farther sent for all *Bustanci's*, of whom there are always about 500 in the seraglio, who take care of the gates and apartments; those he put under a new oath of fidelity, and sent them back to their posts, to guard all avenues and gates. All these precautions having been taken with so much tranquillity, that all the people of the household, who lay in the adjoining rooms, knew nothing of what passed, the *vizir* gave orders to *Capi aga* to rouse and arm all the *Izoglans*, who are about 1000 in number, all young and stout fellows. He himself went to all the other rooms, where any of the court's attendants lay, had them all armed, and ordered them to keep in readiness, yet every one in their respective rooms, and without any noise. The emperor continuing his cries and lamentations, as not knowing but that he was to be sacrificed,

The vizir acquaints the emperor with what passes.

ROLAMB.  
Secures the old empress.

The conversation at the Turkish court is by signs.

Provides for the emperor's safety.

ROLAMB. sacrificed, the vizir had him carried before a window of the said room to shew him how all the people were ready for his defence. But it happened contrary to his intentions, that an *Izoglan* seeing him from one of their rooms, call'd *Bujuk Oda*, knew the emperor, and immediately called out *Hakta ala padisza himase*, &c. which is their *Vive le roi*, or, God save the king, to which all the others answered, *allah, allah*; and this cry running round through all the apartments of the seraglio, was the beginning of the alarm and confusion that ensued.

Summons all passas and begs to the seraglio. The vizir had over-night immediately sent orders into the city of *Constantinople*, to all the *passas* and *begs* to appear in the seraglio with as many men as they could gather, each of them provided with provisions for three days; which was done accordingly: So that before day-break, not only both outer palace yards, but even the gardens and the streets adjoining to the seraglio, as far as the large place *Aik Meidan*, i. e. horse-market, where the three ancient columns stand, were filled up with troops, and all night long the seraglio was supplied with ammunition by water from *Galata* and *Topisana*. About day-break the *janizaries* also grew aware of what passed in the seraglio, and therefore with *Beçafsz* at their head prepared themselves also. When it was day-light, and they saw a multitude of citizens, and of the mob gathering towards the seraglio, knowing that they had not called them, and conscious of the ill-will they must bear them on account of the insolencies they had for some time suffered from them, the *janizaries* made large promises to the *Greeks*, *Albanians* and other Christians, that if they would side with them, they should be freed from the *baradz*, (i. e. the tribute which the Christians pay to the *Turks*) and be admitted to employments, distributing withal great sums of money among them. By these means the *janizaries* gained a great many people over to their side; so that even the city itself became divided into two parties, one holding with the emperor, and the other with the *janizaries*. All that was done hitherto in the seraglio, had been conducted with good order and quietly, all the different ranks of the household keeping in their rooms, only waiting for the emperor's orders, and leaving the rest to the vizir's and the *Kisler aga's* disposition: But after they had said their first morning prayers, which is always done at break of day, and is call'd *Sabanamasi*, the *Baltazi's* (who are about 200 in number, all choice men, strong, brisk, and of a full size, who are armed with battle-axes, and serve as a

guard for the women) began an alarm, calling the *Izoglans* to come out of their rooms and follow them. The *Izoglans* are divided into two partitions, one is of 5, or 600 men, whose quarters are called *Bujuk Oda*, the other consists of 400 men, and is called *Kutzuk Oda*. These issued forth immediately, and went with the *Baltazi's* directly to the hall of the forty *Hazodali's*, where the emperor was. There they met one of the old empress's favourite eunuchs, whose name was *Has Odabassi*, whom they first attacked with words, and upon his offering to reply, went to seize him; he escaped however, and hastened to save himself among the *Bustanci's*, but they cut off his passage, and were going to dispatch him, when upon his request they allowed him as much time as to be brought first before the emperor, in order to deliver to him his seal, and the key of his wardrobe. He had scarcely given both to the emperor, and was going to say something in his own defence, when one of the *Izoglans* lifted up his battle-ax, and cleaved his head in two, that he fell before the emperor's feet; then the others fell upon him, and cut him into so small pieces, that even a watch and some ducats he had in his pockets were cut to bits; the pieces of the corps were afterwards gathered upon a carpet, and carried away. The emperor being young, was so extremely frightned at this proceeding, that he cried; but these people being once grown furious, nothing was capable to check or awe them, amidst the confused noise of so many different languages, for they were all renegadoes of divers countries, *Albanians*, *Circassians*, *Bosnians*, *Italians*, *Frenckmen*, *Poles*, &c. It is to be observed here by the way, that in the emperor's seraglio, native *Turks* are seldom employed, but only foreign renegadoes, ever since sultan *Soliman's* time, who made this regulation on a trifling occasion, which was, that one of his pages a *Turk*, serving him drink in a cup, kept the handle in his own hand, no other being left for the emperor to take hold of; another page who was a renegado immediately presented another cup to the emperor with the handle turned towards him, which pleased the emperor so well, that he would never after employ any *Turk* in his service at court, which maxim prevails to this day; though the chief reason of it is, perhaps, because the *Turks* are too insolent, high-spirited and seditious to be trusted. To proceed, this medley of nations however agreed in one point, which was the making away with the old empress. The *musti* chancing to get among them, wished himself indeed far off, being unwilling to pronounce

Repartition of the Izoglans.

Has Odabassi the empress's eunuch.

His head split in two.

Turks seldom employed in the seraglio.

The chief reason of it.

the sentence over her (which in the like cases is always necessary to precede); but they threatned him, that if he would not pass the sentence immediately, they would use him in the same manner as they had done another, whose corps they had just before carried away.

The emperor's mother gets among the mutineers.

During this parley with the *musti*, the emperor's mother being under the greatest apprehensions for her son's life, came running out of her room in a mask, and reproved the mutineers for their insolence; but they in their madness and rage taking her for the old empress, were going to lay violent hands on her, and would certainly have destroyed her, had not she saved herself by falling at the emperor's feet, who thereupon made signs to them with his handkerchief, crying out, *Gberi duriniz, gberi duriniz*, i. e. fall back; and so the mutineers finding who she was, kept off.

The musti's sentence against the old empress.

This alarm being thus over, they returned upon the *musti*, who thought it not adviseable to use any more delays; but said, it was the will of God, that the old empress should be delivered into their hands; which sentence he wrote upon a paper and gave it to them; with this and the emperor's orders in writing, they sent some of their own party to the room where the old empress was shut up, who went thither, carrying both papers aloft before them. Going through the apartments they met the empress's fool, a woman, who being asked whether she was the old empress? answered, Yes; and at the same time fired a pistol at them, which did but flash in the pan; with this they seized on her, and would have strangled her for the old empress, had not *Kislar Aga* chanced to come in and told them who she was; after which he himself conducted them into the room where the old empress was; but they not

Who being shut up in a room,

hid herself among bolsters.

finding her there immediately, (for she had hid herself in a loft among a heap of bolsters) they were near killing the said *Kislar Aga*, for having deceived them as they thought. But he desiring them first to look better about, one of the *Izoglans* climbed up to the loft, and there found her hid in a bolster among the cotton, with which it was stuffed. When she saw herself discovered, she took her hands full of ducats and threw them on the ground, in hopes, that he who was got up in quest of her, would leap down after the money, and leave her an opportunity of slipping out of their hands. But the said *Izoglan*, named *Deli Dograndi*, little minding the money, pulled her by the feet down upon the floor, where his companions, like so many birds of prey, surrounded her, tore off her clothes, which she had all over sewed full

of gold, pearls and diamonds, particularly a gown of sable fur, which she had stuck full of ducats; all which they cut into pieces, and divided among themselves. She had a pair of diamond ear-rings about her, which her late lord sultan *Achmet* had given her, being bought for a year's revenue of *Grand Cairo*; these one of the *Izoglans*, named *Ali Bostanci*, got for his share; there were likewise necromantick characters found upon her, and among others a padlock of a particular make, with the interwoven names of sultan *Murat* and sultan *Ibrahim*; by the means of which she was said to have enchanted those princes. After they had stript her quite naked, even without leaving any linen upon her, they dragg'd her by the feet into the palace yard and there strangled her. Whilst the fellow who was to perform the execution was struggling with her, she snatched his finger in her mouth, and bit it with her gums (for age had not left one tooth in her head, she being then 80 years old) with such force, that he was very near losing it. When they had thus made an end of her as they thought, seeing no farther signs of life in her, they all left her, and ran to acquaint the emperor with this expedition. But they were hardly gone a few steps off, when she reared herself up again, and look'd about where to fly to, which being observed by some others, they call'd the *Izoglans* back, and shewed them that they had but little skill in that trade; whereupon they set about it a second time, and did not give over till they were sure there was no life left in her.

ROLAME. Her diamond ear-rings bought for a year's revenue of Grand Cairo.

Stript naked, dragged by the feet into the palace yard and strangled.

80 years of age.

Mahomet's banner brought out of the treasury,

Thus the emperor's greatest enemy, who was the cause and spring of all these disturbances, aiming at no less than the taking away his crown and his life, was put out of the way; and consequently the faction of *Bechtasz* and his *janizaries*, as good as half quashed. To finish all, the *vizir* immediately sent for *Mahomet's* banner out of the treasury, where it is kept as their *palladium*, and a sacred relic; it being a tradition among them, that it was brought by the angel *Gabriel* to *Mahomet*, at a time when he was engaged in a heavy war against the Christians, for a presage of victory: It is never made use of, except in the greatest extremities, on which occasion, all that are above seven years of age, and will be reputed good *Mussulmen*, i. e. faithful, ought to repair under this banner, on pain, in case of failure, of being deemed *Giaur*, i. e. infidels, who are fallen off from their belief. This banner was delivered to the *baltazi's*, who carried it to the populace, and set it up among them, calling out *Allab, allab*. The *vizir* also sent heralds through all the streets of *Constantinople*, to proclaim the heavenly

called the heavenly banner.

ROLAMB. venly banner (as they call it) being set up, and to summon all *Mussulmen* to repair to their duty. This caused such a concourse of people, even of children and decrepit old men, that it was with much difficulty they could keep their women at home; those who had no arms took sticks, stones, and what else they first could seize on, and went to range themselves under the banner.

Repartition of the janizaries.

Beftasz makes counter-preparations,

without success.

The report of the old empress's death, as well as of *Mabomet's* banner being set up, soon reached also the streets where the *janizaries* were assembled: They are divided into two quarters, the first is call'd *elki odalar*, i. e. the old house, where one half of their body was then with their officers; the other is called *jeni odalar*, the new house, in which was the other half with *Beftasz* himself and his counsellors. He and his faction made no account of that pretended religious duty, but knowing that his life was at stake, advised his followers to fall upon those who had ranged themselves under the banner, before their number increased too much, and after having defeated them, to attack the emperor's seraglio; the better to forward which design, they might fire the city in different places, which would draw the inhabitants from the banner, in order to save their own houses and goods. This scheme might have succeeded, had it not been for those of the old house, who, swayed by a religious principle, made a scruple of conscience to let private interest prevail over the duty of their belief and the concerns of their souls, and thus to render themselves for ever unworthy of the name of *Mussulmen*; besides that, their wives, children and goods were dispersed in several parts of the city; so this project of setting it on fire was rejected. *Beftasz* however with his party was preparing himself for an attack, and had sent orders to the same effect to the old house, to be enforced with distributing money among them, when he received advice, that the *janizaries* of the old house had thrown down their arms and were gone over to *Mabomet's* banner, after having returned for answer to those who were come with *Beftasz's* orders and money; *Verenda kiafir alanda kiafir*, i. e. he that sends them is an infidel. At the same time arrived a *chiaus* from the seraglio, sent by the *vizir* to *Beftasz* and his followers, who in the name of the emperor said: *Hazratin sangi aghi aliuina git meien kendi kaifir we awreti bofsz*, i. e. he that does not repair to the holy banner is an infidel, and his wife is divorced from him. The *chiaus* having pronounced these words and thrown a paper before their feet, hastened back with all possible speed. Upon reading the paper they found these words:

Thee, *Beftasz* aga, I have appointed *passa* of *Burcia*, and thee *Kara chiaus* I have appointed *capitan passa*, and thee *Kutchiabaja* I have appointed *passa* of *Temiswar*, and thee *Kara bassan* I have appointed *janizar* aga, on penalty of death and confiscation of all goods, if every one of you doth not immediately repair to his employment. At this all the *janizaries* of the new house called out, *Daima emiz padis zab injn olsun*, i. e. the emperor's reign be for ever; and so they all to one man and without any order ran to the said banner. *Kara bassan* who was named for *janizar* aga, went to the seraglio to the emperor, and received of him his *kastan* in confirmation of his new employment; after which he proceeded to his *janizaries* under the banner. Thus the His great power is at an end. great power of *Beftasz* being vanish'd in one moment, and he finding himself with his two colleagues *Kutchiabaja* and *Kara chiaus* quite destitute, conscious at the same time what destiny would attend them, they were trying to save themselves by flight. But *Beftasz* was forthwith seized, set upon a Is seized and strangled. mule, and in scorn and derision carried to the seraglio and there strangled; after he was dead they plucked out his beard, and sent to every one of his friends in the city a hair of it for a present, and a memorandum of their triumph. The other two were also overtaken in the country and killed. The rest of the ill affected who had any credit, being thirty-eight in number, all of them *czorbadzi* and *odabassi*, i. e. colonel-like officers among the *janizaries*, were afterwards also privately and in the night-time made away with by the *vizir's* order.

Thus this sedition, which seemed very The sedition appeared with which the Ottoman state seemed threatened. near overthrowing the whole *Ottoman* establishment, was through the *vizir's* prudent conduct quashed, without great bloodshed; the emperor with his mother were saved, and the pride of the *janizaries* crushed, so that there was all reasonable prospect of a lasting tranquillity: However, it was not long before a *passa*, named *Ipsir* Ipsir passa begins a new alarm; *passa*, began a new alarm in *Natolia* with an army of the *spabi's* of *Asia* consisting of thirty or forty thousand men, whom he had gained over to his side, and roved with them over the country, laying one town after another under contribution, and even *Aleppo*, which place he blocked up for some time, till it submitted also. Many and heavy complaints were brought before the emperor against him, but there was no remedy to be expected from main force; on the contrary, the emperor being at last apprehensive lest *Ipsir passa* might turn his arms against himself, was obliged to carefs is carefs'd by the him emperor. him

him his seal with the offer of the title *Lala*, i. e. *Guardian*, (which in effect was making him *vizir guardian*, being the usual term the emperor makes use of in talking with his *vizir*.) This offer took with *Ipsir passa*, who came to *Constantinople* and took possession of his new post of *vizir*, and soon began to make away with one *passa* after the other, part of whose estates he conveyed into the emperor's coffers, and the rest into his own; in which proceedings none durst oppose him, he having the *spahi's* near him and at his beck, all the streets and corners of *Constantinople* being fill'd with them. However, the grandees of *Constantinople* combin'd at last, and on a certain evening having every one invited his company of *Spahi's* to his house, they told them so much, as at length to talk them into an aversion to the *vizir*; from thence they went and offer'd the direction of their design to *Murat capitán passa*, who being upon ill terms with the *vizir*, readily accepted of it, and manag'd the business so dexterously, that the next day the *spahi's* and *janizaries* having made an insurrection, the emperor was forced to give them the *vizir Ipsir passa's* head, though much against his will, the *vizir* having greatly insinuated himself into the emperor's favour by furnishing him with money; and as it seem'd to them that the *musti* had been in the *vizir's* interest, they stripp'd him of all, and pillag'd his house, obliging the emperor to fill the *vizir's* place with *Murat passa*. But after three months it was over with him too, and he was sent to *Damascus*, and poison'd on the road.

Obtains the employment of vizir ;

but soon kill'd.

Murat passá in his stead made vizir, and afterwards banish'd to Damascus.

A new tumult occasion'd by base coin.

This tumult was hardly appeas'd when another arose, which was occasion'd by the mismanagement of the emperor's own and most trusty minister: for soon after the *spahi's* and *janizaries* reunited and made a common cause in complaining among themselves, that their pay was made to them in base money, the emperor's treasurers causing bad *aspers* to be coin'd underhand, when the troops were to be paid, putting them in purses fill'd more than half with that bad coin; this wrought at last a strict union between those two bodies, who chose an old renown'd *spahi Assan aga* for their leader, and unexpectedly went to the seraglio, demanding to speak with the emperor himself. He was oblig'd to comply and shew himself from a high room near the outermost gate of the seraglio, call'd *Ali tiusk*, when the said *Assan aga*, in the name of all, represented their grievances to the emperor. The blame was laid upon *Kislar aga*, as also on some *Moors* and eunuchs, who were the emperor's greatest favourites (call'd *muska-*

*bip*) whom they insisted to have deliver'd out for punishment; how gratingly soever this might sound in the emperor's ears, yet there was no denying them; accordingly he order'd *Kislar aga* to be strangled first, and then with seven others to be thrown over the wall to them; their bodies they hung all together on a tree, and mangled them with cutting the flesh from their bones; nor would this satisfy them yet, but they demanded also a lady, call'd *Mulkikadin* the empress's favourite, who being deliver'd also, they hung her by the feet on the same tree. Though by the death of these persons the tumult was so far laid, yet *Assan aga* with his followers still went on to commit several other outrages, and took it in his head to turn all the *Jews* out of *Constantinople* (where there were above twenty thousand) and to divide their goods and daughters among themselves. But this design was prevented by some of the most discreet among them; and after the abovemention'd *vizir Chiaus passa* was come to *Constantinople*, the emperor by his advice sent for *Assan aga* to the *divan*, as if he intended to speak with him, who presuming that all former transactions were now forgotten, went securely thither, but ended his life there under the sabres by the emperor's order: and so there was also an end of this sedition.

After this manner, one sedition being quell'd, another broke out during the minority of sultan *Mehemet*; and though since that time he was free from tumults and rebellions, yet upon the whole, the *Turkish* empire struggled with great fatalities during his reign, not only with relation to the abovesaid revolts, but also ever after, through a continual series of disasters in the war with the *Venetians*; for besides the several battles the *Turks* lost from time to time at sea, immense numbers of their men perish'd in *Candia*; they were forced to suffer the *Venetians* to come almost within sight of their capital, and take from them one strong island after another in the *Archipelago*, whereby all communication with, and supplies from *Egypt* and other parts of *Africa* were cut off. This began to occasion a mean opinion of sultan *Mehemet*, to whose ill fortune they attributed all their adversities, and at my arrival the publick talk ran very hard against him upon that account, so that upon the least unlucky turn and new disgrace in their publick affairs he stood in great hazard of a revolution. However, the treachery of the *Turkish* ministry was the true cause of the good success of the *Venetians*, of whom they took bribes, and manag'd affairs accordingly, to the advantage of the enemy. This management went on during the ad-

RÖLAME.

Appeas'd by the execution of the coiners,

and of Mulkikadin the empress's favourite.

Above 20,000 Jews in Constantinople.

Troubles in sultan Mehemet's minority.

Continual losses from the Venetians,

occasion'd by the treachery of the Turkish ministry.

ROLAMB. ministrations of the several *vizirs*, who were corrupted one after the other by the intrigues and management of the *French* ambassador, till this present *vizir Coprili Mehemet passa*, who being possess'd with a true zeal for his sovereign's reputation, and the interest of the *Turkish* empire, scorns to be tempted with their money.

Remedied by this vizir.

His manly actions,

The emperor till now had been a child, and consequently was not able to judge how publick affairs were manag'd; but the *vizir* let him into the reasons why the *Venetians* had till then made such progress against his empire; after which he had the corrupted ministers dispatch'd out of the way, and highly affronted the *French* ambassador, for having made himself so mean as to be employ'd by them, calling him publickly a traitor, and sending his interpreter to prison for some months. He next went and assisted at the campaign of last year in person, recover'd the islands in the *Archipelago*, which the *Venetians* had made themselves masters of, and took such measures that their numerous and powerful fleet was oblig'd to return home with shame. This conduct had the effect, that the emperor was restor'd to a better opinion among his subjects, and has now as much establish'd his throne, as it was tottering before on the least unlucky incident. For the bad aspect affairs bore last summer, occasion'd those frequent and unusual devotions at *Constantinople*, every time the *vizir* near the *Dardanel*s was on some enterprize or other, when the emperor himself went either to *Ejub's mosque*, or to *Okmeidan*, to pass whole nights in devotion, attended thither with excessive acclamations, whilst some hundreds of boats that went up and down the canal, answered with an equal noise. As to the *vizir*, his credit with the emperor grew to such a height, that he now respects him as a father; and indeed he is a man of good natural parts in their own way, and of great experience by reason of his age; but his behaviour is rough and tyrannical, which is what creates him the esteem of the *Turks*. The readiness of his wit makes him govern well, and his cruelty awes those who might otherwise plot against his life. When he came into the administration, the *spahi's* had great authority, which they us'd with such licentiousness, as may be judg'd from the abovementioned transactions; he therefore made it his first care to insinuate himself with the *janizaries*, and then to make away with about four or five hundred of the chief men among the *spahi's*, who he was afraid were preparing new broils; and this he had executed in the night-time, as privately and with as little noise as was possible. But last sum-

mer when he was going to take the field, he grew apprehensive of their revenge, and with reason, for they had already several times mutinied in the camp before *Constantinople*, which once went so far, that they seiz'd and carry'd him before the emperor, demanding his life, which, however, was spared at the emperor's own intercession: he therefore tried another method, which was to reconcile himself with part of them by dint of money, and to send the greater number, *viz.* the *spahi's* of *Asia*, to their own homes, in order to manage the rest the better. On the other hand, as the *janizaries* began to rear up again after the *spahi's* were crush'd, he turn'd about to the latter for help to keep the *janizaries* down, and near the *Dardanel*s, caused most of their officers, even seventeen *forbaices*, i. e. colonels, and the *chibaja beg* himself, to be put to death in one day, besides many hundred of *janizaries*, on pretence that they had fail'd in they duty in the action, which executions he chiefly committed to the *spahi's*, with a view of rooting up all confidence between them. Thus he laid the spirit of these two formidable bodies of the *Turkish* empire, by playing one against the other, so that neither the *spahi's* nor the *janizaries* were ever so low as they are at present.

Besides this he degraded or kill'd several *passa's* and *vizirs*. He depos'd *caimakam Frenk Achmet passa* so suddenly, that no body knew of it till it was done, not the *caimakam* himself; for when he was sitting in the emperor's *Seraglio* holding a *divan*, his employment was given to another, for whom he was to make room that moment. He also remov'd the *capitan passa*, the *beglerbeg* of *Buda*, the *passa* of *Silistria*, who had been *vizir* once and twice *caimakam*; moreover, he degraded the *musti* and the *nakib effendi*, which are their highest dignities, and sacred among them, and put his own favourites in their places. He order'd the patriarch of *Constantinople* to be hang'd, and kept another of *Jerusalem* for some weeks in prison, as he did also innumerable *begs* and officers, even once all the captains of the fleet, whom he afterwards either turn'd out of the service, or made away with. To sum up all; by these rigorous and cruel proceedings he has compassed his ends so far, that the *Turkish* army, which before him had their minds set only upon mutiny and uproar at home, and shew'd no sense of honour nor bravery against the enemy in the field, are now so far broke of that rebellious humour, that last summer they not only made a brave stand against the *Venetians*, but even recover'd the two islands *Tenedo* and *Lemnos* out of their hands: for they were become

and good qualifications,

of which he gives proofs on the *spahi's*,

as well as on the *janizaries*;

on several *passas* and *vizirs*,

and on the patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*.

Reforms the army.

come sensible that either they must conquer the enemy, or chuse inevitably to perish by the hands of the *vizir*, the former of which appearing more preferable; they now began to accustom themselves to notions of victory.

During my stay at *Constantinople* sultan *Mehemet* enter'd into his 17th year, at which time a *Turkish* emperor becomes of age, and the mother's guardianship determines. He is then by their law obliged to repair to *Adrianople*, the ancient seat of the empire, and to undertake some expedition, to intitle him to a third feather to be put into his *turbant* by the *vizir*; for before this he may wear only two, and those hanging down before; but after he has perform'd that journey, he may set those two feathers upright, and add a third as aforesaid, which however must also be turn'd downwards, till he has conquer'd some province, and then he wears them all three upright, and is acknowledged by his subjects, and deem'd to have full authority. In conformity to this custom the emperor, by the *vizir's* advice, set out from *Constantinople* the 23d of *September* 1657, and after a stay of a few days in his camp with *Daut pass* march'd to *Adrianople*. The *vizir* was as yet taken up near the *Dardanel*s, but follow'd some weeks after, and was receiv'd by the emperor with great demonstrations of favour and honour. There were indeed divers conjectures concerning the views intended by this journey, but the true and chief reason of it was in reality no more than what I mention. Yet in other regards this *vizir* is forming great and deep designs; he was formerly in the service of two famous and able *vizirs*, during sultan *Amurat's* time, one nam'd *Tabani Bujuk*, and the other *Cara Mustafa pass*, which latter was also in the administration for some years in sultan *Ibrahim's* time. Having studied the maxims of those ministers, he strictly follows them: as *Tabani Bujuk* did alway press sultan *Murat* to undertake some expedition, in order to gain to himself reputation in the world, the present *vizir* observes the same conduct, with respect to sultan *Mehemet* now reigning. And notwithstanding he is from his nature easy and inclin'd to melancholy, yet the *vizir's* discourses have wrought so much upon him, that last summer he imitated the example of sultan *Murat*, and with the view of making himself more respected and fear'd, began to range up and down *Constantinople* in disguise, always attended by his executioners, whom he immediately orders to dispatch whosoever is surpriz'd in smoking tobacco, or any other irregularity; on which occasions he hath already

shewn several instances of cruelty: the *vizir* hath likewise done all his endeavours to inspire him with an inclination to war, so far that upon his setting out from *Constantinople* on the said expedition, the emperor gave his mother to understand he did not intend to see *Constantinople* again within the first seven years, but to employ his younger years in extending the borders of the empire of the *Mussulmen*. For it is an article of their constitution, that no emperor shall be allow'd to build a *mosque*, unless he has conquer'd some province or other; and this building of a church is thought the more meritorious, because they have a superstition, which makes it doubtful for an emperor, who has not built his church, whether he shall go to heaven or no. But this warlike resolution soon abated, for while I was at *Adrianople*, his mind was already much set upon returning to *Constantinople* again; and it was with great difficulty the *vizir* could keep him with the army till they broke up. If this *vizir* should live long, he will certainly put him upon some remarkable enterprize against some part or other of Christendom. Every thing look'd then towards an expedition against *Italy*; however, the *vizir* would willingly abate in something to have those troublesome affairs adjusted, in order to carry on his other and more important designs. The reports of an intended expedition against the *Venetians* have turned the heads of the *Turkish budalates*, whom they look upon as saints and prophets, but in reality are errant fanaticks, that wherever they are seen in the streets, they bawl out, *Cicil Alma, Cicil Alma*, i. e. *Rome*; for in their *mubamedys* (a book of prophecies) it is said, that the *Turkish* emperor shall come as far as *Rome*, and take it, that he shall make the pope patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who some time after shall profess the *Mahometan* faith; then Christ shall come and shew the Christians their error in not having accepted the *alcoran*, and instruct them; that the dove which came down from heaven was not the Holy Ghost, but was *Mahomet*, who shall be thirty years upon earth, and confirm the *alcoran* by new miracles. After that time the power of the *Turks* shall decline, till they retire into desert *Arabia*, and then there shall be an end of the world. This their overthrow shall come from that people northward, which in the said prophecy is call'd *caumies fer*, i. e. *yellow-hair'd sons*. But the ruin of *Constantinople* shall happen in one sultan *Mehemet's* time, and then the *Turks* shall be reduc'd to so few in number, that sixty *Turkish* women shall have but one husband among them. Now as the present

ROLAND.  
Has given instances of cruelty.

A particular superstition.

Intended expeditions against Italy and Venice.

Their prophecies concerning a northern people.

The Turkish emperor becomes of age when 17 years old. *Adrianople* the ancient seat of the empire.

The emperor makes a journey from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*.

The chief reason of it.

The emperor naturally easy and inclin'd to melancholy.

ROLAMB. present sultan's name is *Mehemet*, when they heard of your majesty's progresses in *Poland*, they were extremely affected with it, fearing the accomplishment of those prophecies was now at hand. For they call the *Swedes sfed*, and say that between *sfed* and *sfer* there is so little difference, that a mistake might easily have happen'd in writing *sfer* instead of *sfed*, for their *r* is written *ɾ* and their *d* *ɾ*. But above all, now that they have seen of that sort of people in *Constantinople*, of whom they took no notice before, that prophecy must needs be soon fulfill'd. And indeed our arrival here has so rais'd the attention of the *Turks*, that whereas they use to call all those who wear hats and their own hair by the name of *frenk* or *franks*, yet I had scarce been a week at *Constantinople*, but they had learned so well to distinguish, that they not only call'd me and those of my retinue, but also every man who had yellow hair, no longer *frenk* but *sfed*.

Having now seen of that sort of people, they fear their prophecy fulfill'd.

The increase of the Turkish empire owing to military discipline.

Their moderation in eating and drinking.

Their truth and good faith.

Choice in bestowing employments.

It is true, if one narrowly examines their present state, and compares it with the following national character, to which their monarchy owes its former increase, it seems that vast machine is near its downfall. For 1st, They formerly cultivated military arts and exercises, and avoided nothing so much as a lasting peace; whereas now they are dispos'd for nothing less than war, and fond of nothing more than peace, being grown effeminate to a degree hardly to be believ'd. 2dly, They did not give themselves up to luxury, but were temperate both in eating and drinking, and with this view their law forbids them the drinking of wine, and refrains their being too long at their meals, pretending that two angels are waiting on each *Mussulman* at table, whom they ought not to detain long; the true meaning of which is, that *Mahomet* would not have them indulge themselves in long and dainty meals. Contrary to this precept, gluttony and other excesses are no where more common now than among them, and those who are above others in rank and dignity, drink secretly in their own houses, still careful of their reputation, which would suffer was it publickly known. 3dly, There was once truth and faith among them; but it is otherwise now, and one *Turk* will not trust the other, but relies almost more on a Christian; and for this reason the chief employments are fill'd with *renegadoes* or their children, nay the emperor's whole household is compos'd of none else. 4thly, The most important employments were bestow'd only upon *Turks* who were the most capable; whereas at this time they are not given by choice, but directly sold by the emperor's eunuchs,

without distinction or regard to capacity. 5thly, Formerly the strength of their monarchy consisted in these two bodies of forces, the *spahi's* and the *janizaries*, for which not only choice men were pick'd out all over the empire, but even hardly any admitted, who were not from their childhood brought up and well exercis'd among the *Azameglans* in three different seraglio's, on purpose appointed for that use. At present they are promiscuously taken out among all sorts of people, and to become a *janizary* costs no more than the expence of an *ocka* of sugar or coffee; yet they have no pay, but only the name, which exempts them from tribute, which makes it that there never were more *janizaries* in *Turkey* than at present; and yet their empire never wanted soldiers more than even now, for they have neither life nor spirit; so that a *janizary* and a dog are at this time almost valued alike. 6thly, Their veneration for the emperor was very great; they respected him like a god; his commands were without controul; nay, he who was to die by his order, was reckon'd among the blessed. At this time one hears not only every year of a tumult or rebellion, but even they have kill'd sultan *Osman*, dethron'd sultan *Mustafa*, made away again with sultan *Ibrahim*, and would have done so likewise by sultan *Murat*, had he not prevented them; how often this present sultan *Mehemet* was in danger of his life, has been related above. Formerly, when the emperor sent a *capuci passa* (of whom he has two hundred at his court) to any *passa* to take away his life, he was receiv'd with great veneration, and the disgraced person submitted to the execution with profound obedience; but now when a *capuci passa* sets out on the like errand, he is often met on the road and made away with, or is seiz'd and tortur'd till he forswears undertaking ever the like commission again. 7thly, They are fallen off from their former veneration of *Mahomet's* laws and statutes; and their *musties*, who are the guardians and interpreters of that law, and whose persons formerly were reckon'd sacred among them, are now, for reasons of state, depos'd and chang'd on any emergency; nay, sultan *Murat* even took away one *musti's* life. 8thly, Justice is not administred by the prescription of the law, but according as avarice prompts their *vizirs* and *passa's*, who force the *cadi's* or judges to pronounce sentence as they are bid, though it be directly opposite to the law; nay the fountain of it, the *musti* himself, when some revolt prevails, is forc'd to pronounce any sentence, how contrary soever to his conscience, which

The strength of the Turkish empire in their *spahi's* and *janizaries*.

Veneration for their emperors.

Respect for *Mahomet's* law and statutes.

Administration of justice.

which is dictated to him by the vizir or other leading men. 9thly, To compleat all, some of the late emperors laid intirely aside all care and inquiry, how the government and the revenues were administered, and gave themselves wholly up to their pleasures among their concubines and eunuchs, which has opened a door to the covetousness of the courtiers, who think of nothing but filling their own purses by breach of trust, and open violence, so far, that as soon as a man is known to be well in his affairs, his neck is in certain danger, let his merits and capacity be never so great. These methods not sufficing, base coin is struck in vast quantity, with which they cheat the army, till they mutiny and rise in arms. And the present vizir excepted, I cannot say, that in my time any one of the *Turkish* ministers shewed the least concern for the common-weal, but all other regards gave way to their selfish views of ambition and avarice. This conduct proved very pernicious to the *Turkish* affairs for some years past, in the war against the *Venetians*, and cannot fail to end in the utter ruin of their empire. For a nation's falling off from its antient character, and giving into new customs, is usually reckoned a certain forerunner of some remarkable change in the government; and according as that turn of temper inclines a nation towards virtue or vice, so the change of their state will be for their advantage or detriment. Now, whereas there appears at present in all their affairs a violent bent of vice, it is not unreasonable thence to foretel their impending ruin, unless they recover by the divisions among Christians, which as they have at first highly contributed to their increase; so they will in all probability have the same effect again, if it should please almighty God any longer to make use of that nation to scourge his own disobedient people.

*lian, German, Latin, Greek, Turkish and Arabian* tongues, who since his being taken prisoner in the *Venetian* war, had served ten years for a musician in the seraglio, but was lately set at liberty, and received *spahi's* pay, yet lived in the *English* embassador's house, in hopes of getting, by his help, out of *Turkey*, and among Christians again, being in his heart still addicted to his former religion of the reformed profession. I shall impart the substance of his account in a few words.

Its situation is upon a point of land that reaches out into the *Bosphorus*, washed with the sea on three sides, and by the *Turks* call'd *Sarai Burnu*, the property of which piece of ground, with the palace, and all buildings standing upon it, belong to *Mecca*, the emperor holding the use of it for a certain rent or acknowledgment, which is yearly paid into the temple at *Mecca*. The whole building consists of three large yards built round on all sides, all which is compassed with a great orchard.

In the foremost palace yard are the arsenal, the hospital, the habitation of the wood and water-carriers, the baking-house, and the dwellings of those who make and take care of all sorts of mats, which the *Turks* work very curiously and neat, for covering the floors. In this court the vizir, and whoever comes on horseback do alight, and then proceed on foot. The second palace yard is surrounded within with porticos or piazzas, supported with marble pillars, under which are sitting the *passas*, *chiauses* and *janizaries*, and other officers, when there is a *divan* or council, which is also held in the same place, as well as their *chancellery* or secretary's office. In this court live cooks and confectioners, who prepare all sorts of sweetmeats and preserves; as also the lackeys who wait on the women. It is very large, full of laurels, cypresses, and other trees; among which stags and fallow deer are seen to walk about, like in a park. The third and innermost court contains, besides the hall called *Divan Hane*, where in publick audiences are given, the emperor's apartments, and those of his women, and the rooms for those of the household, who are in daily waiting, who being of divers degrees, I shall give an account of each sort, and reckon up their number.

The chief of the emperor's court officers are two eunuchs; one, white, who is call'd *Capi aga*, and has under him a hundred white eunuchs; who are to observe the young men call'd *Izoglans*, and keep them from unnatural vices. The said *Capi aga's* office is besides this, to exercise a command over all the men in the seraglio,

Care about the government and revenue.

At present base coin.

Private interest, ambition and avarice

seem to forebode their ruin.

Of the emperor's seraglio and particular household.

Bobovius's account of it.

ROLAMB. glio, and he is even the person whom the emperor employs in correcting the *vizir*, in case he thinks his pride too much grown, and yet will not take away his life, on account of his behaving well in the administration; and this correction consists in the *Capi aga's* giving him as many stripes as the emperor directs.

The Kiflar aga.

The second of the emperor's chief court officers is the *Kiflar aga*, a black eunuch, under whom are 200 black eunuchs, who have the inspection over the women. His office is to govern all the emperor's wives, concubines, and their female slaves; and if any of the emperor's women misbehave against him, they receive their punishment from his hands. The next in rank after these two is the *Bustanci Bassi*, the head of all the *bustanci's* or gardeners; these have the care of the emperor's several houses and gardens, wheresoever situate, and they are 5000 in number. These three officers are always about the emperor's person, whom they turn and lead at their pleasure, and consequently must be much courted by the *vizir* and other grandees to keep them in favour.

The Bustanci Bassi.

After these are 40 young men, call'd *Hazodali's*, who are like gentlemen of the bed-chamber; they dress and undress the emperor, and sleep in his own apartment. They have three chiefs; the first of whom is the *silitar aga*, the emperor's armour-bearer, who always carries the emperor's sabre after him; the second is, the *chobadar*, his valet-de-chamber, who takes care of his wearing apparel. A third is, the *rike baptar*, who carries the emperor's turban in travelling, and holds the stirrup when the emperor mounts on horseback. These three always ride abreast immediately after the emperor, when he travels. The next after these is the keeper of the furniture or wardrobe, with those under his command, call'd *Haznali's*, being 200 musicians, divided into two forts, some to whom the field musick belongs, and others who play upon all kinds of instruments; besides these are the singers call'd *Mechetarles*, about 80 in all, more or less, according as the emperor's curiosity leads him. Their business is to play before the emperor and his wives night and day, that being their chief and almost only past-time.

The Hazodali's, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber.

The Haznali's, or keepers of the wardrobe.

The Mechetarles, or singers.

The Dogancis, or falconers.

The Kilerli's, or confectioners.

The Izoglans, or privy servants.

The emperor's falconers or *Doganci's*, are 200 in number, who attend the emperor's hawking, and are obliged night and day to go to and fro near their habitation, carrying falcons upon their hands. His confectioners, who are 100 in number, are call'd *Kilerli's*.

His most trusty and privy servants are call'd *Izoglans*, who are 1000 in number, and as it were, the springs by which the

rest of the household in the innermost courtyard move; they dwell in two long houses like barns, without any partitions of rooms; in one there are 400, and in the other 600, where they have hardly room enough to sit or lie down. Most part of the day they are sitting without any motion or talk, unless spoke to by their foremen, their whole conversation being only by signs, without the least noise, nor so much as laughing; for the rest they are allowed reading or writing, and walking about in the court-yard, once a month, to stretch their legs; otherwise they do not so much as stir from their places, except it be to go to prayers, to bathe, or on their necessary occasions; for which three purposes there is a house near their door. The bath-keepers called *Haman*, are 80 in number.

Besides these men servants, there are the emperor's wives, concubines, and their women slaves; whose number is not always alike, but depends on the emperor's will and desire. The present sultan *Mekemet* has but two wives. His father sultan *Ibrahim* had nine wives, besides a vast number of concubines; so that the women he kept were reckoned upwards of ten thousand; but commonly speaking, there are but one thousand of all sorts of women in the seraglio. These have all their particular houses and habitations in the inner palace yard. In the middle yard there dwell cooks, call'd *Afci's*, 300 in number, and people who make all sorts of sweetmeats, and preserves of honey, call'd *Halvaci's*, 200 in number; likewise one hundred of lackies, call'd *Sulusli Baltaci's*, who wait on the women, and are armed with great axes.

In the third or outermost yard, there live those who make and take care of matts, call'd *Hassirgi's*, 120 in number; likewise the bakers, call'd *Ekmekgi's*, 80 in number, and the wood and water-carriers, call'd *Azamoglans*, 100 in number. In the very walls of the orchard, there live the people who take care of the house and orchard, call'd *Bastanciles Odalari*, of whom there are always 600 in the present emperor's seraglio, as also the grooms of the stables, to the number of one thousand.

All the persons now mentioned are obliged night and day to attend in the emperor's seraglio, where they are lodged and dieted, but very miserably; they have wretched bread, and a small piece of meat half rotten given them once a week; now and then some beans, fruit, but seldom a spoonful or two of rice; their drink is water. All these attendants are taken from among the children of Christians, or

The Haman, or bath-keepers: The emperor's wives concubines and women slaves.

The Afci's, or cooks.

The Halvaci's. The Sulusli Baltaci's.

The Hassirgi's. The Ekmekgi's. The Azamoglans.

Bastanciles Odalari. Grooms of the stables.

All these are miserably dieted.

are prisoners brought out of Christendom.

The prisoners are first used to sit.

The prisoners when they come into the emperor's seraglio are trained up in the manner following. First, they must use themselves to their customs, especially their manner of sitting, which they find the hardest of all; and many of them, for want of being able to learn it, are turned out of the seraglio again, and sent to the galleys. For during the first month of their stay in the seraglio, they are taught to sit all the forenoon upon their knees and heels with their shins under them at length, and their toes touching the ground; in the afternoon they change their posture, sitting upon their legs crossways like taylor's. Those that cannot hold it out, which indeed is the case of most of them, but from that continual and constrained sitting have their thighs and legs swelled, are removed into the hospital, where they are anointed and taken care of till they are better; then they return to their sitting as before, till their legs swell again; and this trial is repeated three times. If after all they cannot bring themselves to it, they are sent to row in the galleys, or to some other labour out of the seraglio. If it happens so that they overcome it at last, and are able to sit,

2dly, Persuaded to turn Mahometans.

the second thing to be done is, to persuade them to the *Mahometan* faith and to be circumcised. If they shew any reluctance, they are put into a particular room for the night, where they are scourged, and by all sorts of torment kept from sleeping: In the day-time they are brought back to their own room, where certain persons are appointed to persuade them by fair means, and all sorts of inducements; which method is continu'd till they yield, and conform with their religion. This step being gained there remains a third, which is, to instruct them in their law, and in reading and writing; after which they are put among the body of the *izoglans*, in those two large houses, where they pass their time in the miserable condition described above, and in time are advanced to some of the forementioned employments.

3dly, Instructed in their law, reading and writing.

Azamoghlans the first born children of the Christians.

Those from among the *azamoghlans* who are taken into the service at the emperor's court, are first instructed. They are the first born children of Christians, which the subjects are obliged to furnish by way of tribute; for whose education their emperors have appointed three large houses at *Constantinople*, two at *Pera*, and one at *Adrianople*, where they are instructed till they are come to a proper age, when they are taken from thence, and during the first six years are called *azamoghlans*, waiting by turns in the seraglio, one hundred at a time, to carry wood and water, and being at other times employed in the most

subject services, as occasion offers within the city of *Constantinople*; there is an officer set over them, who is called *Stambol aga*, who also in the *janizar aga's* absence commands those *janizaries* who are left behind. When these *azamoghlans* have held out their six years, and are inured to hard work and fatigues, they are ranged among the *janizaries*, *bustanci's* or *izoglans*.

There are besides these other servants also, who belong to the household, and wait indeed every day at court, but they have their turns; nor do they live in the seraglio, but in the city. Such are the *capuci bassis*, two hundred in number, whose office is to wait at the door of the emperor's innermost chamber, being always four at one time, and are often sent with important commissions. Another sort are the *mustafaraka*, two hundred in number also, who are to follow the emperor and wait on him, and on some great solemnity or other to carry the dishes to his table. Six hundred *chiauses*, with their *chiaus passa* at the head, make up a third sort, who are likewise employed in embassies, dispatches abroad, and other commissions of less consequence, and are daily waiting on the emperor, the *vizir* and the *caimakam*.

It would be too tedious to enter into an account of all the employments in the civil as well as military establishment, according to their several degrees; I shall therefore pass that over, and only in a few words give the sum of the belief and doctrine of the *Turks*, which chiefly consists in six articles.

1st, They believe that there is a God, to whom none is equal; to whom none of the epithets of Father, Son, or Holy Ghost do belong; who neither begot, nor is begotten himself; has neither beginning nor end; is the creator, protector and preserver of heaven and earth, and of all that has life. For the rest they give him the attributes of being all-wise, all-knowing, so that (according to their own expression) he sees the way of a black ant upon a black stone, all present, with other like attributes; without whose will and permission nothing happens whether good or evil.

2dly, They believe that there are angels good and evil, that the good angels are God's servants, and are by God employed in several services both in heaven and upon earth. Among them *Gabriel* is the greatest and the most powerful; *Esrail* receives the souls of the dead, and is called the angel of death; *Israfil* shall sound the trumpet on the approach of the last day, holding therefore the trumpet continually before his mouth, to be ready when God commands him to sound. They call

ROLAME.

The capuci bassis.

The mustafaraka.

The chiaus passa.

Of other civil and military officers.

The Turkish belief and doctrine.

1. Of God.

2. Of angels.

ROLAMB. the evil angel *Iblis*, who for his disobedience and pride was cast out of heaven, and begot many sons since, which are the evil angels, who lay all sorts of snares for mankind.

3. Of four holy books. The alcoran. 3dly, They believe that there are four holy books written and sent down by God, viz. the books of *Moses*, the gospel of *Christ*, the psalms of *David*, and the *alcoran*, which are all worthy to be credited; but that the three first are falsified, and were therefore set aside by the *alcoran*, which was since sent down by God for a rule, and shall endure till the last day without possibility of being falsified. This book is in so high veneration among them, that none who has not washed his hands and his body may read or handle it, unless in case of necessity, if it should happen to fall down, or on such like occasions, and then they must first put a cloth about it; if one who is reading in it should chance to turn his back upon it, he commits a sin not to be attoned for. Those who are skilful in writing neat copies of the *alcoran* (for printing is not suffered among them) are called *kitet*, and are very much respected; others who can say it by heart, are called *kuffa*, and are worshipped like saints; they use to copy certain passages and sentences out of it, and wear them about their necks to charm away all dangers of the body as well as the soul.

4. Of prophets and evangelists. Their veneration for those who can copy it or say it by heart. 4thly, They believe that God sent prophets and evangelists to preach and teach the truth, of whom *Adam* was the first, and *Mahomet* the last; to which latter the law contained in the *alcoran* was given to publish, and that God gives to the people who follow it, the preference above all other nations in the world. This is the cause of the great conceit the *Turks* have of themselves; so that there is none of them, how mean soever his circumstances be, who does not value himself so much above any king among the Christians, that he should reckon it an injury only for to be compared to him.

5. Of the last judgment and resurrection of souls. Of the antichrist. Of the end of the world. Of hell. 5thly, They believe a last judgment and a resurrection, but are of opinion that the soul is buried with the body; but that the souls of the blessed have a little window through which they can see all that passes in heaven. They farther believe that there is an *antichrist* whom they call *deggiali*; also that *Christ* shall descend from heaven and destroy him; that a director general shall be born of *Mahomet's* descent, who shall agree with *Christ* and give him his daughter for a wife; after which heaven and earth shall be no more; that God shall lay a bridge over the hell, smaller than a hair and sharper than a

sword, over which all men shall try to pass; the blessed only shall get over it, but the wicked shall fall from it into hell. Of the heavenly joys they imagine, that they are to consist merely in sensual pleasures, magnificent habitations, plenty of perfumes, jewels, eating and drinking, but chiefly and above all the possession of beautiful women.

6thly, They believe a predestination, and that every thing both good and evil happens by an inevitable decree and determination of God.

These are the six articles of their belief, for confirmation of which they are enjoined the practice of the following duties. 1. Of the confession itself to be made when asked: I believe that there is a God; that there are angels, books, prophets, a last judgment, and a decree of God concerning all that happens both good and evil. 2dly, Of prayers: those are of two sorts; *farza*, as commanded by God himself in the *alcoran*, and *sunna*, as ordered by their *Mahomet*. Five times a day they are called to prayers from their church steeples, which is with them instead of ringing of bells. Before they go to prayers they are enjoined to wash their hands, face and arms up to the elbow, their feet, their neck and nape, as also their armpits; which washing is with them what baptism is with us. But their circumcision is performed with particular ceremonies of their own, which it would be too long to relate here. When they say their prayers, they range themselves as if they were to be mustered, and one who is the most learned among them, being placed in the front, the rest say after him, all turning themselves to that side which looks towards *Mecca*. 3dly, Of alms or charity; to which they are so disposed, that no beggar is to be seen among them; they even keep birds, dogs and cats out of charity; and there are certain publick places at *Constantinople* where those creatures are fed by thousands. It is a diversion to see their keeper go with them to a certain place, looking like an exchange, where their alms are gathered for them, for not one dog goes in with him, but they stand by hundreds at the door, waiting for his return, and when he comes out they rejoice and follow him like so many attendants. They also feed many thousand of birds of prey, so that the air of *Constantinople* is as full of them, as it is in other places of flies; every morning they throw small bits of flesh out of the windows for those birds, which snatch them up in the air with such dexterity, that it is much if a piece touches the ground. What is most commendable is, that the grandees, for

for instance *vizirs*, and the like persons, with a view also of establishing a fame for themselves, lay out great sums in building for the conveniency and relief of travellers, sumptuous bridges, fountains and *channes* or publick inns, where passengers are lodged, and even sometimes defrayed as to eating and drinking, particularly the poorer sort, and that by hundreds; for the support of which foundations they settle funds of many thousands of dollars income.

4thly, Of fasts: those are called *ramadan*, and last a whole month, during which they do not taste either wet or dry from sun-rise till sun-set, but then again they eat all night long.

5thly, Of pilgrimages: that to *Mecca* must be performed by every one who is come to years of discretion, and has the use of his reason, either in his own person, or by sending a deputy in his stead. They undertake those pilgrimages to *Mecca*, where *Mahomet* was born; to *Medina*, where he was buried; to *Babylon*, where are the tombs of *Imam Asim* their chief evangelist, and of *Ali* their general; and lastly to *Jerusalem*, where they have built a temple over the place, on which they say Christ's feet had stood when he was teaching the people, in which they pay veneration to him. They have abundance of other absurdities in their religion, the relation of which would be too tedious.

As for what concerns the affairs of *Turky* with respect to its neighbouring kingdoms and states, your majesty is already sufficiently apprised in what relation that monarchy stands with the several powers of Christendom; and that *France*, *England* and *Holland* are in friendship with them, on account of the trade they carry on in the *Levant*; for which reason they have their ministers at *Constantinople*, as also several consuls at *Grand Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Smyrna*, and many other places in *Asia* and *Africa*. However, *England* enjoys its trade thither on much more advantageous stipulations with the *Ottoman Porte*, than any other of the foresaid nations; and the *Dutch* are of late but upon indifferent terms with them, since many of their ships were last summer found out among the *Venetian* fleet. The confidence with the emperor of *Germany* and the house of *Austria* has hitherto not been very great; however, peace was maintained during the late reigns, on account of the incapacity of the several sultans, who filled the *Ottoman* throne one after another. But now it seems the house of *Austria* is in better correspondence and greater credit with the *Turkish* court than ever before; for the present *vizir* caresses the emperor and his son the king of *Hungary*, making shew of embracing their in-

N<sup>o</sup>. 175. VOL. IV.

terests; though this conduct proceeds rather from his own political views of obtaining leave for the *Turkish* army to pass through *Dalmatia*. The king of *Spain* has no communication with this court, by reason of his ministers not being treated in point of the ceremonial agreeably to the *Spanish* grandeur, which is not satisfied with the usual honours paid to the ministers of other Christian powers. The pope avoids all commerce with a people whom he treats as the enemies of Christendom, to keep intercourse with whom would profane his holiness; yet he has three convents at *Galata*, one of *Jesuits* and two of *Capuchins*, whose relation with the *Venetians* is more than publick. *Poland* had formerly little credit here; but that kingdom being now reduced to such a condition as not to give them any apprehension, they shew more regard for it; and having been inspired with suspicions against your majesty's progresses and power in *Poland*, they encourage the *Polanders* to make resistance. Besides this, the *cham* of the *Tartars* being gained over with *Polish* money, and the prospect of the usual plunder he gets every year in *Poland*, fills the *Ottoman Porte* with favourable impressions in behalf of *Poland*; so that at least in outward appearances, *Poland* is now more favoured than ever it was before. The old jealousy between the *Muscovite* and the *Ottoman Porte* not only continues, but even daily increases against him, on account of the piracies committed by the *Don-Cossacks* on the *Black Sea*, as also of the mistrust the *Ottoman Porte* have of their own subjects of the *Greek* religion, that they are secretly promoting the interest of *Muscovy*. This was the cause of the death of the patriarch of *Constantinople* who was hanged last year, and the patriarch of *Jerusalem's* being cast into prison for some weeks. The *Zaporovian Cossacks* lay under the same suspicion at the *Porte*, who do not much rely on their pretended devotion, by reason of the good understanding they keep with the *Russians*, and that they always were found in company with the *Don-Cossacks* on the *Black Sea*, particularly last summer in *July*, when they together did great damage to the *Turks* near *Pangala*, a town in *Bulgaria*, by plundering the *passa* of *Silistria's* camp, and setting fire to the town itself.

Towards the east the *Ottoman Porte* has a great and powerful rival, which is the king of *Persia*; but since the *Turks* have recovered *Babylon* out of his hands, and the year after had sent a magnificent embassy to compliment their emperor, a good understanding is now restored between the two courts. In return the *Ottoman*

8 S

Porte

Inns for travellers and the poor.

4. Fasts.

5. Pilgrimages to Mecca;

to Medina; to Babylon;

to Jerusalem.

The Porte's relation and interest with the powers of Christendom. With France, England and the Dutch.

With the emperor and the house of Austria.

ROLAMB

With the king of Spain.

With the pope.

With Poland.

With the Tartars.

With Muscovy.

With the Cossacks.

In the East with the king of Persia.

ROLAMB. *Porte* has sent *Kiofe Ismael pascha* on an embassy to *Persia*, both to confirm the agreement lately made, and to accommodate the differences between the *Persian* and the *Indian* courts.

In India with the Great Mogul. There was also at my time at the *Ottoman Porte* an ambassador from the *Great Mogul*, whose commission was, both to renew the former friendship, and to engage the *Turkish* emperor to fall upon *Persia* in conjunction with him, and to divide the conquests between themselves. This animosity

Reason of the Indians hatred against *Persia*. proceeded from the king of *Persia's* having lately taken the city and province of *Kandabar* from the *Mogul*, with the slaughter of great numbers of his forces. The said *Indian* ambassador was received and treated with the utmost magnificence, and all the *vizirs* and *passas* had orders to entertain him with all possible marks of honour. But in answer to his commission he was told, that the *Porte* was engaged against the Christians, and that any hostile enterprise against *Persia* would be an open violation of the treaties lately concluded with them; that however the *Porte*, in testimony of its friendship, would endeavour to mediate an amicable composition of the differences depending between them and the *Persians*.

Indian ambassador at the *Porte* and his dispatch. But the true reason was the *musti's* dissuading the *Turkish* court from ruining the king of *Persia*, and rather advising to assist him, he being a king, with whom the *Ottoman Porte* would always be able to cope; and his dominions by their situation serving the *Turkish* empire for a barrier against the *Mogul* and *Great Tartary*; whereas, should the king of *Persia* be ruined, those two powers would become neighbours to the *Ottoman Porte*; and being both of the same religion, and besides of a more ancient descent than the *Turks*, might possibly lay claim to the protection of *Mecca*, of which the *Ottoman Porte* is at present in quiet possession. Accordingly the *Indian* ambassador was dispatched with the above-said answer, and accompanied back by *Hussein Manoli*, whom the *Porte* sent their ambassador to the *Mogul*.

The true reason of this answer. The king of *Zagathai* the most powerful in *Great Tartary*. The third power of the east, for whom the *Ottoman Porte* has great respect, is *Husbeck* or the king of *Zagathai*, the most powerful in *Great Tartary*, who receives great marks of love and veneration from the *Turkish* emperor, because they both are of the same religion, and descended of *Mahomet* himself; but the kings of *Husbeck* being of the elder branch, value themselves so high, that they do not deign the *Turks* to have any communication with them, and look with envy on the protection the *Ottoman Porte* exercises over *Mec-*

ca, as belonging to them for the said reason. However, as their dominions do not border immediately on any part of the *Turkish* empire, but are situate between *Persia*, the *Great Mogul's* dominions, and those of *Russia*, and have on a fourth side the *Caspian Sea*, they have no opportunity of doing the *Turks* any harm, but are obliged to leave them in the quiet enjoyment of that protection.

A fourth sovereign in the east, or rather The king to the south, whom the *Ottoman Porte* must of *Abyssinia* have an eye upon, is the king of *Abyssinia*,<sup>nia</sup> called by them *Padesha Jabeesh*, of whom being a Christian as well as his subjects, the *Ottoman Porte* entertains a perpetual jealousy. Sultan *Amurat* took two provinces from him, one of which, called *Jemenia*, the king of *Abyssinia* has since recovered, but the other is still in the possession of the *Turks*, who send thither every year a *passa* from *Grand Cairo*. This neighbourhood is indeed very disagreeable to the *Turks*, but hitherto they have not ventured yet to break with him; for as it is a very remote expedition, where the climate does not at all suit with their *Asiatick* and *European* forces, they seldom before had any great success to boast of against the said *Abyssinien* empire.

This is in a few words the state and situation of the *Turkish* empire with relation to its neighbours in the east.

Thus much may suffice for an account The sequel of the negotiation at the *Ottoman Porte*. of the present state of *Turky*, and its relation to the neighbouring powers; I think it my duty next to resume my report of the negotiation I was intrusted with at that court.

Since your majesty's commission had Surmises of the *Turks* concerning the king's affairs. been so far negotiated with the emperor and great *vizir*, as is mentioned above, and that the answer intended to be given to me, together with my dispatch, had been deferr'd, the great *vizir* set out the 28th of *May* from *Constantinople* for *Daut Passi*, a place half a quarter of a league from the city, to join the army there, with which he proceeded on the fourth of *June* to the *Dardanelis*, leaving my negotiation in the hands of the *caimakan*, *Frenk Achmet passia*, a reasonable man, by nation an *Italian*, and intirely for our interest. But the *vizir* was hardly gone, when it began to be whispered among the *Turkish* ministers, that your majesty's affairs could not be in so good a condition as they had been represented; but that some extraordinary distress must have forced him to court the *Ottoman Porte's* friendship with such eagerness; and that all I had told them was only with a view to mislead them, and to gain time; at length their own fickleness,

fickleness, as well as the odious insinuations of others, made them break out into unguarded expressions against your majesty and your alliance with *Ragotsky*, and to say publickly, they ought to retract their first resolution, and let the whole affair lie dormant, till they had heard what the other envoy had to propose, who was expected from your majesty, and then to hold another council concerning it, but that in the mean time the *Tartars* should be ordered to advance into *Poland*, or *Transylvania*.

Representations made on that subject, with the reasons of a second embassy.

On the other hand, I was not wanting to represent to them both myself in an audience I had of the *caimakan*, and by the means of the *English* ambassador, what was the true reason of two ministers being sent, which step ought to convince them the more of your majesty's sincere and good intentions towards them. Mr. *Wellington* being also arrived on the ninth of *June*, I delivered a memorial in writing, concerning the whole negotiation, which had so much effect, that they grew easy again, and laid aside their former diffidence and prejudices. And whereas both the emperor and the *vizir*, as well as the other *Turkish* ministers, were already fully informed of your majesty's desire; and that the objections they had made of themselves, were removed, by clearing up all doubts, and giving them all possible light and satisfaction, but especially whereas the main point was already obtained on the good terms granted by former resolutions, (unless they should now alter those resolutions again, as was then intended) there remained only for me to press our dispatch, which accordingly I did with great application, and insisted upon it with the *caimakan* several times, both in writing, and by word of mouth; but he wanted authority to dispatch us of his own accord; and the orders he expected from the *vizir* were retarded by the occupations he had at the *Dardanelis*. For he was not only very hard pressed by the *Venetians*, but also had mutinies every day among the troops under his command, the suppressing of which employed almost all his thoughts. And so our dispatch was deferr'd from one week to another, notwithstanding all our solicitations; and at last one contrary incident came upon the neck of the other. First, there arrived a *Polish* envoy, who being assisted by the *Roman* Catholick ministers, very much obstructed our affairs; yet we defeated his intrigues after much labour, and brought it at last so far, that orders came from the *vizir* to dispatch us, with which the *caimakan* acquainted us himself in the audience we had on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *July*. Our conversation on that occa-

The affairs obstructed by the *Polish* envoy.

21 July audience of the *caimakan*.

sion was as follows. First, I took notice of our being so long detained; to which he answered with making several excuses, particularly with laying the fault on the multiplicity of business occasioned by the present war, but that now he had sent for us, to acquaint us with the good news, that we should be forthwith dispatched with a good and agreeable resolution. I answered, that we were indeed glad to hear we were at last to be dismissed with a favourable resolution, and that soon; but since we had been put in hopes of it so often, we should be still more glad, when we saw the effect itself. As to their war, it was true, that did furnish them with occupations of the highest consequence; however, they ought to consider, that our commission was of no less importance, and of such a nature, as rather to lessen than to increase their other cares. For it could not but startle and discourage their enemies, to hear that they had established friendship with so powerful a king as the king of *Sweden*; and I concluded with pressing him to let us soon see the effects of his promises. Secondly, I told him, that indeed we had been always used by the *vizir*, as well as by himself, with much civility, and received many good promises, but that now we were surprized to see their outward behaviour contradicted by the effect itself, being informed, that the *cham* of *Crim Tartary* was marched into *Poland*, which did not look like a sign of the *Ottoman Porte's* friendship towards your majesty; and as we were not able to reconcile this step with their promises, we desired he himself would explain, how it was to be understood? He answered, the *cham* was not gone to *Poland* to assist the *Poles*, but only to the frontiers, to watch the motions in *Poland*, lest the emperor's provinces might be exposed to some danger; for since there was a war in *Poland*, the *Tartars* certainly could not but have an eye upon it. I answered, what business had the *Tartars* with *Poland*? that I never heard yet the kingdom of *Poland* had put itself under the *cham's* protection, neither had he any jurisdiction in *Poland*, which obliged him to observe our motions there; and as for the guarding the *Turkish* provinces, there was no occasion, they being not infested by any body; besides, that it was injurious to mistrust your majesty's sincerity and good intentions. He answered, they indeed confided in your majesty, but did not know how far they might trust the prince of *Transylvania*, who had so enormously swerved from his duty, as to march into *Poland*, without taking any notice of it to the emperor. I answered, your majesty and the prince had

ROLAMB.

The reason of the *cham's* marching into *Poland*.

The prince of *Transylvania's* error.

ROLAMB. had one and the same intention, which was rather for the *Ottoman Porte's* advantage than prejudice. And if the prince had offended in point of formality, the *Porte* might easily overlook that slip, in consideration that the main design was good. I thereupon desired the *Turkish* emperor's orders to the *cham*, to keep himself within his boundaries. He answered, it should be done, and an express sent to him immediately. He then asked, whether your majesty had sent an ambassador to the *cham*, and to what end? I answered, there had been one sent in order to make friendship with the *cham*, and to convince him of the justice of your majesty's arms in *Poland*. He said, that was well done: But I replied, the *cham* had neither well received nor dismissed your majesty's embassy. He then resumed his excuses for our being so long detained, saying, that as soon as they had received an answer from the *cham*, we should be dispatched. I answered, we little thought the *Ottoman Porte* wanted the *cham's* consent for what they intended to do; we were sent to the head, which was the emperor, but had no business with the *cham*; we were apt to believe the emperor's authority was great enough for determining himself in an affair of this nature without the *cham's* leave, who, for ought we knew, was but a subject, and was to obey; but that the emperor was the master, and had to command; besides this, the *Ottoman Porte* ought not to put so much confidence in the *cham*, who was deeper in the *Polish* interest than they were aware of, and having received bribes, promoted their cause both with his discourses and advices, and pursued his own private views, without any regard for the true interest of the *Porte*. At this he was a little out of countenance, and said, he well knew all that to be true; however, he would not stay for the *cham's* answer, but forthwith dispatch us, our recredentials being already drawing up. I asked, whether we might depend upon it, and report it thus to your majesty, for fear of writing things which afterwards proved otherwise in the event. He said it should certainly be done, and we might safely write so to your majesty. I farther said, that in order to let them have the better security for your majesty's good intentions, if they pleased, we would give them an assurance under your own hand and seal, on condition however that the emperor would give us also his assurance, that he would neither oppose your majesty and his allies himself, nor suffer them to be opposed by others. That this offer ought to convince the *Porte* of the sincerity of your majesty's intentions, and

His majesty's embassy to the *cham*.

whatever contrary reports had lately been spread by our adversaries, were nothing but falsehoods and impostures. He desired us to draw that assurance up in the *Turkish* language, and deliver in two copies of it, one for the *vizir*, and the other for himself to shew to the emperor. We asked him also, whether he should like it, if we wrote to the *vizir*? He answered, we might do it, and he would send him our letter. Immediately I drew up a memorial, which we sent away, together with a copy of his majesty's assurance. After this, the ministers of *Transylvania* were also called on the 26th of *July* to an audience of the *caimakam*, who promised them likewise their dismissal, concluding with these words, That the *Turkish* emperor had had good reason to resent the fault which prince *Ragotsky* had committed in going to *Poland*, without asking the emperor's leave; but in regard to your majesty's intercession, he had pardoned him for this time; and now, since he had begun an affair, he should make the best of it, and order it so, that he might get something for his own trouble also; for your majesty, the *Russian*, *Brandenburg* and the *Cossacks*, had already got the best part of *Poland* for themselves. Whilst affairs looked thus with the most favourable aspect, and notice was already given us for our audience of leave of the emperor, the report came of *Ragotsky's* retreat out of *Poland*, and the ensuing defeat of his troops, which as we used to say, put every thing off the hinges again: His ministers were imprisoned the ninth of *August*; and we not only fell under the strongest suspicion at the *Turkish* court, but even found ourselves exposed to the greater danger, the more we had before espoused *Ragotsky's* interest; so that it was already reported all over *Constantinople*, that we were likewise thrown into prison; and indeed we expected no less every moment; for we were, during three weeks, cut off from all communication: and as often as we desired audience, we were refused it.

And so prince *Ragotsky* himself was the occasion of destroying all the work, which your majesty had been labouring at in his behalf at the *Ottoman Porte*, and brought to so favourable a situation, that the *Turkish* emperor's orders were already sent to the *Tartars*, to keep themselves within their boundaries, which the *cham* had received the day after the prince's defeat, and had accordingly withdrawn his forces. This event at the same time drew upon us those delays, and other sufferings so derogatory to your majesty's respect, to the joy of our enemies, who thereby got a fair opportunity of working against us

26th July. The ministers of *Transylvania* have audience of the *caimakam*.

Prince *Ragotsky's* retreat out of *Poland*, and defeat. Involves us also in great danger.

more

more effectually than before, and with so much success, that though there came a new order from the vizir on the 24th of August, for dismissing us, yet it was limited in such a manner, that the *caimakam* should let us depart with our dispatches, but without admitting us into the emperor's presence. We protested against this unequitable proceeding, both directly, and by the interposition of the *English* ambassador, making proper remonstrances to the *caimakam*, who himself owned he thought it a very irregular step, and had therefore already wrote to the vizir concerning it, whose answer he was expecting every day. But as that tarried long, and we still pressed for our departure; the *caimakam* being a reasonable man, and our hearty well-wisher, went himself to the emperor on the 15th of September, to get orders for fixing the day of our audience of leave; but we had no better luck this time; for when he came into the seraglio, he was unexpectedly deposed, and succeeded by *Thior or Hassan passa*, who had been sent from the *Dardanels* by the vizir; to which misfortune his remonstrating to the vizir in our behalf, had in all likelihood not a little contributed. We solicited the new *caimakam* likewise to execute the vizir's orders, but with no better effect than before, either by reason of the emperor's being to set out for *Adrianople*, as accordingly he did on the 23d of September, or of the *caimakam*'s own ill nature; for he was a peevish, cruel and headstrong man, which made all the foreign ministers averse to have to do with him; he afterwards amused us, during twelve weeks, with a heap of shifts and false promises, saying sometimes he had already wrote, and promising at others he would write, whilst he neither had wrote one syllable, nor sent the least word to the vizir concerning our business, neither would he permit us to go ourselves to speak with the vizir, much less to send any body to him. In all this he had no other view, than to force money from us; till at last I told him the plain truth, and our own mind in very dry terms, as well by word of mouth, on the 30th of November, as in writing on the 21st of December, which exposed us to his insolence and menaces; so far, that he even threatned us with taking our heads, if we offered to go to *Adrianople*, without his permission. This made us at last resolve in despite of his opposition and defiance to write to the vizir himself, and to send the letter by my interpreter to *Adrianople*, after we had first consulted with the *French*, *English* and *Dutch* ministers, and represented to them his brutish behaviour, and what would be the consequences, if the

*Turks* should once begin to violate the law of nations, with regard to the ambassadors of christian powers, the effects whereof would fall heaviest upon them, who were residing there in ordinary, and daily exposed to his brutality. The *English* ambassador thereupon declared he would write to the vizir about it. The *French*, that he might not seem to have done nothing, sent indeed a letter also, but not to the vizir (alleging that he had no interest with the vizir, and consequently might do more harm than good by his letter) but to a friend of the vizir, named *Ali aga*, who at that time had no credit neither. The *Dutch* ambassador first took time to consider of it, and afterwards absolutely advised us against it, saying, he knew the temper of the *Turks* so well, and had learnt so much of those with whom he daily conversed, that if we did it, it would not only obstruct our views, but possibly draw the greatest misfortunes upon us. But as I knew him perfectly well, and was fully sensible his advice was grounded on an unwillingness of meddling in an affair which might give offence to the king of *Hungary*'s resident, I kept to my resolution, and sent my interpreter away on the 31st of December. When he heard this, and that the other ministers had wrote, he was ashamed, and sent a letter also, after my interpreter was already on the road, but that was not delivered. My interpreter being arrived at *Adrianople*, was not only admitted by the vizir, but even dispatched back immediately with orders to the *caimakam* to let us depart, and to provide us with necessary carriages and a *chiaus*.

Upon this the *caimakam* sent for us on the 13th of January 1658, affecting a very friendly countenance. We took our leave of him, and afterwards on the 21st of January set out from *Constantinople*. On the 8th of February we arrived at *Adrianople*, where we met with a good reception from the vizir, and were provided with lodgings, and other necessities.

The 10th, I employed the *English* ambassador's interpreter, who had orders from his principal, to be aiding and assisting to us in any thing that might tend to your majesty's service, to speak to the vizir's *chiakaja* (an officer like a steward, whom one applies to for being admitted to the vizir, and on other occasions) to procure us an audience of the vizir, in which I hoped to have an opportunity to lay open to him the intrigues between the house of *Austria* and *Poland*, pursuant to your majesty's orders, for which purpose I had drawn up a memorial which I had

ROLAMB  
after ha-  
ving first  
consulted  
the French,  
English  
and Dutch  
ambassa-  
dors.

24 August.

15 Sep-  
tember,  
the cai-  
makam  
deposed.

Succeeded  
by Thior  
Hassan  
passa,

a peevish,  
cruel and  
head-  
strong  
man.

30 No-  
vember.

My inter-  
preter sent  
with a  
letter to  
the vizir  
on the 1st  
of Decem-  
ber,

1658.

13 Janua-  
ry, Audi-  
ence of  
the caima-  
kam.

10 Febr.

ROLAMB.

caused to be translated into the *Turkish* language. On the 13th I received answer from the *vizir*; that as soon as he should be at leisure, he would send for us, being at that time taken up with the payment of the *spahi's* and *janizaries*; and though since that time I sent every day either to the foresaid *chiabaja*; or to the *chiaus passi*, to put them in mind of it, and pressed them so earnestly, that the *chiaus* even once refused to admit my interpreter to speak with him, yet the audience was still postponed till the 20th of *February*, when we were called by the *vizir*, and at the same time dispatched; and thereby no opportunity was left to deliver my memorial; for the *vizir* was already so much prepossessed by the king of *Hungary's* chief interpreter *Panejotti*, that it was in vain to make any farther remonstrances; for he approved of nothing but what was proposed to him by the said interpreter; whatever any body else moved, took with him no farther, than as it had *Panejotti's* sanction, and what he happened to dislike, was sure to be rejected by the *vizir*. We therefore judged it inconsistent with your majesty's dignity, to deliver our memorial, and to give the *vizir* a handle to put a slight upon your majesty's good intentions. It was owing also to *Panejotti's* insinuations, that the *vizir* would not allow us to return by the way of *Venice*, but made us go by *Buda*, through the dominions of the king of *Hungary*. At the audience, after the usual formalities were over, the *vizir* began to say, your majesty had sent to establish a friendship with the *Ottoman Porte*, at the same time that you had contracted an alliance with a slave of the *Porte*, the prince of *Transylvania*, who on that occasion had incurred the guilt of rebellion, and marched against the emperor's subjects the *Tartars*. I answered him, that as your majesty being willing to continue the friendship established by king *Gustavus Adolphus* with sultan *Murat*; and to testify your sincere affection towards the *Ottoman Porte*, had sent us to renew and confirm the said friendship; so your majesty had likewise, at the example of the said king *Gustavus Adolphus*, and queen *Christina*, made an alliance with prince *Ragotsky*, according to a long intercourse of friendship that had been subsisting between the crown of *Sweden* and the princes of *Transylvania*: That your majesty's uniting yourself with a friend and vassal of the *Ottoman Porte*; rather than with an enemy of theirs, ought on the contrary to be looked upon as a strong argument of your majesty's good intentions towards them. That if the prince had given offence to the *Porte*, by march-

ing into *Poland* without their previous leave, and afterwards proceeded too far with relation to the *Tartars*, it was all his own fault; for which he had already atoned by his own ruin: That your majesty was not at all pleased with it, but had on your part nicely observed all the parts becoming a friend, having not only at the very time when your majesty entered into a negociation with the prince, sent an embassy on that subject to the *Porte*, but having also on all occasions advised the prince, and suggested to him what might be for the advantage of the *Ottoman Porte*; that as for the last action against the *Tartars*, your majesty had not given the prince one man for it; nay, did not know the least of it but after it had happened. The *vizir* proceeded with telling us the contents of our recredentials. I made ample and serious representations against them, remonstrating, that this was a very unsuitable return for your majesty's sincere affection to the *Ottoman Porte*, and that he was misled by ill minded persons. But he answered, what I had said was all right, but the letter was now drawn up, and could not be done over again: The *Porte* had confided in your majesty's friendship, but whilst he, the *vizir*, had been taken up against the enemies of the *Turkish* empire, the foresaid changes intervened, since which they knew not what they had to expect from your majesty, but were in hopes to have more particular assurances on that head. Then he ordered *castans* or long gowns to be brought in, and hung about us.

I talked to him next concerning our audience of the emperor; he answered, it could not be this time, but if either we or any others should return from your majesty, to let them know what they might rely on with relation to your majesty, we should have all satisfaction. I answered, that this way of proceeding, as it could not but convince your majesty of the *Porte's* indifference for his good intentions, would rather make you averse to any farther communication with them, and that therefore he ought to be tender of not offending your majesty, who having given them no cause for it, but rather sent us to confirm the ancient friendship, this way of dismissing us would be a very unbecoming return. But he repeated his former answer and turned the discourse on our journey, and the assistance we were to have on the road, using withal much temper and moderation in his talk, and forbearing all passion. Afterwards he gave orders to clothe our retinue, and clothes were brought in accordingly; but the *chiaus passi's* ill-nature prevented the distributing

Representations concerning the recredentials.

An audience of the emperor insisted upon.

bating of them, by whispering something to them that brought them in.

Dispatched by the vizir with money for our journey,

Thus we were dismissed, and had by the vizir's order a purse of *aspers* given us to defray the expences of our journey, besides those of our stay at *Adrianople*, for which we were allow'd and exactly paid at the rate of fifteen hundred *aspers per diem*, (though the greater part of them were of a base coin.) A *chiaus* was also order'd to conduct us with an open passport of the emperor, and a recommendation from the great vizir to the vizir of *Buda*, with strict orders for him to see us safely conducted to the limits of Christendom, and to procure us a secure passage through the *Austrian* dominions. The vizir sent likewise to desire a passport of the king of *Hungary's* resident, which was to carry us safe over the frontiers to *Comorra*, which accordingly was afterwards sent to us.

and the emperor's open passport.

28 Feb. set out from *Adrianople*.

All things being thus provided, we left *Adrianople* on the 28th of *February*, and set out on the road for *Buda*, since the vizir would not allow us to go by the way of *Venice*, merely upon the instigation of *Panejotti* the *Hungarian* interpreter.

Hardships by storm and frost.

The fatigues and hardships we underwent upon this our return, are beyond what can be express'd and describ'd. For between *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*, which regularly is but six or seven days journey, we toil'd eighteen days, on account of the bad weather; on the 26th of *January* it blew so unnatural a storm, attended with frost and snow, that had the inn been but half a mile farther off, we had all been in danger of our lives; for one of our coachmen was grown so stiff with cold that he tumbled off the coach, none of the rest offering to help him, as thinking him quite dead. My interpreter likewise was so penetrated with the cold, as no longer to be able to move a limb, or govern his horse, whom he let go where he would; the wind withal was so violent, that it blew the cap from his head so far off into the fields, that those who went after it on foot, as well as on horseback, could not recover it. The severe cold had made us utterly unable to help one another, and we travell'd on, weathering the storm as if we were at sea, to keep in the road if possible, yet were always driven off sideways. That day eight and twenty travelling persons were starved to death on the same road close behind us, between two places call'd *Bujukmese* and *Silibria*. We were the only ones that ventur'd on that day's journey, but all other *Turks* turned back again. The next day the storm and cold oblig'd us to tarry in a town call'd *Czorlu*; having afterwards with great

28 travellers frozen to death.

trouble and labour work'd ourselves through the snow, which then was still passable, to the town of *Baba* on the 30th of *January*, and got into a house that had neither windows nor doors, and where the snow lay piled up against it on one side, (all *channes* or inns being full of travellers that were stopp'd by the snow.) There fell so deep a snow that night, that it was impossible for us or any body else to get through; and some that tried to force a way through it, with the help of buffaloes or oxen, were oblig'd to lie that night in the open fields, and to come back the next day, leaving one of their companions behind, who perish'd of cold. Near *Adrianople* the weight of snow had born down above forty houses (which in those parts are flat at the top;) and a fountain head that stood in the field, the walls of which were eight ells high, was cover'd over with snow, with which the streets of the town were fill'd to such a degree, that for some days there was no going from one house to another, till they were clear'd by the *Christians* and *Jews*, who were oblig'd to make way.

ROLAMB.

40 houses broken down by the weight of the snow near *Adrianople*.

On the third of *February* we had dreadful thunder and lightning, attended with heavy rain, which indeed melted a great deal of the snow; but when we, as well as other passengers were set out, we found the waters risen to such a height, that they overflow'd the very bridges that they could not be seen. A *Turk* being confident he knew the way best of any, went before us into the water, but was carried off by the stream, with his horse; another that follow'd him was also seiz'd by the stream, but was sav'd by the strength of his horse, which swam with him on shore. Cautioned by the misfortune of these two we turn'd back, after we had travell'd one mile to no purpose, and lay by at *Baba* aforesaid till the ninth day, and using all sorts of hardship, such a number of travellers coming in every day from *Constantinople*, who were forced to stop there also, that all the houses in the town were fill'd with them, and at last neither bread nor meat was to be had for any money. The waters falling a little, we set out again on the seventh of *February*, and reach'd *Adrianople* with the utmost danger of our lives, having cross'd several waters, in which hundreds of travellers perish'd about that time on the same road from *Constantinople* thither, among whom was the *English* ambassador's *janizary*, who being sent with a letter to *Adrianople*, was by the stream carried off with his horse from a bridge. Between *Adrianople* and *Philippopoli* we had a tolerable journey, and began to hope the

Thunder, lightning and rain, and afterwards inundations.

Many hundred persons perished in the waters.

**ROLAMB.** the best as to the roads and the weather; but the very day we fet out from *Philippoli* it began again to snow, which continuing for three days, we rid all the way through the snow, almost up to our horses bellies, till we came to *Sophia*. Upon the snow's melting, all the brooks and rivers were so swell'd up, that we were many times forced to swim our horses over, especially over the smaller ones, and in crossing after this manner a water between *Sophia* and *Dragoman*, the stream drove us above seventy paces out of our way; there being no possibility of getting the waggons over, we left them at the waterside till the next morning, when the water abated.

We were driven by the stream above 70 paces out of our way.

Thus we travell'd on under continual rain and snow, till we arriv'd at *Belgrade* on the 25 March. 25th of *March* with our horses, which by toiling and labouring through the deep roads, snow and water, were become as bare about their bellies and legs as if they had been shav'd. From *Belgrade*, where the river *Savus* and *Danube* join, and separate *Hungary* from *Bosnia*, we found the roads tolerable.

On the fifth of *April* we arriv'd at *Buda*, the vizir of which place, *Kenan passia*, sent four *chiauses* to meet us out of town in the fields: he was already marched out from thence to the camp that had been form'd on the other side of the *Danube*, near a small town call'd *Peste*; and as he was to proceed the next morning to *Temeswaer*, to command a body of troops that were marching against *Ragotski*, we were immediately call'd to have audience.

Audience of the vizir of that place.

Being come to the place, the first thing he desired was to see our recredentials, which I flatly refus'd, telling him, they were to be open'd by none but your majesty, with which answer he seem'd satisfied. Being come into the audience room, he sat himself presently down, and began to talk to us, without offering us any chairs; but I let him know I was not us'd to talk with any body standing; nor ought he to presume so much upon his own grandeur, as to expect the king of *Sweden*'s ambassador should talk with him standing; at the same time I turn'd my back upon him, which they reckon a great affront. At this he was much out of countenance, and forthwith order'd chairs to be brought, which indeed stood near at hand, but had been kept back to try us. After I had sat myself down, I told him he might speak what he pleas'd, and he should have an answer. He thereupon began to talk extravagantly, blaming your majesty for making war against their friends the *Poles*. I replied, not without some emotion, that your majesty was a sovereign king, who

His extravagancies check'd.

needed not ask the *Ottoman Porte*, nor any power whatsoever, if he had a mind to make war or peace, but acted on these occasions intirely as he judg'd proper. And to let him know your majesty's sentiments, I could acquaint him that your majesty employ'd your arms to pursue those who were evil-minded, whoever they were, and, on the other hand, loved and honour'd his friends, and for so doing was accountable to none but himself. He next talk'd of *Ragotski*, and your majesty's alliance with him, that this certainly was no friendly step, *Ragotski* being a subject of the *Ottoman Porte*; how your majesty could condescend so far as to enter into an union with one who was but a *Waywode*, it now would soon appear where it would end with him. I explain'd to him the reasons of this alliance; that as all the world had views towards *Poland*, your majesty was willing to assist one in going thither, who was in so near a relation with the *Porte*, lest some of their own rivals might get a footing there, and afterwards prove a dangerous neighbour to them. Consequently that your majesty's uniting yourself with the friends of the *Ottoman Porte*, rather than their enemies, was an evidence of your majesty's affection; should he enter into engagements with *Russia* against the *Porte*, what would they say then? With this he was down in the mouth, and said, let us talk of something else; but yet added, if your majesty would be friends with the *Ottoman Porte*, you should have your own resident at their court. I replied, I had nothing to say to that point, as absolutely depending on your majesty's own will, to whom they might apply for it. We discours'd next of our journey, how we might safely proceed on as far as *Comorra*; he also ask'd how we intended afterwards to get through *Germany*. Having sufficiently concerted with him what related to our departure, he concluded with saying, your majesty had best remain a friend to the *Ottoman Porte*, as you had been hitherto; and so having obtain'd his promise for providing what was necessary for our journey, we took our leave of him, and return'd to our quarters; but by his order were led back another way than we came first, the *Turks* taking it as a bad omen for a man to come and return by the same way. He order'd two *chiauses* and two *janizaries* to attend us; but after he was broke up with his camp, we were so strictly kept by his *caimakam*, whom he had left behind him, that none of our retinue were allow'd to go farther than between our own houses (for we were lodg'd in four different houses) except only some-

Concerning *Ragotski*, and the alliance with him.

He begins to change his discourse.

Talk about our journey.

times they permitted us to go to the warm baths that are in the suburbs. The day after our arrival, the vizir's letter to count *Bucbein* relating to our safe conduct was dispatched. The day following we also sent our letter to the said count, and the regency of *Hungary* by secretary *Wallich*, whom the vizir had provided with a passport and orders for relays. And though the council of war at *Vienna* had immediately issued orders for our passage, of which secretary *Wallich* had sent us notice by letters, yet the said *caimakam* kept them from us, merely with the design of forcing us to make him presents, and thereby made us stay, and wait at *Buda* twelve days without the least information, those at *Comorra* wondering at the same time what was become of us. At last on the 16th of April there came a *capuci bassi*, who had been sent to *Vienna* to desire a passage for the *Turkish* army through *Dalmatia*; he had a letter with him from *Wallich*, but far from intending to deliver it to us, he had opened it, in hopes of meeting with somebody who could read it for him; but finding none, and yet being curious to know the contents, he sent for my interpreter and secretary *Klingen*, desiring them to read the letter and interpret it to him. By this means we had at last information how things stood, and how deceitfully we were dealt with by the *caimakam*; for which we immediately sent to expostulate with him, which had so much effect, that he dispatched us the next day, and provided us with orders for a convoy and other necessaries to the *beg* who commanded at *Gran*; so we travelled from *Buda* by the way of *Gran*, and on the 18th of April arrived on the borders of *Christendom*, near a village one mile on this side of *Comorra*, where the *Turkish* convoy, consisting of a company of *Hussars*, halted, with their colours flying, at one end of the village; at the other end were drawn up two companies of *German Curassiers*, sent by the king of *Hungary* to meet us. Having taken our leave of the *Turks*, we returned among *Christians*, being received by an *Hungarian* commissary, who in the name of the commandant welcomed us with a *Latin* compliment, being attended by some *Hungarian Hussars*, with whom he conducted us through the village to the place where the *Curassiers* were drawn up, under the command of a major, who received us with great civility, and conducted us to the *Palanka*, which lies on this side of the *Danube*, over against the town and fortress of *Comorra*, where we were welcomed by the officers of the place, and brought to the lodgings pro-

vided for us. Those officers shewed us all imaginable honour and friendship, and an obliging readiness to assist us in all we could want. But the commandant or governor of *Comorra* himself, *Gabriel Bossari* an *Italian*, was a rude and ill-bred man, and had not the least complaisance for us even in trifles, which we made him sensible of, by sending him a fitting compliment. The next day the commissary, who was appointed by the council of war at *Vienna* to attend us, came to wait on us, and we instantly set out with him. We passed over the *Danube* in a *saique* to the town of *Comorra*, being saluted with two guns at our embarking at the *Palanka*, and two more at our landing near the fortress. There we took horse and travelled on, being provided all along the road with relays, and defrayed in most of the inns. On the frontiers of *Hungary*, where we were to enter into *Moravia*, we were received by a judge, who was brother to the viscount of the county of *Tranci*, attended by some of the *Hungarian* nobility, and 40 *Heiducks*, who convoyed us one day's journey to the first town in *Moravia*; in *Moravia* and *Silesia* we were treated every where with civility, and had assistance, except at *Breslau*, where the chancellor of the regency received our commissary very roughly, without shewing the least respect for the passport we had from the king his master, merely because there had been some mistake in point of formality, no notice having been given to that regency depending on the government of *Bohemia*. This incivility made us pass by the city to the next inn, half a quarter of a mile farther, where the prince of *Lignitz*, who is president of the regency, sent the master of his household after us, to order our horses back with the drivers, who were his subjects, promising us others in their stead; I took that opportunity of resenting in fitting terms the uncivil usage we had met with. The master of the household returned with this message to his prince, but was immediately sent back again to us with the prince's excuses, which we sent our secretary to receive in the yard, without admitting him before us. And as he was not able to get other men and horses, he was obliged all night to look out for his own peasants we had before, and send them to us, whom we kept as far as *Neumark*, where we were tolerably well received by one *Hunoltstein* master of the ordnance, entertained at dinner, and provided with a new commissary and all necessaries for our journey to the frontiers of *Silesia*. But the said *Hunoltstein* had seasoned his dinner

ROLAMB.  
The commandant of Comorra clownish and unreasonable.

24 April, the frontiers of Hungary.

Moravia, Silesia, Breslau.

1 May.

Reception at Neumark.

4 May. The dinner seasoned with smart discourse.

Secretary Wallich sent with a letter to count *Bucbein*.

A *capuci bassi* returns from *Vienna*, where he had desired passage for the *Turkish* army through *Dalmatia*.

18 April return into *Christendom*.

Taking leave of the *Turks*.

**ROLAMB.** with a good deal of smart and poignant discourse, to which he had as lively replies from me; but as he carried it too far, and began to grow impertinent with asking questions, I cut him short with saying, I was come to dine with him, and not to be examined, and therefore desired he might suspend that sort of conversation. This not only took him down a little, but also made him change his note, drink your majesty's health, and use us with civility.

Thus we travelled through the midst of the dominions of your majesty's adver-

ries and enemies without being hurt by them, but even with their help and assistance; which though it was by no means owing to any good will of theirs, yet the respect they had for your majesty's valour and arms, wrought so much upon them, that they could not help doing us all good offices, and assisting us, though much against their natural inclinations.

*So far the account of that remarkable and important embassy, in which that gentleman was employed by his majesty at the Turkish court.*



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AN  
ACCOUNT  
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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Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-*  
*noster Row.*

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## T H E

## 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 creatures 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 mentioned 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 authentic. 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.

A N  
A C C O U N T  
O F T H E  
S H I P W R E C K  
O F A  
D U T C H V E S S E L, &c.

The ship's  
departure  
from Hol-  
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 ourselves there for a few days, the governor general of the *India*-company, commanded us away to *Tapowan*, and accordingly we set sail the 14th of the same month, in our ship call'd the *Sparrowhawk*. We carried aboard us *Myn Heer Cornelius Lessen*, to take possession of the government of *Tapowan* and *Formosa*, with their dependencies, in the place of *Myn Heer Nicholas Verburge*, who had resided there three years, according to custom. We had the good fortune to come to an anchor at *Tapowan* on the 16th of *July*. *Myn 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.

Storms.

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 ourselves so near the coast of *Cbina*, 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 miss'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.

The next day the wind falling, we observ'd that the number of the *Chineses* was much increas'd, which made us stand upon 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 follow-

HAMEL.  
1653.

ing days the weather continued 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 ourselves 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 mastering 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 ourselves, 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 yourselves to the mercy of God; for if one or two such waves return, we are all 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 drowned 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 ourselves; 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.

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 sand, ten or twelve fathom from the water, with his arm under his head, whom we buried. 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 complaining that we saw no body, and sometimes flattering ourselves with the hopes of being near *Japan*, where we might find somebody 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 desired nothing but fire of them. At last one of us resolv'd to attack them; but they delivered up their arms without making any opposition, wherewith we lighted the fire we wanted. These men were clad after the *Chinese* fashion, excepting only their hats, which were made of horse-hair, and we were much afraid lest they should be wild *Chineses* or pirates. Towards evening there came an hundred

The natives surround them.

hundred arm'd men clad like the other, who after counting of us, kept us inclos'd all the night.

They find it to be the island of Quelpaert.

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 condition they forced them to fall down, and prostrate 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 immediately 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 understanding us, as if they had never known *Japan*; for they call that country *Jeenare*, or *Jirpon*.

We call it Rack; it is made either of rice or of the cocotree, and is strong.

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 conducted 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 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 *Quelpaert*, which is in 33 degrees 32 minutes of latitude.

The natives gather 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, HAMEL. 1653. with many tokens of friendship, and we retir'd to our tent.

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.

Give the Dutch meat.

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 horses 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, after a slender repast, they carried us into a warehouse much like a stable.

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 *Mocxo*, 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 very 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,

They are carried to the chief town.

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same, after we had been brought near a fort 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 as before, that we were *Hollanders*, and were 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 wheaten 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 then threescore and ten years of age, had 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 fourscore 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 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.

The governor's  
goodness.

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 sup-

pos'd him to be a *Dutchman*, he fell a laughing, and said, we were mistaken, for he was a *Corefian*. 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 *Dutchmen*, 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 stav'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 Wettevree*, born at *Riip* in *Holland*, whence he came as a voluntier 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 *Ouderkeres*, 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 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 cloaths 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, insomuch that

Riip is a  
great vil-  
lage in  
North  
Holland.

he gave leave to *Wettevree*, and the officers that came with him, to see us at all times, and acquaint him with our wants.

A new governor.

About the beginning of *December* a new 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 affection he shew'd us at his departure, inasmuch 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 going 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.

The men hardly us'd by him.

After that good lord's departure, which was in the beginning of *January* 1654, we were much worse used than we had been before, for they gave us barley instead of rice, 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 liberty 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 danger 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 *April*: but one of the gang being got a-top 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.

About the beginning of *May*, our master

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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 presently sent one of his company to get a little 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 musquet, 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 endeavour'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 caus'd 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 whether we had been made privy to it; they all positively asserting we knew nothing of it, *Wettevree* before-mention'd was set to examine what their design was; and they answering, '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 expose 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

8 Y

They are convey'd to court.

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Quelpaert  
describ'd.

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 former prison at *Quelpaert*. This island, which the natives call *Sebesure*, lies twelve or thirteen leagues south of the coast of *Corea*, 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 unacquainted with it, because of several hidden rocks, and that there is but one place where ships can anchor and ride under shelter, for in all other places they are often drove over to the coast of *Japan*. The island is all incompass'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 inclose 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.

In the morning we had horses brought, 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 Cools* of *Piermerende* our gunner died, having never enjoy'd his health since our shipwreck. Next day the governor of the town caus'd him to be buried, and we mounting a horseback, came at night to the city *Nadioo*. The day following we lay at *Sansiang*, thence to *Tongap*, after crossing a high mountain, on the top whereof is the fort *Ilpam-Sansiang*, 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 *Chintio*, where the king formerly kept his court, and where now the governor of the province of *Thilado* resides. 'Tis a city of great trade, and very famous in that country, tho' a day's journey from

the sea. Going thence, we lay at *Jesan*, the last town of the province of *Thilado*; then at the little town of *Gunun*, next at *Jensan*, and lastly at *Confio*, the residence of the governor of the province of *Tiongsiando*. 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 *Chineses* 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 *Wettevree*. 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 *Wettevree* 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 characters, 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 account. In spring and autumn that general reviews his troops three times a month; and besides, the soldiers exercise as often in private. A *Chinese* and

They  
come to  
court.

Wette-

*Wettevree* 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 *Corefians*. 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.

A great fort.

In *August* the *Tartar* came to demand the usual tribute, whereupon the king was forced to send us to a great fort, to be kept there as long as the Ambassador was in the country. This fort is about six or seven leagues from *Sior*, on a mountain they call *Nunma 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, 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 sell 'em, and buy something to clothe 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 sending 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 un-

easy. 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.

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 Jans* of *Amsterdam*, our master, and *Henry John Bos* of *Haerlem*, a gunner, resolv'd to go meet this ambassador 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 ambassador order'd them to follow, and be where he was to lie that night. Being come thither, he made much inquiry whether there was any body that could understand what they said to him; and having been told of *Wettevree*, 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 ambassador 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 before the council of war, where 'twas ask'd, whether we had any intimation of our companion's design? and though 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 received 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 *Quelpaert*, and, that *Wettevree* 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

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Two Dutch im-  
plore the  
Tartar's  
assistance.

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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 southermost 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 *Quelpaert*. 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.

All the  
Dutch banish'd the  
court.

Tho' the *Tartar* had sent twice into *Corea*, since the attempt unfortunately made by our two companions, without making any mention of it; yet most of the great men us'd all their endeavours with the king 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 *Wettevree* told us, that if we liv'd three days, we should in all likelihood live long enough after. Now the king's brother, 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 ourselves 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 solicited 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 *Diusong*, or *Tbillapning*, commanded by a large citadel opposite to it. The *Penigse*, who is chief in the absence of the governor, 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.

In *April* they brought us some hides that had been left behind at *Quelpaert*, from which place we were but eighteen leagues, they being not worth sending to *Sior*. We fitted ourselves 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 governor being accus'd of some misdemeanors, 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 *February* came a governor 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 governor, 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

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 governor 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 governor 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 represented 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 seek, and take care to pull up the grass in the square.

Corefians charitable. In *April* this year the king dy'd, and his son succeeded him with the consent of the great *Cham*. However, we went on in our trade, and particularly among their religious 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 countries. They were so much pleas'd to hear us, that they could have spent days and nights in our company.

Famine. The next governor that came in the year 1660, was so kind to us, that he often 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 country-men of ours. He granted us a confirmation 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 people were famish'd to death, and the roads were full of robbers. The king vigorously 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 disorders were committed by the slaves of great men, and this calamity lasted all the year 1662. The next year 1663 felt some share 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 governor writ about it to the intendant 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 governor, pursuant to the orders he had receiv'd from court, dispers'd us into three towns, twelve he sent to *Saysiano*, 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 getting away, as will appear in the sequel. About the beginning of *March*, after taking leave of our governor, 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 *Saysiano*, 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 about nine to *Saysiano*, where those that conducted us deliver'd us to the governor, or admiral of the province of *Thallado*, who resides there. He presently order'd us lodging, 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 coming, 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

HAMEL.  
1662-3.

The  
Dutch  
parted.

HAMEL. 1665. us, was leave to go cut wood fit to make arrows for his men, whose only employment is continually shooting with the bow. The great men striving who shall keep the ablest archers. He put many more hardships 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 governor in what a good condition our companions were in the other towns, and humbly 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 fallies, and we were sometimes allow'd to be a month abroad. Whatsoever we got, was brought and put in common with those that remain'd in the city. This continu'd till the governor'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 employment always possess'd by the second man in the kingdom. His successor eas'd us of all our burdens that had been impos'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, being so near the sea as we were, we 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 barks enough along the sea-coast. We rejoyn'd, they did not belong to us, and that if we mis'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 bark, 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 misdemeanors. 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 fourscore and ten strokes of a cudgel on his shin-bones, and to be banish'd for ever.

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 *Japoneses* 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 ourselves masters of a bark, but without success. Sometimes we row'd in a little boat, which serv'd 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 oftener, or seldomer, according as it pleas'd our governors, 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 intirely belov'd, both in the city and country, and the king and nobility had a great esteem for his wisdom and good behaviour.

haviour. Whilst he was in his post, he repair'd publick structures, clear'd the coasts, and maintain'd and increas'd 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 allow'd the new governor, that by the advice of some diviner, he may chuse 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 refus'd to do, alledging that his 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 clothe 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 of the country, to be inform'd of all that happens. This spy having acquainted the intendant with it, he sent an account of it up to court, whither the governor was immediately summon'd, and by sentence of the judges receiv'd fourscore and ten strokes on his shin-bones, and was banish'd for ever. Thus in *July* we had another governor, who behaving himself towards us in all respects 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 remonstrances to him as we had done to his predecessors. 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

Dutch  
hardly  
us'd.

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 grass 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 tyrant's indisposition, and to get a bark at any rate whatsoever, chusing rather to hazard all than to groan any longer in captivity 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 bark to be bought for us, pretending we wanted 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 boldly for a fisherman's bark, and we presently gave him the money to pay for it. The seller perceiving it was for us, would have gone from his bargain, at the instigation 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 profit than of the mischief that might ensue. As soon as the two *Corefians* were gone, we immediately furnish'd the bark 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 understanding that *John Peter* of *Uries*, an able sailor, was at *Siunfchien*, we went to desire him to come to us, telling him all things were in a readiness. The messenger missing of him at *Siunfchien*, 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 to depart, which was the 4th of *September*, as the moon was setting; though our neighbours had conceiv'd some jealousy, 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, being 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 bark, with fresh water. Thence, without making any noise, we made our way before the vessels belonging to the city,

HAMEL.  
1666.

They con-  
trive their  
escape.

Their de-  
parture.

and

HAMEL.  
1666.

and just opposite to the king's frigats, 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 ourselves 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 advanced guard to the men of war that lie thereabouts. At sun-rising the wind fell, which obliged us to lower our sails and row, to get farther off and prevent being discover'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 ourselves very near the first of the islands of *Japan*; and the same gale still favouring us, we came without knowing it, before the island of *Firando*, where we durst not put in, because none of us had ever been at *Japan*, and we were unacquainted 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 appeared 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 behind, we endeavour'd to get above them. 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 perceived 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 ourselves 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 bark 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 <sup>The Dutch carry'd</sup> at the same time, to get out of the bay as <sup>ashore.</sup> soon as possible, and gain the open sea. But that bark 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 *Japoneses*, we troubled ourselves no farther. They hailing us, and asking us by signs whither we would go? We let fly the colours with the arms of *Orange*, which we had provided for that purpose, crying, *Holland, Nangasaki*. 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 bark, and plac'd the rest in order before one of their pagods.

Being come to an anchor, and having plac'd barks 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 *Nangasaki*, and seem'd to tell us there were some of our nation there. At night a great bark that brought the third man in dignity of the isle of *Gotto*, came aboard us. That gentleman perceiving we were *Hollanders*, gave us to understand by signs, that we had six ships at *Nangasaki*, 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 <sup>Gotto</sup> his curiosity, desiring to know whence we <sup>island.</sup> came, we had a great deal of trouble to give him to understand that we came from *Corea*, 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 *Nangasaki*, to some of our countrymen, and that to gratify this our inclination we had expos'd ourselves in a poor bark, 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

Island of  
Firando.

said to persuade us that the *Japoneses* put all the strangers that came into their country to cruel deaths.

We continued the three following days well guarded in the same place aboard our bark, 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 *Nangasaki*, 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 barks and two little ones, he carry'd some letters from the emperor, and some goods. Our two companions were in one of those great barks, and did not come to us again till we were at *Nangasaki*. 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 kindneses, without taking any thing of us.

On the 14th we were all carry'd ashore, where the company's 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, *Myn Heer William Volguers*, who receiv'd us very kindly. *Myn 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 habitated after our own fashion.

On the first of *October* *Myn Heer Volguers* left the island, and on the 23d sail'd

out of the bay with seven ships. The governor of *Nangasaki*, 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, restor'd us to the company's director, who lodg'd us in his own house, whence we sail'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*.

HAMEL.  
1667.

*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 Pifers* of *Uries* in *Friezland*.  
*Gerard Fans* of *Rotterdam*.  
*Matthew Ybocken* of *Enchuyssen*.  
*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 Fans* of *Norway*.  
*Anthony Ulders* of *Embden*.  
*Nicholas Arents* of *Ost-Voren*.  
*Alexander Bosquet* a *Scotchman*.  
*John* of *Utrecht*.

They arrive at Nangasaki.



# THE DESCRIPTION

OF THE

## Kingdom of COREA.

**Situation.** THE kingdom known to us by the name of *Corea*, and by the natives call'd *Tiozencouk*, 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.

Here he allows but 15 leagues to a degree.

**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 inclos'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 *Pousan* in *Corea* and that of *Osacco* in *Japan*. Betwixt them is the island *Suiffima*, 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 *Japoneses*.

**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, 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

**Fishery.**

eaten in *March* and *April*. Hence we infer, that there's a passage above *Corea*, *Japan* and *Tartary*, which answers to the Straights 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 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

Cold.

Product.

HAMEL.

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 musquet 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 *Coreans* 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*.

I suppose he means Dutch ells.

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.

Martial government.

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; insomuch 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 not 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 free woman, 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 incompass'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 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.

The chief officers by sea and land, who make up the king's council, met 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

**HAMEL.** 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 removed every three years, and very few of 'em serve out their time, because they are for the most part accused 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 storehouses to keep the tithe; for the farmers, who are generally of the common sort, take the tithe 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 tithe, those men who are not listed 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 capital of the kingdom. This is what is rais'd on the people, who know no other duties or taxes.

**Justice.** 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 desired of her that she would embroider him a vest; but that princess bearing him a mortal hatred in her heart, she stitch'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 through 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, ventured 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 the 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 suspended 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 inflicted on such towns as mutiny against their governors, or send false complaints against them to court. The man that kills his wife, and proves he had cause so 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, though 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 through each ear, and fasten a little drum

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 very 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 stick 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 beforementioned. An hundred strokes are equivalent to death, and many die of them, and some even before they have received fifty. When any are adjudged 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 preaching, or of mysteries, and therefore they have no disputes of religion, all believing 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, basons and kettles. The monasteries and temples, which the kingdom swarms with, are for the most part on the mountains, each under 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 governs; and if any one does not do his duty, he may cause the others to punish him with twenty or thirty strokes on the buttocks; 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,

HAMEL. because they can quit this profession when they please: however, generally speaking, these religious men are not much more respected 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 forbid conversing with women. If any of 'em breaks these rules, they give him seventy or eighty strokes on the buttocks, and banish 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 always 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 their service, and have all that they can earn, till the master dies, which makes them free, 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 proportionably to what he's worth. There is still another sort of people like these religious men, as well in regard of their abstinence as their serving the idols, but they are not shorn, and may marry. They believe, 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 nobles frequent the monasteries very much, to divert themselves there with common women, or others they carry with 'em, because they are generally deliciously seated, and very pleasant for prospect and fine gardens, 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 quality; in the other, maids of the common sort. 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 reigning gave 'em leave to marry.

Having spoke of the government and ecclesiastical affairs, I'll now descend to private matters. The houses of the *Corefians* of quality are stately, but those of the common 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 so to do; for which reason most of 'em are thatch'd with straw or reeds. They are parted from one another by a wall, or else by a row of stakes or pallisades. 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 forwards, where they receive their friends, and lodge their acquaintance; and there they divert themselves, there being generally before their houses a large square, or bas-cour, with a fountain or fish-pond, and a garden with cover'd walks. The womens apartment is in the most retired part of the house, that no body may see 'em. Tradesmen, and the chief townsmen, generally have a store-house adjoining to their mansion-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 people, and going into company, and to feasts, 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 instruments. 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.

Kindred are not allow'd to marry within Marri- the fourth degree. They make no love, because

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 receiv'd 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, whom 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 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 mourn three years, and during all that time they live as austerely, 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 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 hatband, 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.

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ter, 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 flakes, 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 soothsayers, 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 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.

Disposition of the Coreians.

The *Coreians* 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 havock the emperor of *Japan* made in their country when he slew their king; not to mention what *Wettevree* 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 *Coreians* dy'd in the woods, whither they fled, than were kill'd by the enemy. They are not ashamed 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. When there is a plague in one town, 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 *Coreians* whole business being eating and drinking, and giving themselves up to all lewdness. But now the *Tartars* and *Japoneses*

*neses* 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 *Nampankouk*, which is the name the *Japoneses* 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 *Japoneses* 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 *Nampankouk*, 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 bought it for its weight in silver, and for that reason they look'd upon *Nampankouk* 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 *Japoneses*, and with the people of the island of *Ceuxima*, 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 *Chineses* sell in *Japan*. In exchange, they take the product and manufactures of the country. The *Corefians* 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 linen, 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.

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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 castis, 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 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.

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, carried 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

HAMEL.  
Weights  
and mea-  
sures.

Writing.

Printing.

Arithme-  
tick.

Manner  
of the  
king's go-  
ing abroad.

Tobacco.

Trade.

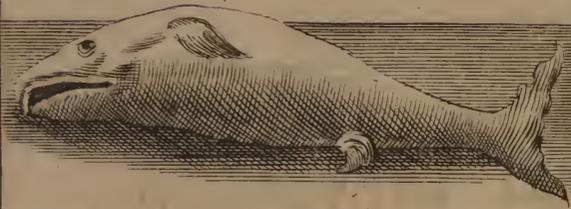
HAMEL. sons present upon the end of a long cane, or which they hang along the walls or pails, so that they cannot see who prefers them. Those that are appointed to gather them, bring them to the secretary, who puts them into the little box, and when the king returns into his palace, they are all laid 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 windows 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 lodging, 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 lined 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 courtesy to make him sensible of the respect he bears the great *Cham*, that he may make a favourable report concerning him to his master.

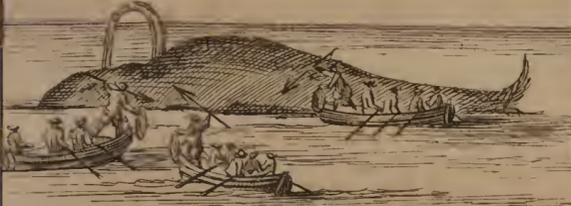




A Whale is ordinarily about 60 foot long



When the Whale comes above water y<sup>e</sup> shallop rows towards him and being within reach of him, the harpomer darts his harpingiron on him out, and being fast lance him to death.



The Whale is cut up as he lyes floating cross y<sup>e</sup> 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 towards the coppers



They place 2 or 3 coppers on a row and y<sup>e</sup> chopping boat on the one side and the cooling boats on the other side to receive y<sup>e</sup> oyle of y<sup>e</sup> coppers, the chapt blubber being boyled is taken out of the coppers and put in wicker baskets or barowes through w<sup>ch</sup> the oyle is strained and runes into y<sup>e</sup> cooler w<sup>ch</sup> is 2 foot of water out w<sup>ch</sup> it is con. by troughs into butts or hog's heads



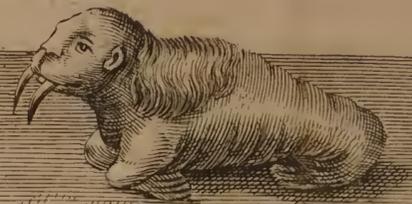
The manner of killing y<sup>e</sup> Seamorces



The manner of killing Bears



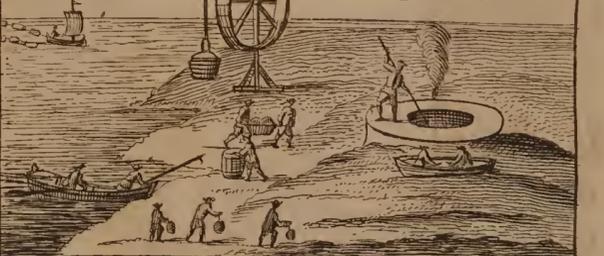
The Seamorces is in quantity as bigg as an oxe



When the Whale is killed he is in this mann towed to the Shipp's by two or three shallops made fast one to another.



The pieces of blubber are towed to the shore side by a shallop and drawne on shore by a crane or carried by two men. on a barrowe to y<sup>e</sup> two Cutters w<sup>ch</sup> cuts them the breadth of a trencher and very thine by two boys are carried w<sup>th</sup> hand hooks to y<sup>e</sup> choppers



Thus they make cleane and scrape y<sup>e</sup> whale fins



A tent and Coopers. at worke



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God's Power and Providence,

Shewed in the  
Miraculous Preservation and Deliverance

O F

EIGHT ENGLISH-MEN,

Left by Mischance in

GREENLAND,

ANNO 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 Rarities 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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Printed for HENRY LINTOT; and JOHN OSBORN, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Pater-*  
*noster Row*.

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To the Right Worshipful Sir John Merick, Governor of the Worshipful Company of Muscovy Merchants; Sir Hugh Hamersly, Knight and Alderman of the City of London; and to the Worshipful Mr. Alderman Freeman; Captain William Goodler; 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**HE hard adventure my poor self and fellows underwent in your worships service, is a great deal pleasanter for others to read, than it was for us to endure. However hard, we have now endur'd it; and if after-ages shall speak of it (as the world still doth of the *Dutchmen'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 sovereignty; 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 worships poor servant,

EDWARD PELLHAM.

T O T H E  
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 Dutchmen made into Nova Zembla, in the year 1596. In which place, they having been (like ourselves) 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. Vittuals 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 these 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 therefore of the extremity of the cold (as well they might) and that when in building their house, they (as carpenters used 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 Dutchmens cloaths froze upon their backs, and their shoes were like horns 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 clothes; 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 Dutchmens 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 author'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 Fakby, 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 Drees, and Richard Kellet, landmen.

PELL-  
HAM.

*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 ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, 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. i. ver. 9, 10.*

**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 itself. 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 sorrel. 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-horse, 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 shores 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 used 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 traneyl, as also by joining 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, all together 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 ourselves with a snap-hance, two lances, and a tinder-box; we directed our course towards the shore, 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 throughly tir'd, 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 pleas'd God, the weather falling out something thick, and much ice in the *Offing* betwixt the shore and the ship (by reason of a southerly wind driving along the coast) our ship was forc'd so 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 ourselves 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 shore, 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 aboard, to serve them (by proportion) homewards bound: Which made us again to wonder what should be the reason of their so sudden departure.

Perceiving ourselves 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-sownd*, 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 heav'd our venison over-board, and cast it all into the sea. Having thus forsaken *Green-barbor*, with a longing desire to recover *Bell-Sownd* (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 call'd *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 coved 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-Sownd*: But having never a compass to direct our course by, nor any of our company that was pilot

sufficient to know the land when he saw it, *PELL-* we were fain to grabble in the dark (as it <sup>HAM.</sup> were) like a blind man for his way, and so over-shot *Bell-Point* at least ten leagues to the southward, toward *Horn-Sownd*.

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 inquiry, How the harbour 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 judg'd, that it could not possibly be further to the southward, (our reason being, our observation of the land's rounding away and treading towards the eastward) and resolved thereupon to row no further on that course for the finding of *Bell-Sownd*. 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 seamen 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-Sownd*. Steering of which course, we were now come within two miles of *Bell-Point*; and the weather being fair and clear, we presently descryed 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 return'd quite the contrary way, namely, to the southward. Thus utterly uncertain when and where to find the *Sownd*, a thousand sad imaginations overtook our perplex'd 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 persuading us, that that could not possibly be

PELL-HAM. our course: But we not trusting any longer unto his unskilful persuasions (though all in him was out of good will, and strong conceit of his being in the right) bent our course to the northward; and he not consenting to steer any longer, I took the oar out of his hand to steer the boat withal. The weather all this while continu'd fair and clear, and it pleas'd God at that very instant of time to send the wind easterly: which advantage we thankfully apprehending, presently set sail. The wind increas'd fresh and large, and our shallop swiftly running, we arriv'd the one and twentieth day at *Bell-Point*, where we found the wind right out of the *Sownd* at east-north-east, so fiercely blowing, that we could not possibly row to windwards; but being forced to take in our sail, we were fain to betake ourselves unto our oars, by help of which we recover'd some two miles within the shore, where we were constrain'd 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 harbour for our shallop; and having brought her thereunto, two of our men were presently dispatch'd over land unto the tent at *Bell-Sownd*, to see if the ships were still there; of which, by reason of the time being expir'd, 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 being certain, whether or not they might be at *Bottle-Cove* (three leagues distant on the other side of the *Sownd*) riding there under the loom of the land; again return'd 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 finding the ships there; whither coming the two and twentieth, and finding the ships departed, we, having neither pilot, plat, nor compass, for our directors to the eastward, found ourselves (God he 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 resolv'd still to remain at *Bell-Sownd*, 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 causeless fears altogether. Well we knew that neither christian or heathen people had ever before inhabited those desolate and untemperate 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 provision 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 made both unto mariners of good experience, 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 procur'd 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 *Greenland* but one whole year, and that every way provided for too, both of clothes, victuals, 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, resolv'd to make trial of the adventure. The time of year being come, and the ships ready to depart, these condemn'd creatures are imbark'd, who after a certain space there arriving, and taking a view of the desolateness of the place, they conceiv'd such a horror and inward fear in their hearts, as they resolv'd rather to return for *England*, to make satisfaction with their lives for their former faults committed, than there to remain, though with assured hope of gaining their pardon: Insomuch as the time of year being come that the ships were to depart from these barren shores, they made known their full intent unto the captain; who being a pitiful and a merciful gentleman, would not by force constrain them to stay in that place, which was so contrary to their minds; but having made his voyage by the time expir'd, he again imbark'd and brought them over with him into *England*; where through the intercession and means of the worshipful company of *Muscovy* merchants, they escaped that death which they had before been condemn'd unto. The remembrance

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 disfigured 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 upon one another, all of us, as it were, beholding in the present the future calamities both of 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 shroud and shelter ourselves from the chilling cold. Thus for a space standing all mute and silent, weighing with ourselves 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. Rowzing up our benumbed senses therefore, we now lay our heads and counsels together, to bethink ourselves 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 pleased God to give us hearts like men, to arm ourselves 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-harbor* to hunt and kill venison for part of our own winter provision.

Having thus agreed amongst ourselves the 25th day of *August*, the weather and wind being both fair, we directed our course towards *Green-harbor*, 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 ourselves 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 ourselves 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 stored 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-harbor*; 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 ourselves to our rest upon it. Having rested ourselves a-while, and now finding the weather to clear up, we broke off our sleep for that time, fitting ourselves and two dogs again to go a hunting; leaving *William Fakely* and *John Dawes* behind us in the tent of *Green-harbor*, as our cooks (for the time) to 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 espy'd 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 hasted towards the tent, there intending to refresh ourselves 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 hindered; 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

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 greaves of the whales that had been there boil'd this present year (which we there found in heaps flung upon the ground) we dividing ourselves 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 ourselves 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 ourselves 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 ourselves 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 ourselves 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 ourselves 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 coved 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 halser thereupon we got, which fastening unto our shallops, we with a crab or capstang, 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; fourscore feet 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

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 ourselves 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 stancheons, 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 hogsheds of very fine lime, of which stuff we also fetch'd another hoshead 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 extream 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 flaying 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 stancheon, 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 cieling 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

it. As for windows, we made none at all, PELL- so that our light we brought in through the H A M. 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 ourselves two and two in a cabin. Our beds were the deers 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 them 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 stave 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 thriftily as we could, devising 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 fire 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-iron

PELL- iron that there lay in the tent, and fastening  
HAM. a grapnel-rope 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 crashing of the ice, and I skul-  
ling the boat easily along, came so near at  
length unto 'em, that the shallopse'en touch'd  
one of 'em: at which instance *William Fakey*  
being ready with his harping-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  
with our lances we kill'd her also. Ha-  
ling 'em both after this into the boat, we  
row'd ashore, slay'd our sea-horses, cut 'em  
in pieces to roast and eat 'em. The 19th of  
the same month we saw other sea-horses 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, increasing 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 bear 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 ourselves to  
come to allowance, that is, to stint ourselves  
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 ourselves sufficient to suffice  
our present hunger; and at this diet we  
continued some three months, or there-  
abouts.

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 ourselves 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 miscarriages 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 ourselves 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 bo-  
dies with hunger, colds, and wants; that  
hideous monster desperation began now to  
present his ugliest shape unto us; he now  
pursued us, he now labour'd to seize upon  
us. Thus finding ourselves 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 ourselves 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 hogsheds: which we putting now in  
practice, we forthwith fill'd three hogsheds  
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

\* These  
be the  
scraps of  
the fat of  
the whale,  
which are  
slung a-  
way after  
the oil is  
gotten out  
of it.

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 frittars of the whale 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 unfavoury and mouldy frittars, and t'other three we feasted 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 she 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 some 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 increase. 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 *Epact*, 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 sought 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 HAM. 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 ourselves, but all this could not secure us, for we in our own thoughts accounted ourselves 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 ourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, we cast down ourselves 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 clear one, about the middle whereof, all clouds now quite dispers'd, and night's

PELL-HAM. fable curtain drawn, *Aurora* with her golden face smil'd once again upon us, at her rising out of 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 cub) now coming towards our tent; whereupon we strait arming ourselves 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 cub seeing this, by flight escaped 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 ourselves, 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 ourselves now to such strait allowance as before, but eat frequently two or three meals a day, which began to increase strength and ability of body in us.

By this the chearful days so fast increas'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 used every spring-time to resort unto that coast, being used 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 them 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, hath 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 set '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 whale-bone, 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 espy 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 easterly, carried all the ice into the sea, and clear'd the *Sound* a great way, although not near the shore at first, seeing the clear

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 sea-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 imbracing us, and we them again, they came with us into our tent. Coming thus in to us, we shew'd 'em the courtesy 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 ourselves 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 was full three days e're they came, which seem'd to us as tedious a three days as any we had yet indur'd, so much we now desir'd to hear from our friends, our wives and children.

The 28th of *May* the *London* fleet came *PELLA* into the port, to our great comfort; aboard *HAM*. the admiral we went, unto the right noble captain, captain *William Goodler*, who is worthy to be honour'd by all seamen for his courtesy 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 wise 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 increase 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 Fakely* and *John Wise* (*Mason's* own apprentice) and *Thomas Ayers* the whalecutter, with *Robert Goodfellow*, unto master *Mason'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 landmen 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 dealt wonderful well by us. For all which most merciful preservation, and most wonderfully 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 BAPTIST MERIN, *Phil. & Med. Doct.*

*To the Mines of HUNGARY;*

WITH

An Account of his Observations made there, in relation to them, and subterraneous passages in general.

**A**N extraordinary desire of learning, and a curiosity of seeing things never known to me before, having made me to undertake a journey into *Flanders, Germany, Bohemia and Austria*, in the year 1615, I stay'd a few days at *Vienna*, having the opportunity of conversing with several learned men in those parts; they told me such miraculous things of the mines in *Hungary* and *Transylvania* (the most famous in *Europe*) 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 continually reflected upon the words of *Paracelsus*, that *Mines are the best schools of philosophers*. With this resolution I took passage in a boat that was carrying some troops to *Polineum* (*Presburgh*) the chief city of *Hungary*, left to the Christians upon the *Danube*, about ten leagues distant from *Vienna*, and as many from the *Turkish* territories. 'Tis to be observ'd, that it is very dangerous travelling in *Hungary*, especially for strangers, who being easily distinguish'd from the *Hungarians* by their habits, are but little belov'd by them, by reason they're in the *Turkish* wars frequently afflicted with foreign soldiers, which makes the natives, for the most part, live in wooden hutts, 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 admirers 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 mountains (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 cover'd with leaves, and consequently afford shelter for robbers, without being oblig'd to make any fires (as they must in the winter) 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 myself 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 *Newbeufel*, seated upon the river *Gran*, where having deliver'd my letters of recommendation from Dr. *Mussinger*, one of the emperor's privy-counsellors, to the most noble *Matthias Bloenstein*, the only *Roman Catholic* 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 a considerable time, built a laboratory here, wherein he made several experiments upon vitriol, antimony, cinnabar, copper, silver and gold, and being just upon his departure for *Transylvania*, presented his host (who was a goldsmith) with a piece of copper transmuted into silver; whence 'tis that an original picture of *Paracelsus* is shew'd to strangers to this day, in the same house.

*Paracelsus* liv'd near the mines in *Hungary*.

Having provided myself here with an interpreter, a learned and honest chymist, we travelled more northward to *Voistau*; 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 privately 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.

Rubies and granates in Hungary.

The richest gold mines.

After two days journey, we came safely to *Voistau*, 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 esteemed 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 forewarned 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 *Newheusel*; 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.

The silver mines of Schemnitz.

At my departure, being provided with recommendatory letters from the governor of the mines and a guard of soldiers, I pursued my journey to *Cremnitz*, 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 Flesch* of *Lerchenbergh*, governor of these mines, and his beloved spouse *Anne* of *Rettingerin*; 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;

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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 *Cremnitz*, 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 clothes, and instead thereof, make use of the miners habits, made of some very coarse stuff. Thus prepar'd (like *Hercules*) 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 feet long, and two broad, dug with incredible pains and patience to the bottom of the mine, and supported with square large fir-trees, closely joined to one another, which grow hereabouts in vast plenty.

Two different ways into the mines. The first passage.

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 indure 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 twisted 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 *Lutherans* (like *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abram*, about three or four hundred fathoms deep) into an infernal pit, and so puts an end to their miserable days.

The mines send forth continual exhalations. Most of the inhabitants near the mines, and the miners are *Lutherans*.

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 *Newbeufel*. 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 *Newbeufel*.

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 thro' 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, tho' 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 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 workmen; and it is almost incredible to believe how these young people multiply, of which I made a particular observation in the copper mines of *Newbeufel*, where I saw above fifty such young husbands.

Dangerous vapours in the mines.

The miners short liv'd.

The external air necessary for the preservation of the miners.

It being left to my choice which of the two ways I would chuse, I did not care to pitch upon the first, both 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 deep mines are of the same contrivance, or very near the same, yet I will not pass by in silence whatever 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 strait passages; having no other cloaths, but such as the miners usually wear, about us, we were the more

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 fabulous, especially in agues, a thing likely enough to be true, considering it belongs to a gold oar; I found the water very cool upon the tongue, and somewhat astringent; 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 ore 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 pass'd 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, 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 increase, 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 increase 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

wonder how it was possible for the miners to work here. If you ask me whether this vitriol is the best? I answer yes, for tho' the *Hungarian* mines produce also a blue vitriol, which is likewise very good, yet the green found in the gold mines exceeds the other; and it is great pity that neither of them, no more than the most excellent *Hungarian* antimony, found in these gold mines, is transported into foreign parts.

Passing forward we found on the sides of the passage beyond this concavity a certain olerous substance, whereof I scrap'd off about half a pound with my fingers, and found 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 stopt (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 despis'd by the curious: I afterwards got 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 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,

The veins run betwixt two tables.

Some questions about the heat of the mines.

MERIN.  
Two sorts of vitriol green and blew.

The Hungarian antimony the best.

A particular instrument of the miners.

The rocks made pliable by fire.

Whence comes the extraordinary heat of the mines.

**MERIN.** did very much afflict their lungs, and stifled the light of their lamps; nay, would oftentimes quite extinguish them; so that they were certainly the first and truest prophets of the imminent change of the weather. 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.

The mines the best prophets of weather.

Some reason for astrology.

I ask'd 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, though sometimes they would extinguish their lamps.

I ask'd them at last, What it was they most fear'd in the mines? They replied, An earthquake; for, said they, though 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 carry'd 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.

Subterraneous waters very troublesome to miners.

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 though 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 discover'd to imbezil the least thing belonging to the mines, they are sure to meet most severe punishment.

Among other things, I ask'd 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 open'd by the force of the waters, produce those sources of rivers we see above ground: Or perhaps these waters being percolated through the porous parts of the earth, at last by the gathering of many small channels, turn into a considerable river.

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 swallow'd up again by certain subterraneous passages.

I asked further, Whether they had not observ'd 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, they were not able to tell; but for my part, I can scarce persuade myself, that these subterraneous waters should not attract or retain some of those metals and other places they meet with

Rivulets under ground.

How they are produced.

The castle of Charleville.

The subterraneous waters not without virtue.

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 qualities 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 happened to me. A certain Hungarian nobleman, who was proprietor of the gold mine of *Woissaw*, 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 *Neubeusel* you see a rivulet issuing out at the foot of the mountain as green as the vitriol itself contained in these copper mines,

which being convey'd from one receptacle 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 *Cremnitz* 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 cover'd 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 recompens'd 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 clothes, and being invited by the governor to partake of a dinner, he prepar'd of course for such strangers as came to visit the mines, we took our leave both of the mines and the jolly company.

MERIN.  
The origin of Verdigrise.

Singular virtues of the mineral waters.

TEN  
RHYNE.

*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 Switzerland.*

**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, it being a very serene day at sea, but foggy (as usually it is) as we approached the shore, and sounding the depth we found a hundred and twenty fathoms water. But whilst we were flattering ourselves with hopes of coming to the so long expected shore, the wind turning against us, toss'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 *Saldanha*, extending itself 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 ourselves after so long a fatigue, the captain and I and the factor went ashore on this point of *Africa*, accompany'd 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 incloses the bay with many hanging rocks, which being well stored with divers sorts of plants, seem'd to imitate the *Hanging Gardens* of *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

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 shore almost cover'd with haddocks; being extremely satisfied we had escaped this without the least danger, as having in full remembrance what happen'd to eight *Dutchmen* 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 pass'd by the *Dassen* island, The Dassen isle. 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 14th of *October* towards evening we came to an anchor, with a moderate gale from S. to W. and twenty-three fathoms water; the next day, viz. the 15th, the wind at N. W. we repass'd in sight of the *Rabbit* isle, about eight leagues distant from our fort on the *Cape of Good Hope*, The Rabbit isle. eight from the *Dassen* isle, and about fifteen from the bay of *Saldanha*, 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 muscle-shells, to make lime for the island. This isle produces abundance of *Chameleons*, lesser than those of the *Indies*, as also all sorts of insects, serpents, and spiders as big as a man's fist.

About four a clock in the afternoon we discover'd 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 *African* shore we were intangled among a vast These are describ'd by Mr. Rochford in his history of the American islands.

Their arrival at the Cape of Good Hope.

The bay of Saldanha.

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

See Hornius orbis politicus D. The ancients had but a very obscure knowledge of Africa, called by them Libya.

known by the name of *Meaopatu*.

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 content ourselves with giving you an account of their manner of living and commerce, after we have told you something of its situation and constitution.

C H A P. 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 to the *Hesperian Promontory*, or *Gourdasu* (known by the name of *Cape Verde*) 34 deg. 30 min.

It was discover'd by *Vasco de Gama*, 1498. (by the encouragement of *John*, then king of *Portugal*) who met there nothing but cragg'd mountains, as high as *Olympus* it felt, 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 *Bachaley Plain* (or the field of battle) being about three leagues in compass, and the other called, by the *Dutch*, *Buffles Yacht*, or the *Buffles Plain*, seated upon the ascent of a high mountain; whether beyond that the country be plain or mountainous is not known hitherto.

And is a corrupt Malayan word.

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,

and among the rest saw a whole forest of the laky *Jalmitre* (the roots whereof grew crosswise, like a net-work) extending it self in two branches to the foot of the mountain, stor'd with prodigious numbers of ba-boons. 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 fenns, not unlike the sulphurous excrement we see in the night-time pass thro' the air.

The Table Mount.

The next adjacent mountain is call'd the *Lyon's 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 here, 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.

The Lyon's Mount.

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 rises 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.

The

TEN  
RHYNE.  
The East-  
India com-  
pany's  
garden.

The 1st of *November* we took a view of the company's garden, which furnishes the ships that come to anchor here, with all 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 *Æolus* 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 infallible 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-mount, 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 situations 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; 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 fens,

the receptacles of vapours, may not a little contribute towards the 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 Hogue*, 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 far distant places) on 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 ourselves 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-  
former of philosophy, had been convin-  
ced of these experiments, he would not have  
been put to the trouble to have his whole  
recourse to the moon; for, as the effects of  
nature don't depend on general causes, so  
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 *Des-  
cartes*; 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 *Jaqueta*, in  
the channel near *Nova Franchia*, or *New  
France*, and in the straits of *Babama* in  
the bay of *Mexico*. The same might be  
said of his hypothesis of the magnetick vir-  
tue, 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 com-

\* Princ.  
Philos.  
Part 4.  
Sect. 49.  
And Isaac  
Vossius de  
motu ma-  
rium.

The De-  
vil's  
Mount.

mon falt, but nevertheless as proper for use. Perhaps the experiment try'd in *Aristotle's* time might take place here with good success, viz. That if you dig near the sea shore, to meet at first with fresh water; and if you dig deeper, with falt water.

Probl. Sec. 23. Probl. 21.

TEN RHYNE.

CHAP. II.

Of the four-legg'd beasts.

THESE mountainous defarts being more adapted for wild ravenous beasts than men, abundance of lions, elephants, rhinocerots, tygers, or rather panthers, wolves, elks, sea-horses, \* wild horses, buffaloes, wild boars, wild dogs, baboons, porcupines, hedge-hogs, lynxes, stags, badgers, otters, hares, and wild asses of a delicious colour, with white streaks all over their bodies; goats, wild goats, evecks, 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;

\* I have seen some of these creatures of a prodigious bigness, says Plin. l. 8. c. 25, and 26.

and a few of these creatures call'd by them *tamandua graca*, and by the *Dutch*, pismire-eaters; † but are not so big as those of *Brazzil*. That a prodigious number of these creatures harbour in these mountains, may be gather'd from hence, that a few hunt-men belonging to the governor of the fort, do take sometimes many thousand weight of them (especially of sea-horses and elks) at once; a convincing argument how much *Aristotle* was mistaken, when he says \* That *Africk* produces no wild boars, no stags, nor wild goats.

† See Marc-grav. Hist. Quadrup. l. 6. c. 4.

\* Hist. Anim. l. 8. c. 28.

CHAP. III.

Of their birds.

OF birds, they have also vast numbers, and of divers colours, viz. ostriches, peacocks, cranes, black storks, herns, geese, bittourns, ducks, *Guinea* cocks and hens, teals, felfares, cormorants, didappers, fendingucks, pochards, penguicks, partridges red and grey, pheasants, lapwings, nightingales, snipes, but these very small, owls,

See Rochefort lib. 1. cit. p. 133.

and millions of sea-gulls, † martinets, and swallows of various colours, colybrides, birds that suck a certain knotted plant, not unlike a pellican (describ'd by me elsewhere, as likewise by Mr. *Rochefort* and Mr. *Marc-grave*.) The *French* call it *Flammant*, and the *Dutch*, *Flaniteen*, after the *Portugueses*; with various feathers standing up an end.

† Pliny describes these birds erroneously with- out legs.

CHAP. IV.

Of their fishes.

THE sea and rivers of this cape, afford also various kinds of fishes, viz. sea-lions, sea-rabbets, a certain fish call'd *Guapervas* by the *Brasilians*, whales of a peculiar kind, call'd *Vratcapers*, or finfishes by the *Dutch*; lampreys, trouts, salmons, thornback, mullets, mussels, gilthead, eels, and two different sorts of carps; the first kind is commonly known by the name of *Hottentots-fish*, because the natives extremely delight in it, they being of excellent taste, and cover'd all over with thick scales; the other kind is also a very delicious fish, call'd *Stone-broeksem*. They have also a kind of fish like dogs, \* call'd *Cassaon* by the

\* See Marc-grave, l. 4. c. 12.

*Portugueses*; bristers, lobsters, crab-fishes, crampfish, mussels, vrinckles, cuttles, and among the rest a certain fish call'd the *Swimmerly Parepus* and *Slautilus* by *Pliny*: but my design of keeping myself 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 walking along upon the very brink of the sea-shore, to examine the several products of the sea, I did light upon some small creatures sticking to the rocks very close, with their feet, representing by the excretion of their fibres, our roses, whence they are call'd by the *Dutch*, *Klippersen*, or *Roeckroses*.

## Of the insects or venomous animals.

See Roch-  
fort, p.  
123 and  
129.

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 or 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 surpriz'd I was to observe them three times bigger than ouas, 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 join'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 ingender several new kinds. But this must be understood of the desarts of *Africk*, which otherwise is water'd by many great rivers.

\* Lib. 2.  
de gen.  
animal.  
c. 7.

## C H A P. 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-shore 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-heath, 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*.

See Roch-  
fort, p.  
104.

It is observable, that the lower palm-tree (call'd *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 *Mesquetti* (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.

## C H A P. VII.

TEN  
RHYNE.*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 rising 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.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Of the Hottentotes, the native inhabitants of this country.*

THIS name belongs to different nations. The first are call'd *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 *Namacquaes*, 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 firelocks: for the rest, they live after the same manner as the other inhabitants on the *Cape of Good Cape*. 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 *Namacquaes*, 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 *Sousvas*, 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 countrymen, have ever since dwell'd in the woods, and liv'd 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 countrymen. Their chieftain, nam'd *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 call'd *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*.

## C H A P. 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 call'd *Cassars*) 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, that betwixt them and the said *Negroes* was a very broad river, which they us'd to pass in small canoos 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 amongst one another.

Just. l. 2.  
says the  
same of  
the Scythians.

## C H A P. X.

TEN  
RHYNE.*Of the shape and make of their bodies.*

AS 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 retain'd 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 hutts (call'd *Krallen*) 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 herself, found these protuberancies quite relax'd, 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 chrystal, 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 *Æthiopians*, 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 *Bouchou*, 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 sort ear-rings or coral.

## C H A P. XI.

*Of their garments.*

THE use of woollen clothes 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 us'd 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 footsteps of

See Justin.

*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 peak'd 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 heads 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.

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; 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 heads (like

as we do our shagged dogs) into several figures of their fuller half-moon or stars. On their foreheads they wear coral-beads, notch'd shells, brass 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 brass.

TEN RHYNE.

## C H A P. 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 laths, 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.

Call'd  
Hottentotes  
bread.

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 inclosure, 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 into the wars to carry their baggage.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Of their household-stuff.*

TO give yourself 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 soothsayers; and as *Diogenes* (when he was contending with the great king of *Macedon*, about the greatness of his empire) gloried in

See Aquilius in his Apol.

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-shore, or of tortoise-shells, after they have eaten the flesh; they call them *Sirigoes*, 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.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Of their genius and temper.*

THEIR innate barbarity, their idle and solitary life, join'd with the want of knowledge and true virtues, makes them prone to all manner of vices, as levity, inconstancy, lust, deceits, perfidiousness 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, make them grow old before their time, and makes their bodies crazy and weak; and as they keep no regular account of their age, so nothing certain is to be determin'd 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 myself) 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 neighbour 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. See Justin.

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 divers 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 banish'd the fort; the third, named *Sarah*, was the same I told you before to have been dissected by our surgeon, having hang'd herself, because a cursed *Dutchman* had debauch'd her, under pretence of marriage, but left her afterwards.

## C H A P. XV.

*Of their manners.*

AS 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 imbrace 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 chuse to perform it from behind, the woman lying upon one side, something higher than the man, scarce differing in this point from the brutes.

## C H A P. XVI.

TEN  
RHYNE.*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 *sword-grass* \* which the women dig out of the fens; 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.

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, 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 hedge-hogs (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 *Affagayas*, 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 increase the virulency 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 surprize; 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 up 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

\* Of this there are divers sorts describ'd in another treatise.

\* Call'd wild figs by the Dutch.

\* Call'd the *Hottentotes* fish, by the Dutch.

TEN RHYNE. like mad-men; but notwithstanding the 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 very hard 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 fall 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.

L. ii. c. 4.  
De Bello  
Gallico, &  
l. iii. c. 4.

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 sort, 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.

## C H A P. 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, cows, 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 seek 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 or 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 *Butter* river. (7.) At the *Endless* river. (8.) Near *Jacob Ragen's* tree. (9.) Near the *Geeffe-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 thereabouts with a white clayish mixture. The 12th and last, is near the *Hudspel-bay*, about a hundred and thirty-six leagues from the fort.

## C H A P. XIX.

TEN  
RHYME.*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 *Hottentote*, who was a servant in our lodgings.

## C H A P. XX.

*Of their religion.*

AS brutish and barbarous as this nation is, yet are there among them some few footsteps of the knowledge of a supreme being; for whenever they see the heavens cover'd 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 Dutchmen (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 upon it stedfastly at rising and setting; sometimes they will sit down near the river side, and throw abundance of little balls of clay into the water, which, they say, they do in honour of the sun: The moon they worship with dancing, as we told you before.

\* See Pliny, l. 5. c. 8.  
to in Cratylus, and

## C H A P. 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 supreme governors of their respective nations; the *Essequas* 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.

## C H A P. 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 *Mahometans*: 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 RHYNE. like, are made good by way of retaliation. 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 sort 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, indued with the virtue of expelling the fruit; the true name or knowledge of which I could never learn from them, neither by intreaties 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 smook 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 accustomed 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 artificans among this barbarous generation; however, they have a kind of taylors 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 taylors and barbers, they are also artificans 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.*

IF 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,

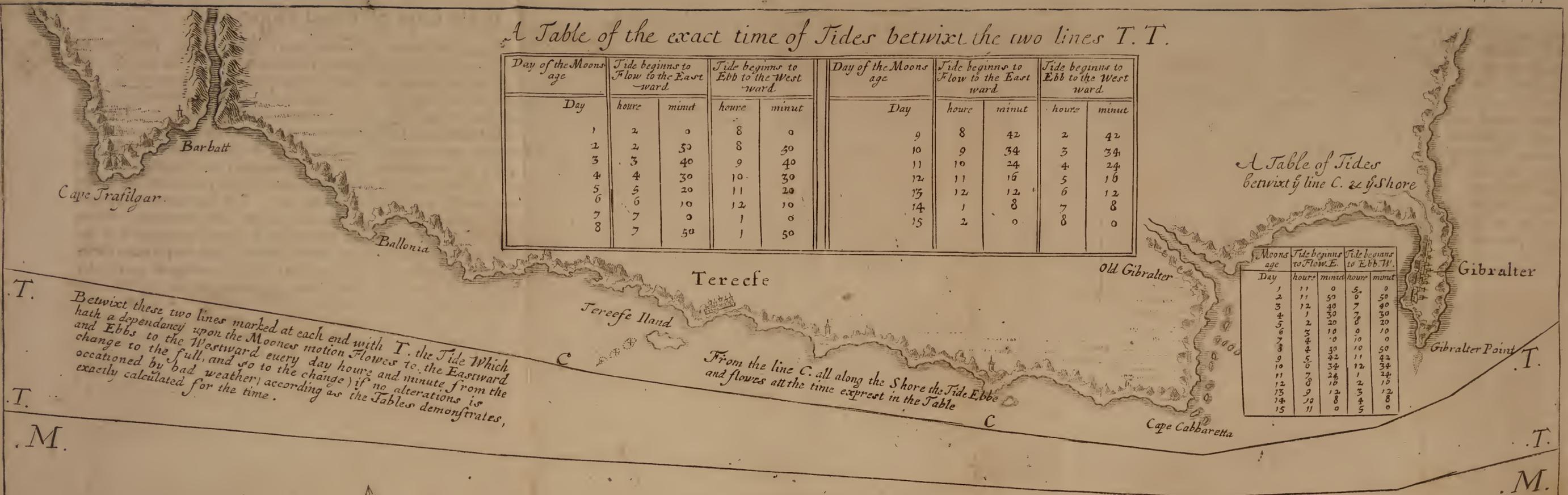


A Table of the exact time of Tides betwixt the two lines T. T.

| Day of the Moons age |      | Tide begins to Flow to the East ward |      | Tide begins to Ebb to the West ward |     | Day of the Moons age |       | Tide begins to Flow to the East ward |       | Tide begins to Ebb to the West ward |  |
|----------------------|------|--------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|-----|----------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Day                  | hour | minut                                | hour | minut                               | Day | hour                 | minut | hour                                 | minut |                                     |  |
| 1                    | 2    | 0                                    | 8    | 0                                   | 9   | 8                    | 42    | 2                                    | 42    |                                     |  |
| 2                    | 2    | 50                                   | 8    | 50                                  | 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                   | 12    | 6                                    | 12    |                                     |  |
| 6                    | 6    | 10                                   | 12   | 10                                  | 14  | 1                    | 8     | 7                                    | 8     |                                     |  |
| 7                    | 7    | 0                                    | 1    | 0                                   | 15  | 2                    | 0     | 8                                    | 0     |                                     |  |
| 8                    | 7    | 50                                   | 1    | 50                                  |     |                      |       |                                      |       |                                     |  |

A Table of Tides betwixt y line C. & y Shore

| Moons age | Tide begins to Flow E. |       | Tide begins to Ebb W. |       |
|-----------|------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|
| Day       | hour                   | minut | hour                  | minut |
| 1         | 11                     | 0     | 5                     | 0     |
| 2         | 11                     | 50    | 5                     | 50    |
| 3         | 12                     | 40    | 7                     | 40    |
| 4         | 1                      | 30    | 7                     | 30    |
| 5         | 2                      | 20    | 10                    | 20    |
| 6         | 3                      | 10    | 10                    | 10    |
| 7         | 4                      | 0     | 11                    | 0     |
| 8         | 5                      | 50    | 12                    | 50    |
| 9         | 6                      | 42    | 12                    | 42    |
| 10        | 7                      | 34    | 12                    | 34    |
| 11        | 8                      | 24    | 12                    | 24    |
| 12        | 9                      | 16    | 12                    | 16    |
| 13        | 10                     | 8     | 12                    | 8     |
| 14        | 11                     | 0     | 12                    | 0     |
| 15        | 11                     | 0     | 12                    | 0     |



T. Betwixt these two lines marked at each end with T. the Tide which hath a dependancy upon the Moones motion Flows to the Eastward and Ebbs to the Westward every day hour and minute from the change to the full, and so to the change (if no alterations is occasioned by bad weather) according as the Tables demonstrates, exactly calculated for the time.

C From the line C. all along the Shore the Tide Ebbs and flows at the time expresst in the Table

M. Betwixt these two lines marked at each end with M. is the middle of the Straights of Gibraltar where the Indraft or Current which hath no Dependency upon the Moon continually sets inn to the Eastward

M. Betwixt these two lines marked at each end with T. the Tide which hath a dependancy upon the Moones motion Flows to the Eastward and Ebbs to the Westward every day hour and minute from the change to the full and so to the change (if no alterations is occasioned by bad weather) according as the Tables demonstrates, exactly calculated for the time.

B From the line B. all along the Shore the Tide Ebbs and flows at the time as expresst in the Table

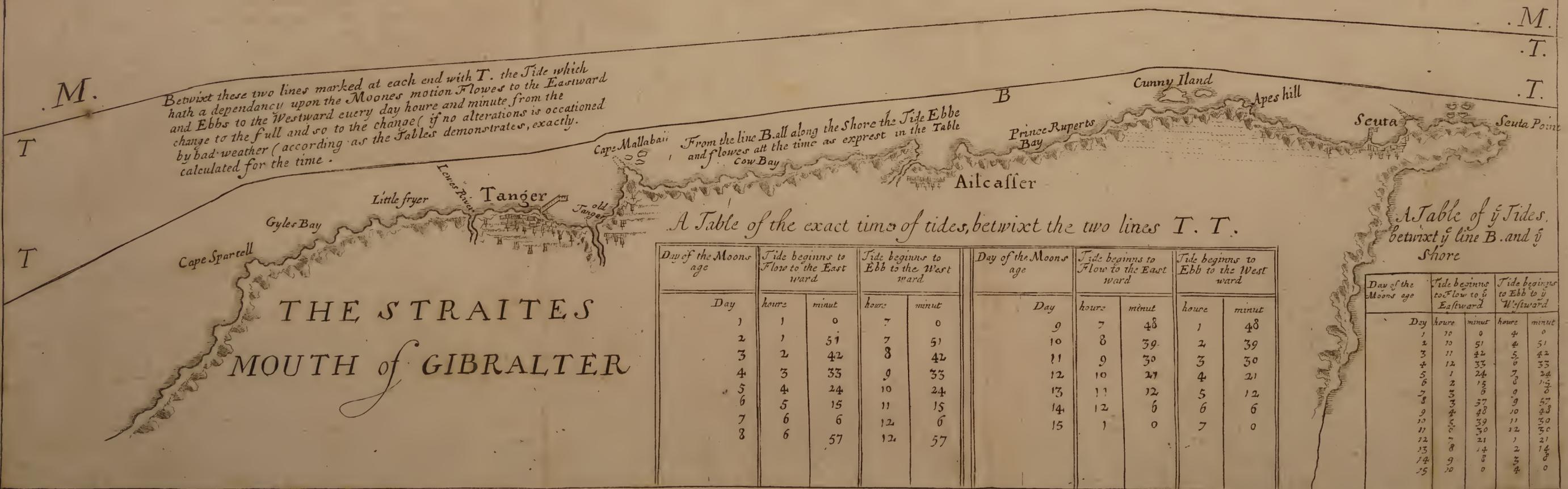
THE STRAITES MOUTH of GIBRALTER

A Table of the exact time of tides, betwixt the two lines T. T.

| Day of the Moons age |      | Tide begins to Flow to the East ward |      | Tide begins to Ebb to the West ward |     | Day of the Moons age |       | Tide begins to Flow to the East ward |       | Tide begins to Ebb to the West ward |  |
|----------------------|------|--------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|-----|----------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Day                  | hour | minut                                | hour | minut                               | Day | hour                 | minut | hour                                 | minut |                                     |  |
| 1                    | 1    | 0                                    | 7    | 0                                   | 9   | 7                    | 48    | 1                                    | 48    |                                     |  |
| 2                    | 1    | 51                                   | 7    | 51                                  | 10  | 8                    | 39    | 2                                    | 39    |                                     |  |
| 3                    | 2    | 42                                   | 8    | 42                                  | 11  | 9                    | 30    | 3                                    | 30    |                                     |  |
| 4                    | 3    | 33                                   | 9    | 33                                  | 12  | 10                   | 21    | 4                                    | 21    |                                     |  |
| 5                    | 4    | 24                                   | 10   | 24                                  | 13  | 11                   | 12    | 5                                    | 12    |                                     |  |
| 6                    | 5    | 15                                   | 11   | 15                                  | 14  | 12                   | 6     | 6                                    | 6     |                                     |  |
| 7                    | 6    | 6                                    | 12   | 6                                   | 15  | 1                    | 0     | 7                                    | 0     |                                     |  |
| 8                    | 6    | 57                                   | 12   | 57                                  |     |                      |       |                                      |       |                                     |  |

A Table of y Tides betwixt y line B. and y Shore

| Day of the Moons age | Tide begins to Flow to y Eastward |       | Tide begins to Ebb to y Westward |       |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|
| Day                  | hour                              | minut | hour                             | minut |
| 1                    | 10                                | 0     | 4                                | 0     |
| 2                    | 10                                | 51    | 4                                | 51    |
| 3                    | 11                                | 42    | 5                                | 42    |
| 4                    | 12                                | 33    | 5                                | 33    |
| 5                    | 1                                 | 24    | 7                                | 24    |
| 6                    | 2                                 | 15    | 7                                | 15    |
| 7                    | 3                                 | 6     | 9                                | 6     |
| 8                    | 4                                 | 0     | 9                                | 0     |
| 9                    | 5                                 | 51    | 10                               | 51    |
| 10                   | 6                                 | 42    | 10                               | 42    |
| 11                   | 7                                 | 33    | 11                               | 33    |
| 12                   | 8                                 | 24    | 12                               | 24    |
| 13                   | 9                                 | 15    | 12                               | 15    |
| 14                   | 10                                | 6     | 12                               | 6     |
| 15                   | 10                                | 0     | 12                               | 0     |



swallows, of fennel to the snake, of the narrow small row leav'd plantain to the toads, of the rue to the weasel, of the origanum to the stork, of the ground-ivy to the wild boar, and of the use of the artichoke to the stag; 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 *Podalirius* and *Machaon*, in the *Trojan* war, who were chiefly employ'd about surgery, if we may believe *Celsus*. Suction and uncti-  
See Homer  
b. in probl.  
l. 1.
 on are two chief, if not the only remedies used 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 scarify 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 *Thousand-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 *Thousand-feet* being very corrosive, communicates 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 uncti-  
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 ons (with beef or mutton suet, for want of any other ointment) afterwards scarify 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 morbid 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 cholick by a certain aromattick root, almost in an 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 *Mabometans* do the *ansion* 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 off 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.

## C H A P. 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 tongue's 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 *tabaqkom*, tobacco; *kortom*, a share or portion; *borom*, to hear. 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 epithet; as for instance, *camma courcour*, a water-fowl, whether it be a duck, a cormorant or sea-gull; *sickom* (a *Belgicism*, such as they frequently use among them) *courcour*, a young bird; *grotom 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 word *doggues* signifying a dog.

TEN

RHYNE. *The original Hottentote words, which occur at present to my memory, are,*

*Onkay*, a Dutchman; *gamma*, a lion; *acqua*, a horse; *ouka*, a wolf; *nabba*, a rhinoceros; *goedi*, a sheep; *boeba*, an ox or cow; *debitia*, heifers; *virigoes*, tortoises; *dacha*, the name of an hypnotick plant; *dini*, honey; *chou*, air; *ecy*, fire; *kou*, thunder; *doudou*, the road; *ey*, glass-beads; *equa*, wood; *kiny*, a club; *sou*, a pot; *bouchou*, the ashes of plants.

*Some corrupt Dutch words, are,*

*Boemakem goet*, gun-powder; *boebaisfibi-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; *guichi*, 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

# D R A U G H T

O F T H E

S T R A I G H T S of G I B R A L T A R,

W I T H

Some OBSERVATIONS upon the C U R R E N T S  
thereunto belonging.

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By Captain RICHARD BOLLAND.

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*July 24, 1675.*

**W**E 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 *Straights* 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 them, watches for time, logs to inform the turning of the tide, and several other conveniencies 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 *Straights*, 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

N<sup>o</sup>. 179. VOL. IV.

course, that day being the twelfth of the moon's age, I found in the table for the *Offing* upon the *African* shore, that the tide began to flow to the eastward at 10 o'clock and 21 min. By this time the wind sprang up fresh easterly, and increas'd so furiously that we were forc'd 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, we weather'd the eastermost 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 *Straights* 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 but 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

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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, increase and decrease of the moon.

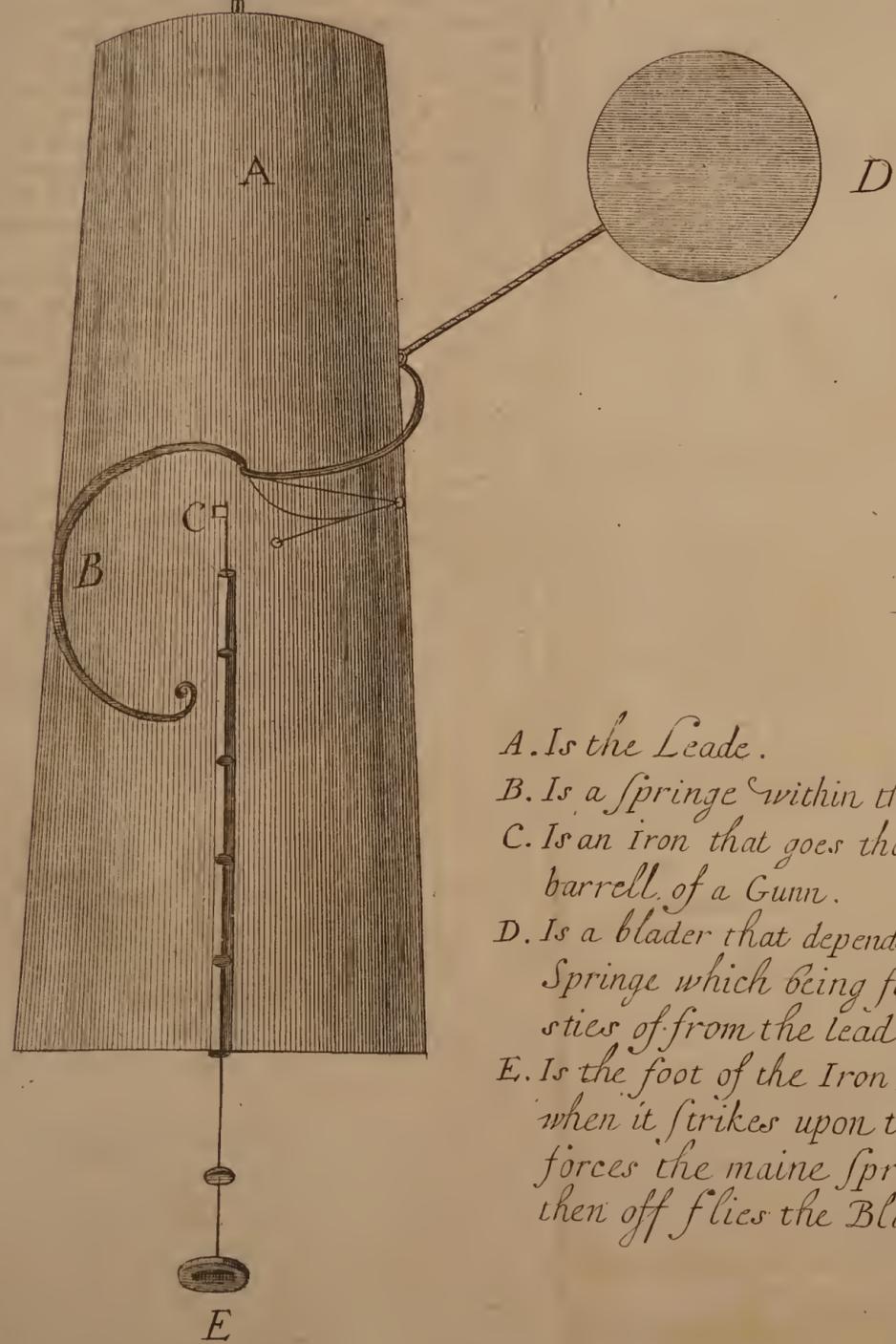
It flows in the bay of *Tangier*, and so upon the *Barbary* shore, as far as *Apes-hill*, south-west and by south, one quarter after two o'clock, full and change of the moon, high water. The *Moors* and *Spaniards*, upon each of their native shores, in the *Straights* mouth of *Gibraltar*, thus account 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-hill*, in the *Straights* mouth of *Gibraltar*, the tide rises perpendicular upon the springs nine feet. At *Buceama*, 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 dependance 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 dependance 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 inquiries 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*, though 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 *Straights* 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 extreme of weather: and although 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 *Straights*, happening then to be calm, or little wind, but was infallibly driven in, if she could not reach the side of ebb upon neither shore. This, I suppose, may be sufficient to demonstrate, that there's a vast sluice of water hurry'd into the *Straights*. 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 (though 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 sets unto the *Mediterranean*, so that there must

neces-

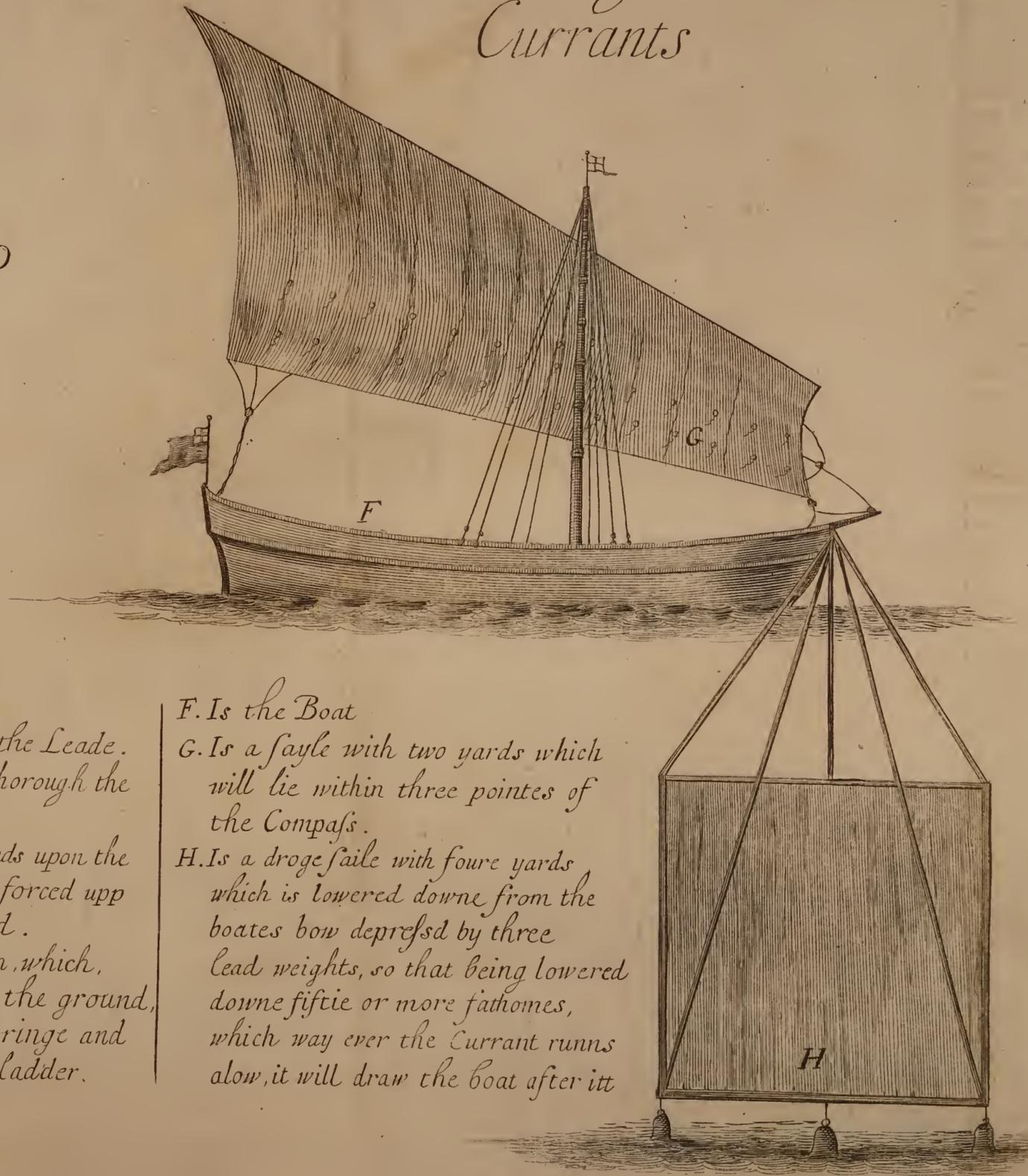


# The Sounding Lead for tides and Curreants



- A. Is the Leade.
- B. Is a springe within the Leade.
- C. Is an iron that goes thorough the barrell. of a Gunn.
- D. Is a bladder that depends upon the Springe which being forced upp sties of 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.

# The Sounding Boat for Curreants



- F. Is the Boat
- G. Is a sayle with two yards which will lie within three pointes of the Compass.
- H. Is a droge saile with foure yards which is lowered downe from the boates bow deprestd by three lead weights, so that being lowered downe fiftie or more fathomes, which way ever the Curreant runns alow, it will draw the boat after itt

necessarily be some evacuation; and it seems most reasonable, that as the Straights 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 Straights, <sup>BOL-</sup>possibly it may require three or four hun- <sup>LAND.</sup>dred 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.*

**T**HEN 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 Straights below, then will the bladder rise a-head 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 Straights 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-sail at the boat's bow, with weights of lead at the lower part, to depress the sail downward;

so turning the boat loose, you lower the sail 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 sail 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 sail 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.



T H E  
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*The End of the Fourth Volume.*











